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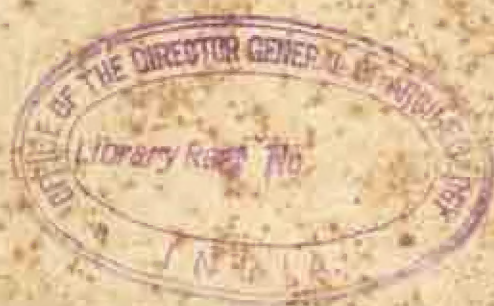
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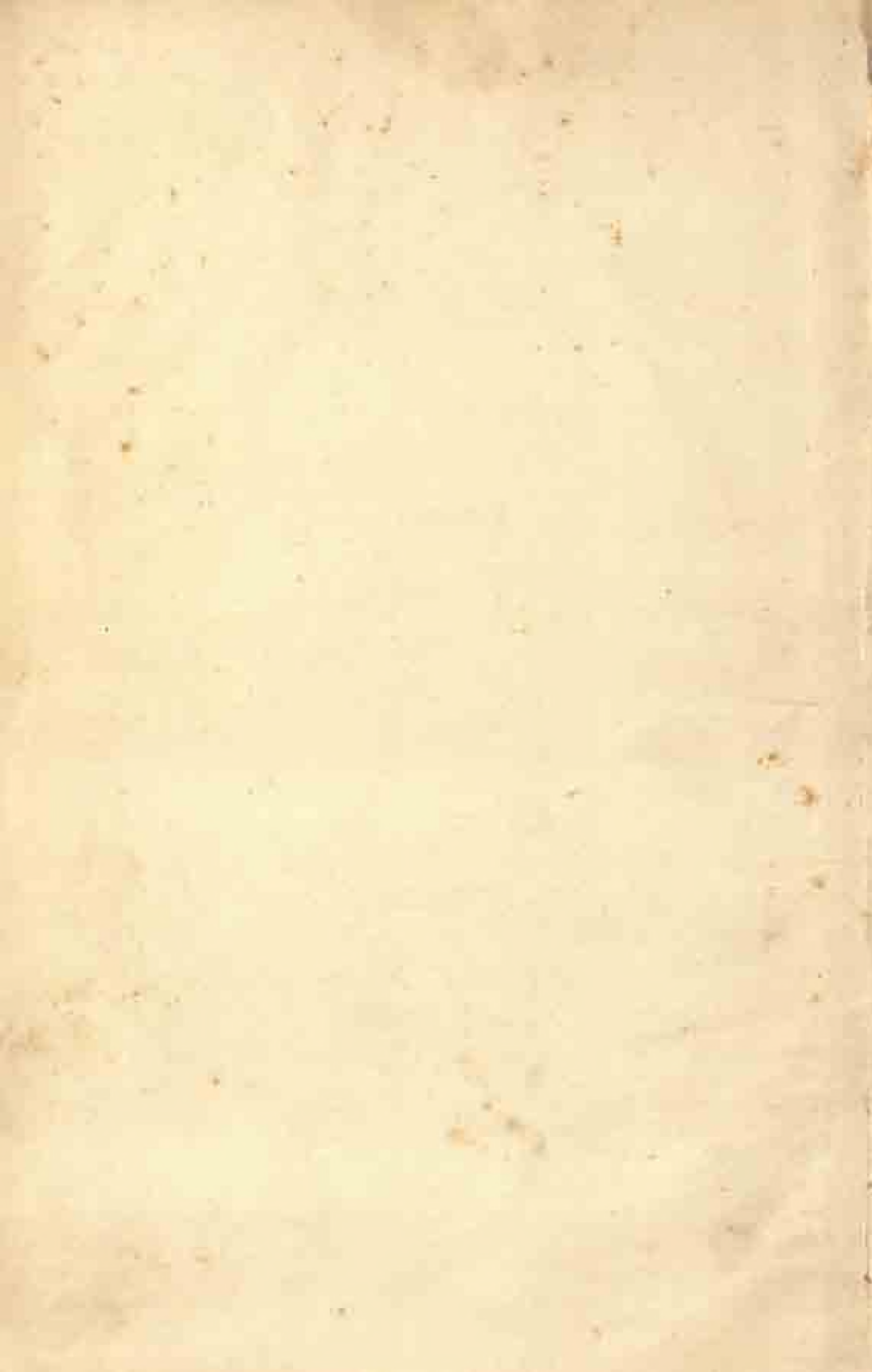














# ASIA MAJOR

EDITORES

BRUNO SCHINDLER

ET

FRIEDRICH WELLER

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# ASIA MAJOR

A Journal devoted to the Study of the Languages, Arts and Civilisations of the Far East and Central Asia      Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen, der Kunst und der Kulturen des Fernen Ostens und Zentralasiens

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

The favourable reception with which the Introductory Volume of the *Asia Major* (*Hirth Anniversary Volume*) was met encouraged the Editor to labour on in the field he had designated in the Editorial of the *Hirth Anniversary Volume*. Many a difficulty arose and seemed to obstruct the way traced; but now the track being free, the publication of such works may begin as fit into the plan of the *Asia Major*, and a quiet and steady growth of our enterprise may be expected.

In consequence thereof, the *Asia Major* is to appear from now on in 4 quarterlies which will give a volume of about 40 sheets.

A Table of Contents to the Annual Volume will be given in the last number of the year, while more detailed general Indices to the *Asia Major* are to follow.

As a novelty which we hope will find the approval of all our friends and co-workers, the *Asia Major* will devote a column or

## VORWORT DER HERAUSGEBER

Die günstige Aufnahme, welche der Probeband der *Asia Major* (*Hirth Anniversary Volume*) gefunden hat, ermutigte den Herausgeber, das Feld weiter zu bebauen, das er im Vorwort des Probebandes abgesteckt hatte. Ernste Schwierigkeiten mancherlei Art stellten sich der Weiterarbeit entgegen; doch ist die Bahn jetzt frei, und die Drucklegung von Werken, soweit sie in den Arbeitsplan der *Asia Major* fallen, kann jederzeit gewährleistet werden — eine ruhige Entwicklung steht zu erwarten. Ausdruck dieser Stetigkeit soll es sein, daß die *Asia Major* fernerhin in 4 Hefen im Jahre erscheinen wird, die zusammen einen Jahresband von beiläufig 40 Druckbogen bilden sollen. Ein Inhaltsverzeichnis wird dem Schlußheft jedes Jahresbandes beigelegt werden. Auch ist geplant, ausführliche Indices zur *Asia Major* zu veröffentlichen.

Weiterhin soll die *Asia Major* künftig unter dem Titel „*Brücke*“



two under the heading *Exchange* to the news about subjects with which the various scholars are occupied. This is to avoid the repeated treatment of the same topic, while, just in our field, an abundance of material is waiting for research. Our *Exchange* will also facilitate the coming into contact of scholars with interests going in parallel. Therefore we beg all scholars to send in their address and the subject of their research for publication in the *Exchange* of the *Asia Major*.

The Editor thanks all those who, by their work and their friendly attitude, have helped our periodical to make its way. He also informs the readers of this review that in order to master the constantly increasing amount of work, he accepted Mr. *Friedrich Weller*, Ph. D., Lecturer of Chinese at Leipzig University, as co-editor.

A special Supplement to the *Asia Major* dealing with the languages and civilisations of Arabia, Persia and Turkey will be edited by Mr. A. FISCHER, Ph. D., Prof. of Oriental Languages at Leipzig University.

Many thanks are also due to the translators of some articles, Miss *Adele Luxenberg* of Leipzig and Miss *Henrietta Gaster* of London, and to the staff of the printing-house, *Offizin W. Drugulin*, especially to

eine Abteilung enthalten, die Mitteilungen über die Arbeiten bringt, welche die einzelnen Forscher unter den Händen haben. Es soll auf diese Weise vermieden werden, daß zwei Gelehrte denselben Vorwurf gleichzeitig behandeln. Bei der Fülle des Stoffes, der aufzuarbeiten ist, glauben wir annehmen zu dürfen, daß dieser Vorschlag Zustimmung finden wird; denn er beugt einer Zersplitterung der Arbeitskräfte vor. Andererseits bietet diese „*Brücke*“ auch den einzelnen Forschern die Möglichkeit, miteinander schnell in Fühlung zu treten. Wir bitten deshalb, Namen des Forschers und Thema seiner Arbeit an die Schriftleitung einzusenden, damit diese Angaben in der *Asia Major* abgedruckt werden können.

Der Herausgeber dankt allen, welche die Zeitschrift durch ihre Mitarbeit und ihr Wohlwollen gefördert haben und teilt mit, daß er zur Bewältigung der gewachsenen Arbeit Herrn Dr. *Friedrich Weller*, Privatdozent an der Universität Leipzig, als Mitherausgeber der Zeitschrift gewonnen hat.

Zu großem Danke fühlt sich die Schriftleitung den Übersetzern einzelner Artikel, Frl. *Adele Luxenberg* (Leipzig) und Miss *Henrietta Gaster* (London), sowie der *Offizin W. Drugulin* verpflichtet, deren Leiter, Herr Prof. *Haack*, sich der Zeitschrift warm annahm. Die treue

its manager, *Professor Hadl*, who took a high interest in the best possible way of printing our periodical. The faithful work of the foreman and the printer's staff helped to overcome many a technical difficulty.

And now we send forth the first volume of the regularly appearing periodical as an invitation to every scholar in our field to co-operate with us in creating the forum where every one's opinion will be heard, if told:

*Fortiter in re, suaviter in modo.*

We finally wish to remind Authors and Readers that the Editors are responsible for the published articles only in the sense of the law.

Leipzig, January 1924.

BRUNO SCHINDLER  
FRIEDRICH WELLER

Arbeit des Faktors und der Setzer half über manche Schwierigkeit hinweg.

So lassen wir das erste der regelmäßigen Hefte als eine Einladung an die gelehrte Welt hinausgehen, mitzuarbeiten und das Haus mitzubauen, in dem jeder, der etwas zu sagen hat, seine Überzeugung frei äußern kann:

*Fortiter in re, suaviter in modo.*

Es liegt der Schriftleitung noch ob, daran zu erinnern, daß sie für alle abgedruckten Beiträge die Verantwortung nur im Sinne des Preßgesetzes übernimmt.

Leipzig, im Januar 1924.

BRUNO SCHINDLER  
FRIEDRICH WELLER





## A NOTE ON BHAVABHŪTI AND ON VĀKPATIRĀJA

By JOHANNES HERTEL

In a paper "On the Literature of the Shvetāmbaras of Gujarāt"<sup>1</sup>, p. 20, I said: "We do not, in the printed editions, read the works of Vālmiki, of Kālidāsa, of Bhavabhūti, and of most of the other celebrated Sanskrit authors, but only disfigurations of their works, in whose every passage the authenticity of the wording is more than doubtful."

In this passage, I intentionally quoted the greatest names of Indian literary history.

As to Kālidāsa, I need not expatiate here on the facts after what I have stated in my reviews of Cappeller's edition of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntala*, and of Hultsch's edition of the *Meghadūta*<sup>2</sup>.

The fact that the texts of the works of the greatest Indian classics are, to say the least, still unsettled, is not only discreditable for those who are intrusted with the care of Sanskrit literature, it is most disastrous for any research, whether literary, or linguistic, or historical, in connexion with the works of Sanskrit authors. Critical editions—I shall never tire of repeating this truth—are the very foundation stones on which the edifice of Indology has to be constructed. If these stones are rotten, the whole edifice must needs crumble to pieces.

After these preliminary remarks, may I be allowed to say a few words on the works of Bhavabhūti?

Bhavabhūti's is a very great name in Sanskrit literature. He is the Schiller of India, a Sanskrit classic if any. Let us consider what

<sup>1</sup> 1922, in Kommission bei Markert & Petters, Leipzig, Seeburgstraße 53.

<sup>2</sup> ZDMG. 64 (1910), p. 630 ff.; GGA. 1912, Nr. 7, p. 403 ff.

Asia Major, Jan. 1924.

we know of what is universally and unanimously believed to be his first work, viz. the *Mahāvīracarita*.

The printed editions of this celebrated composition have been enumerated by Sten Konow, *Das indische Drama*, § 89. Most of these editions, I regret to say, are not available to me, and there is now no possibility for a German scholar to procure for his use the texts printed in India, if these editions have not been purchased before the mundane war. The only edition, however, which I am truly sorry not to be able to consult in addition to those which I possess, is that of Madras which contains the commentary of Lakshmana Sūri.

The following remarks, therefore, are based on the editions of *Trithen* (London 1848), of *Borooah* (Calcutta 1877), and of *Aiyar, Rangachariar*, and *Parab* (Bombay 1892).

In his § 89, Konow has the following remark: "Die indische Tradition berichtet, daß Bhavabhūti selbst bloß den ersten Teil, bis zur 46. Strophe des 5. Aktes geschrieben habe. Der Schluß soll das Werk des Subrahmanya Kavi sein"; i. e.: "According to Indian tradition, Bhavabhūti would have composed only the first part down to stanza 46 of the fifth act. The conclusion is said to be the work of Subrahmanya Kavi."

Professor Konow neither gives the source of this statement, nor does he tell us, what he understands by "Indian tradition." What are the facts?

The text of the first edition, by Trithen, is based on only 3 MSS. "One of them, dated Samvat 1665, is written with more than usual care and accuracy; but it is unfortunately imperfect, and does not extend beyond the fifth act. The other, bearing the year of Vikramāditya 1857, though complete, is the hasty work of an indifferent scribe, teeming with errors of all kinds; and it was found necessary in more than one instance, in the course of the last two acts, to receive in the Text the reading of Professor Wilson's copy, now deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford".

This edition contains the *vulgata*, reprinted several times in India. Even that excellent scholar who was Anunderam Borooah, tells us that he was not able to procure any MS., when he made his own edition in 1877. He as well as Trithen corrected their respective



texts with the aid of the readings given in *alamkāra* literature. Trithen does not state in what relation "Wilson's copy," which he occasionally compared, stands to his second MS., but it must be concluded from his words that in that portion which is missing in his oldest MS., Wilson's copy, in the main, agrees with his second MS.

This second MS. is recorded in Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue Pars I, 1859, p. 136, first column, under Nr. 260. It contains all the seven acts of the play; but it is even more modern than Trithen's second MS., being written after 1820 A. D.

Trithen's first MS. is recorded in Eggeling's Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office, Part vii, B, London 1904, p. 1581, first column, under Nr. 4136 (114 c). According to Eggeling, it contains the first five acts. But the copyist expressly states that the text of the play contained in it is complete. His colophon reads as follows:

महावीरचरित आरण्यकं नाम पंचमोऽङ्कः ॥ ५ ॥ समाप्तं वेदं वीरचरितं  
नाम नाटकं कृतिः श्रीकृष्णपरनाम्नो भट्टभवभूतेः ॥ संवत् १६६५<sup>०</sup> लिखितं चतु-  
र्भुजपुस्तकं रामदाश कुरचेचि (sic!) ब्रह्मण वेदाति ॥

The last of these words are written in a mixture of Sanskrit and vernacular; their meaning appears to be that the copy was made by Rāmidās, a Brāhmaṇa of Kurukshetra who was a Vedāntin, either for a certain Caturbhuj, or else, from a MS. belonging to a certain Caturbhuj.

Under these circumstances we have to state the following facts:

1. We not only do not possess any truly critical edition of the Mahāvīracarita, but not even *any* edition giving even the scantiest various readings from *any* MS.
2. The *vulgata* of the Mahāvīracarita does not go back to any source other than Trithen's edition, which is mainly based on two MSS., an old and excellent one, dated Saṃvat 1665=1608/9 A. D., and a bad one, dated 1857=1800/1 A. D. Professor Wilson's MS., which Trithen occasionally used for the last two acts of the play, is even younger, being written after 1820 A. D.
3. The sixth and the seventh act of the play are exclusively contained in these two young MSS., and, hence, cannot be traced farther back than 1800 A. D. According to Trithen as well as to Eggeling, the oldest MS. gives the text of the play only to the end of Act v.



But in the colophon as printed by Eggeling, the copyist expressly states *that this text is complete*.

4. On the other hand, there are MSS. in which the concluding part of our play, *i. e.* all the wording from the prose following after v. 46 to the end, contains a *wholly different text*. This is clear from the important edition of Aiyar, Rangacharyar, and Parab, which gives the text of the commentator Virarāghava, adding the vulgata on pp. 209—254 without any commentary.

On p. 209, after explaining the wording of v. 46, Virarāghava has the following remark:

एतावत्वेव भवभूतेः सूक्तिः । इतः परं तु सुब्रह्मण्यनाम्नः कस्यचित्कवेर्वच इति मूल एव स्फुटीभविव्यति । अवश्यं चेत्तादीनि सुब्रह्मण्यकवेर्वचान्स्वपि प्रायशो व्याख्यास्यन्ते । *i. e.*: "To here only extends Bhavabhūti's text, and this one (v. 46) is its last stanza. That the following text has been composed by some poet whose name was Subrahmanya, this will be seen from the text itself. Though the words अवश्यं च and all the wording following after them are the composition of the poet Subrahmanya, they will be explained in full."

*Subrahmanya's text is absolutely different from that of the vulgata.* But though this text was printed as early as 1892 at Bombay, *not even one of our Histories of Indian Literature* (Macdonell 1900, Oldenberg 1903, Henry 1904, Pischel 1906, Winternitz 1922) *so much as mentions the existence of these two different conclusions of one of the most celebrated dramas of Sanskrit literature; nor does Sten Konow in his above quoted monography on the Indian drama.* Every reader must needs refer his remark on Subrahmanya to the vulgata text, and this inference, of course, is quite wrong.

Instead of concealing the existence of these two different conclusions of our play from their readers, it would, of course, have been the duty of the scholars just mentioned to explain it. Let us try to do so in their place.

The first question to be answered is this: How was it possible that Virarāghava, at v. 46, ceased to explain the genuine text of Bhavabhūti, and continued to explain that of *some* Subrahmanya?

The commentator's very wording shows that this Subrahmanya was by no means a celebrated poet, and that Virarāghava did not know anything about him. For proof of his statement, he refers the

reader to a later passage of the text which, I think, can only mean the colophon of one, or of all, of his MSS. For from the various readings which he occasionally gives in his commentary, it is clear that he used *several* MSS. of this play. He must even have had more than one MS. of Subrahmanya's text, as he gives and explains various readings of this text as well. His commentary amply proves that Virarāghava was a very accurate scholar. Would anybody, under these circumstances, go the length of assuming that, for a mere whim, he neglected the text of the celebrated poet he was commenting upon, in order to comment on the text of "some" poet whom he did not know, and who, consequently, was nothing to him? Virarāghava certainly would not have called him कश्चित्, if he had admired him. Moreover, who would have consulted his commentary, if he did not throughout comment on the genuine text? Would others have given preference to the text of this "somebody", if Virarāghava, without any reason, was guilty of such a folly?

There can be only one reason for Virarāghava's proceeding, viz., *that no complete copy of the genuine text was available to him.*

No other explication, of course, can be found for the poet Subrahmanya's proceeding. For that he did not intend to commit any forgery, this is evident from the commentator's words, who refers the reader to a future passage of the text MS. He, therefore, must have found the poet's name in the colophon of at least one of his MSS., though it does not appear in the printed text.

Nobody, I think, will imagine that Subrahmanya did his work without a *cogent* reason. It is clear from the prologue that our drama was destined to be acted in a temple on the occasion of a *yātrā*. Its continuation is the Uttarārāmacarita. Now, in the Bharatavākya, vii, 21, the poet Subrahmanya says: सोऽयं ... संदर्भो विदुषाममन्दहृदयानन्दाय संतायताम्<sup>1</sup>, i. e.: "May this ... composition, to the great joy of the hearts of the learned, be connected together".

These words clearly give the reason from which Subrahmanya did his work. संदर्भो "composition" either means "the (dramatical) composition of the Rāma Story," i. e., the Mahāvīracarita *plus* the Uttarārāmacarita, or else, the meaning of the quoted passage is:

<sup>1</sup> Evidently this second reading, given by the commentator, is the genuine one, as that given in the text and explained by the commentator in the first place, viz. संतायतां — ममहृद्योपितो भवतु, makes no good sense here.



“May this composition (the Mahāvīracarita) (now) be connected (with the other, *i. e.*, the Uttarāramacarita).”

Whether our first or our second explanation is correct, at all events the poet tells us that *he filled in a gap between the two plays of Bhavabhūti*. That he did not do so for his *personal* purposes, this is clear from his wording itself. As in vedic and in our own times, Indian poets, during the whole period of Sanskrit poetry, composed their works *in order to earn their livelihood* by them. It follows that Subrahmanya wrote by order of some patron, whether some prince or some religious community, and that in his time, and at the place he dwelt in, the genuine text of the concluding part of the play, *i. e.*, of acts vi and vii, was not available.

We, thus, have two *independent* witnesses to prove that, in two different places and at two times—since, as we saw above, Subrahmanya was known to Virarāghava only from his text MSS.—the genuine text of the Mahāvīracarita did not “extend beyond the fifth act.”

For a third, and a very important, witness of the same fact is the oldest of the MSS. used by Trithem, which, as we saw, ends with act v, though the text of this MS. is complete in itself.

The facts just stated are very astonishing, for they cannot possibly be explained by the supposition that the missing text had been lost in the course of time. Such an explication will do for, say, Aśvaghōṣa’s Buddhacarita. Buddhism, and with it the works of Buddhist writers, disappeared from the Indian soil, and the Buddhacarita has been handed down to us in a Buddhist country, in Nepal, where there has been preserved a single copy which now is incomplete.

The case is entirely different with Bhavabhūti who, as we know from Vāḍḍepati’s Gaṇḍavāḥa 799, was a celebrated poet in his lifetime, *i. e.*, about 733 A. D.<sup>1</sup> He was equally famous about 900 A. D., when Rājasekhara, alluding to Bhavabhūti’s Rāma plays, calls him an incarnation of Vālmīki.<sup>2</sup> And he never ceased to be famous; for later poets imitated him, the authors on *alaṃkāra* as well as the anthologies abundantly quoted him, and down to our own days he is considered among Indian scholars to be only second, or even equal,

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Belvalkar, HOS. 21, p. xlii, § 10.

to Kālidāsa himself. Especially the Mahāvīracarita has been abundantly used as a source by other dramatists.<sup>1</sup>

For these reasons it is clear that at all times many MSS. of this play must have existed in the centres of Sanskrit learning throughout India, whence it follows that the loss of part of the genuine text of the Mahāvīracarita was an impossibility.<sup>2</sup>

The correctness of our view is borne out by the fact that Aufrecht, in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* i, p. 443, and ii, p. 102, enumerates no less than 34 copies of this play. What multitudes must exist in the *private* libraries of the paṇḍits!

If, notwithstanding, the oldest known MS. does not contain the last two acts, and if neither the poet Subrahmanya and his patron or patrons, nor the commentator Vīrarāghava, knew anything of a genuine text of this portion of the play, the conclusion seems to be unavoidable that *the vulgata text as given by Trithem and reprinted in India is as spurious as the text of Subrahmanya. Up to the present, we have no testimony of this text going back farther than 1800 A. D.*

In this connexion, a remark of Belvalkar, l. c. p. xvii, § 31, last alinea, is interesting. He says: "The poet may also be charged with some inconsistencies of statement: cp. vii. 16<sup>2</sup> with v. 38<sup>2</sup>." It will be seen that the *only* inconsistency quoted by Belvalkar is between a passage of the *genuine text*, and one of the *vulgata text of act vii*. This is another corroboration of our view that this text as well as Subrahmanya's is a continuation of the Mahāvīracarita written by some other poet for the same reason as that which caused Subrahmanya to write his own supplement.

A further corroboration of the correctness of our view will be found in the following fact. As Borooah, l. c. § 4, has shown, Bhavabhūti, like other Sanskrit classics, quotes or imitates himself in different passages of his works. I give here, from Borooah's list, the parallel passages of the Mahāvīracarita, not altering the numbering of the stanzas as given by Borooah, though editions other than those used by him show some slight deviations in this respect.

<sup>1</sup> See Borooah, Bhavabhūti and his place in Sanskrit Literature, § 38.

<sup>2</sup> Partly for the same reasons, it is an impossibility that e. g. Duggin's *Dakṣināmācarita* was ever completed. The note of Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* iii, p. 649, addendum to p. 338, does not duly take into consideration what has been said in my "Indische Erzähler" (Leipzig Haessel, 1922) vol. iii, p. 46.



i, 14cd = U. iv, 9cd.	ii, 45 ab = Mā. v, 9ab.	v, 13 = U. ii, 15
i, 18 = U. iv, 19.	ii, 46ab = U. vi, 21 ab.	v, 40 = U. ii, 20.
i, 19cd = U. i, 16cd.	iii, 29 = U. iv, 28.	v, 41 = U. ii, 21 = Mā. ix, 6.
i, 42 = U. i, 15; vi, 15.	iv, 27 ab = U. i, 13 ab.	v, 42c = Mā. ix, 23c.
i, 57abc = U. i, 17 abc.	iv, 33 = U. i, 8.	v, 42d = U. i, 33b = Mā. ix, 23d
ii, 41 = U. vi, 9	iv, 52 abd = U. i, 22 abd.	v, 54b = Mā. ix, 3b

It will be seen that there is *not a single quotation from the sixth and from the seventh act*, though all the other acts are quoted. This goes far to prove that the last two acts, as given in the vulgata, are not Bhavabhūti's work.

On the other hand, we have a quotation of v, 54 b. This circumstance together with the testimony of the oldest MS. shows that Subrahmanya altered even the genuine text after v, 46, whereas *in the vulgata Bhavabhūti's own text has been preserved to the end of act I.*

We shall not now be astonished at another inconsistency of the vulgata text. It will be seen from Trithen's edition, pp. 20, 38, 51, 72, 94, 117, and 137 (cp. ed. Aiyar, p. 215, p. 236, and p. 254) that every one of the first five acts bears an individual title. The first act is called कौमारः, the second परमुरामसंवादः, the third संसृष्टः, the fourth चारित्र्यम्, the fifth आरम्भम्, whereas no such title has been given to the sixth and to the seventh act.

The results we have arrived at in the foregoing lines would only be invalidated by the *proof* that the text of the vulgata in the two last acts contains Bhavabhūti's genuine wording. Such a proof, however, could only be given by a truly critical edition, the text of which must be based *on the pedigree* of all the available MSS. If in such an edition the history of the text *evidently* shows that indeed, at one time, there was left, in some part of India, a single incomplete MS. to which all the copies represented by Trithen's oldest MS., by Subrahmanya's text, and by the MSS. commented upon by Virarāghava, go back, whereas in some other part of India a complete MS. survived, to which Trithen's copy of 1800/1 and Wilson's even younger copy go back, then, indeed, we have been wrong in our conclusions. But as it is utterly improbable that such a proof can ever

be given, we may draw further conclusions from what has been said above.

If the vulgata text of acts vi and vii is as spurious as that of Subrahmanya, then *the very foundation of the hitherto unanimously accepted chronology of Bhavabhūti's works must needs collapse*. For in that case, Bhavabhūti, like so many other Indian authors, would have left his Mahāvīracarita unfinished; cp. my "Indische Erzähler", vol. iii, p. 46 ff. Then, however, it is not at all likely that the Mahāvīracarita was the first of Bhavabhūti's plays: on the contrary, *it must have been the last of his Rāma plays, and very probably it was the last of all his dramas*.

To this view the remark, of course, would be no objection that the purport of the Uttararāmacarita is a continuation of that of the Mahāvīracarita. The public before which Bhavabhūti's plays were acted, was thoroughly versed in Rāma's history, in which the events represented in the Uttararāmacarita form a unit. We know, moreover, that Bhāsa, too, treated in plays which are independent of one another, the subjects contained in the epics.

That the author of the Mahāvīracarita was not a mere beginner, this is evident from stanza 4 of the *prastāvanā*, in which he calls himself वञ्चवाच. Such boasting would scarcely have been ventured by a young and unknown poet. But the strongest proof of the Mahāvīracarita being the work of an already renowned poet lies in the following prose section, in which he is told to bear the title of Śrīkaṇṭha. Bṛhooah, l. c. § 54, calls this "a title, so far as I know, not shared by anybody else."

We can well understand that after the Uttararāmacarita Bhavabhūti's patron Yaśovarman ordered him to execute the by far more difficult task of dramatizing the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa. But it would be incomprehensible that, instead of finishing the Mahāvīracarita, the poet should have written the Uttararāmacarita, if, indeed, the former was his first play. To me, at least, this seems to be an impossibility.

We know from Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī iv. 144, that Vākpatisrāja and Bhavabhūti lived at the court of Kanauj in the service of King Yaśovarman, when the latter was subdued by Lalitāditya of Kashmere. This statement is corroborated by a well-known stanza of Vākpatisrāja's Gaudāvaha. Stanzas 799 f. of this poem run as follows:



भवभूजजलहिमिमयकवामचरसकणा इव फुरन्ति ।  
 जस्म विसेसा अज्जवि विचडेसु कहागिवेसेसु ॥ ७९९ ॥  
 भासम्मि जलममिति कन्तीदेवे अ जस्म रज्जुआरे ।  
 सोबन्धवे अ बन्धम्मि हारियन्दे अ आगान्दो ॥ ८०० ॥

I translate these stanzas as follows:

799. "(Vākpati) in the vast palaces (pun: copies) of whose narratives (*i. e.* epics) even now excellences (*i. e.* beauties) are sparkling, like drops of the amṛta liquid (pun: enlivening sentiments) of the poetry (= poetical art, *and* inspiration) which have come out of the Ocean (called) Bhavabhūti,  
 800. and who delights in Bhāsa, the friend of Fire, and in Kāntideva, and in the author of the Raghuvansa, and in the works of Subandhu, and of Haricandra."

Vākpati's poems here are compared to large palaces, as they are inhabited by many persons and contain many matters, and the word निवेश evidently is meant as a pun implying at the same time the sense of *copies*<sup>1</sup>. As palaces situated on the sea-shore are sprinkled by the water of the Ocean, the drops on their walls glittering in the sun, so the copies of Vākpati's poems are sprinkled by the amṛta drops of the poetical art or inspiration, which comes from the Ocean Bhavabhūti. (The poet evidently does not think here of the churning of the ocean, but compares Bhavabhūti himself to an ocean of amṛta.) And this takes place *even now*, whereas the poet can only delight in the works of the authors enumerated in stanza 800, since these authors belong to the past.<sup>2</sup>

If the word अज्जवि "even now" has any meaning here, it can only be understood as marking a difference between Bhavabhūti and the poets whose names are given in stanza 800. It follows that *Bhavabhūti was still living and advising Vākpati when the latter was composing his Gaṇḍavaha, and Kallhaya's statement is corroborated by that of Vākpati himself.*

<sup>1</sup> Traces of these copies, evidently the rough draughts of the *body* of Vākpati's epic, are to be found in quotations by Prākṛit grammarians. Cp. Grierson in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, (extract) p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that my own explanation of these two stanzas widely differs from S. P. Pargola's in his edition of the Gaṇḍavaha, p. 14 v ff., and from Belvalkar's, IOS. 21, p. xiv f., § 13.

Professor Winternitz thinks that Bhavabhūti's plays are mere "book-plays", *i. e.* dramas which were not intended to be acted on the stage, but only to be read. In his "Geschichte der indischen Litteratur", vol. iii, p. 232, he says: "Daß seine Dichtungen mehr Lesedramen als Bühnenwerke sind, beweisen schon die langen Komposita in den Prosareden"; and *ibidem*, p. 237: "So dramatisch aber auch viele Szenen des Mālatīmādhava sind, so ist doch auch dieses Werk des Bhavabhūti nur ein Buchdrama. Denn es ist kaum denkbar, daß ein Publikum, das nicht aus lauter hervorragenden Kennern des Sanskrit bestanden hat, jemals hätte das Werk beim bloßen Hören verstehen können."

The mere idea that such "book-dramas" ever existed in ancient India, seems to me quite inadmissible. For in India, even epics and romances were not composed to be studied with the *eye*, but to be enjoyed with the *ear*. We do not know anything about a book-trade in ancient India. Sanskrit, as I have shown elsewhere, was a living language down to even recent times, and the anecdotes contained in books like the Prabandhacintāmaṇi and the Bhojaprabandha, if we had no other evidence, would suffice to show that the society at the courts of the Hindu rulers, which were the centres of classical Sanskrit and of its literature, was learned enough to understand and to compose instantaneously the most artificial and the most intricate stanzas. These poets and their public possessed a command of the Sanskrit language which, indeed, was marvellous. So artificial a romance as Soddhala's Udayasundarikathā (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. xi, Baroda 1920) was composed within a few days, and read *before*, not *by*, Mummuniṇīja (first half of the 11th century). Still the style of this romance is by far more artificial than that of the Mālatīmādhava, and its text abounds in long sentences, and the sentences are crowded with long compounds.

Yaśovarman's courtiers, then, were sure to understand Bhavabhūti's works when the latter were represented on the stage. But we may even assume that these dramas were acted before a public of which only a part fully understood their wording. "Crowds of all classes, from ignorant cultivators to princes, attend the performance of Sanskrit plays to-day, but they do not go with the primary object of hearing what the characters say. They go, as our opera audiences go, to see a story with which they are familiar reproduced on the



stage, and to hear the music and the singing. The actual spoken words are of minor importance. Even in modern plays in which the songs are written in the vernacular, as is sometimes the case, the audience cannot follow the words of the singer unless they know them beforehand. I can vouch this from personal experience." (G. A. Grierson, JRAS 1904, p. 473.) "I can myself vouch for the absorbed attention with which uneducated villagers will listen to recitals of the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, and to the representations of Sanskrit plays, — pleased by the sonorousness of the language, and satisfied with only the vague idea of what it all means which is supplied by their general acquaintance with the outlines of the topics." (Fleet, *ib.*, p. 482.)

Especially in the case of Bhavabhūti's plays there cannot be the least doubt that they were composed in order to be represented on the stage. For the *prastāvanās* of the *Mālatīmādhava*, of the *Uttararāmacarita*, and of the *Mahāvīracarita* *do contain, all of them, the explicit statement that the respective dramas were to be performed before an audience of pilgrims in the temple of Kālapriyanātha.*

Cp. *Mālatīmādhava*: सारिष सुविहितानि रङ्गमङ्गलानि संनिपतितश्च भगवतः कालप्रियनाथस्य यावाप्रसङ्गेन ज्ञानादिगन्तवास्यो जनः ॥ *Uttararāmacarita*: अथ खलु भगवतः कालप्रियनाथस्य यावायामार्यमिश्रान्विज्ञापयामि ॥ *Mahāvīracarita*: अथ खलु भगवतः कालप्रियनाथस्य यावायामार्यमिश्राः समादिशन्ति.

Thus the theory of Professor Winternitz is utterly untenable. All of Bhavabhūti's plays were written to be represented *in one and the same temple.*

It follows that *all of them must have been composed in Kanauj.* Under these circumstances, it can scarcely be due to a mere chance that two works of the two most celebrated court poets of Yaśovarman were not finished.

If S. P. Pandit's assumption is correct who thinks that Vākpati did not finish his huge poem because his patron was deprived of his throne—and I cannot see any objection to the probability of this opinion—, then the same will be true in the case of Bhavabhūti. No doubt the title of Śrīkaṇṭha had been conferred on the poet by his patron, and no doubt but that he wrote in the pay and by order of Yaśovarman. After the ruin of this king, Bhavabhūti will have had no occasion to complete his *Mahāvīracarita*, as this work was destined

for a *special* festival in a *special* temple. Who knows if the temple of Kālapriyanātha, who evidently was Yaśovarmā's family deity, was not destroyed when Kanauj was taken by the enemy?

*The date of the Mahāvīracarita, then, would be some years after 733 A.D., whereas the two other plays of Bhavabhūti which we still possess must have been composed before this drama.*

Objections based on the poet's technic and on his style might perhaps be made. But such objections would not prove anything. The purports of the Mālatīmādhava and of the two Rāma plays are too different not to influence the technic. The poet, no doubt, had to face the *greatest* difficulties in composing the Mahāvīracarita, and he was not at liberty to alter any incident of the Rāma story which he would have liked to alter from merely literary reasons. Let us not forget that in his Rāma plays the poet had to deal with a *religious* topic.

The style, of course, is also influenced by the subject treated by the poet. It must needs be different in a *mysterium* and in a *comedy*. But the time of treating of Bhavabhūti's style will have come, when all his plays will lie before us in truly critical editions. As matters stand, we do not even know what is Bhavabhūti's property in the Mālatīmādhava; see Belvalkar, l. c. p. xli f., § 9. The same scholar, according to Winternitz, Geschichte der Ind. Litt. iii, p. 646, Addendum to p. 232, has shown in JAOS. 34, 1915, p. 428 ff., that there are two recensions of the Uttararāmacarita. The volume quoted is not available to me, but I may add that the Mālatīmādhava texts, as represented by the commentaries of Tripurāri and of Jagaddhara, show very remarkable differences from one another. The hitherto published texts of Bhavabhūti's plays, then, are no materials on which an inquiry into the poet's style can possibly be based.

From HOS., vol. 21, it appears that Mr. Shripad Krishna Belvalkar is an accurate and learned critic. Let us hope that he will give us, in due time, the truly critical editions of Bhavabhūti's plays which will settle the questions treated in this paper.

The results we hope we have arrived at in the foregoing lines would partly be invalidated, if Hermann Jacobi were right in his criticisms, Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 1888, Nr. 2, p. 61 ff. Against the view expressed by Shankar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit in the Introduction to his edition of the Gaṇḍavaha Jacobi maintains that the poem, as



we have it, *is only an abstract of the poet's original production*; and Winternitz, op. laud. p. 84, vol. iii, subscribes to this eminent scholar's opinion.

As the topic under discussion is of a considerable importance, we may be allowed to examine the facts, and to draw our own conclusions from this examination.

The purport of the Gaudāvaha has been given by its editor on pp. xivff. of his "Introduction."

The poem opens with 61 stanzas containig "a long series of invocations in honour of various deities or ideas... Then follow thirty-six couplets about poets generally, their excellences, defects, aspirations and disappointments," about critics, and about the Prākṛit language (down to st. 98).

Then the narrative sets in with an eulogy of King Yaśovarman. Various subjects are treated in this connexion: *e. g.*, the story of Indra defeating the mountains, which is even twice inserted (113ff. and 212ff.), that of the *pralayas* (167ff.), that of the immolation of the serpents by Janamejaya (472ff.), that of the churning of the Milk Ocean (1016ff.), and some others. But these mythological stories are mere episodes; the main purport of the narrative is a survey of Yaśovarman's warlike expeditions and a picture of his private life. The *jalakriḍā* of Yaśovarman's courtiers in the ponds of his vanquished enemies is described (161ff.), the state of the widows of the latter is depicted, and after this a description of his campaigns is given, which forms the subject of stanzas 192 to 796. The flight of the king of Magadha, *i. e.* of the Gauḍa, is mentioned at 354, the battle in which he and his vassals were vanquished, is very shortly described in stanzas 414—416, one of which, *viz.* 416, is devoted to the statement that the drums of the gods were heard, and that a rain of flowers poured down on the victorious army. Yaśovarman "devoured" (कवलिक्ता) the flying king of Magadha.

Then we are told how Yaśovarman conquered the king of the Vāṅgas, how he accepted the submission of the king of the Deccān, and how he subdued the Pārasikas. He levied tribute "in those regions also which were made inaccessible by the western mountains (the Ghauts)". Thereupon Yaśovarman marched to the banks of the Narmadā, to Mārvād, to Thānesar, to Ayodhyā, received the submission

of the people living on the Mandara mountains, and turned to the north, marching towards the Himālaya.

Yaśovarman returned to his capital and dismissed his vassals. His bards sang his praise, he made love to the inmates of his serail and to other young women, and retired to a summer retreat outside the city (down to st. 796).

After this description of the hero and of his *digvijaya*, the poet gives a personal account of himself. He tells us that the connoisseurs wished him to give them a *full* account of how the king of Magadha was slain by Yaśovarman (इद्य उक्तएण इमिणा ब्रह्म सिद्धविज्जो पुरा मगहणाहो । तह सीमन्तं एह तुमाञ्चो सीमिसमिच्छन्ति), and the rest of the poem 365 stanzas out of a total number of 1209, is devoted to the vilest flatteries addressed to the ruler, to the poet's promise, and to his preparations for singing his lord's praise. Even the gods assemble, and the whole of Nature prepares to listen to the narrative celebrating the ruler's exploits.

From this rapid survey it is evident that the topics treated in the *Gāṇḍavaha* have been well arranged by the poet. In that part which treats of Yaśovarman's *digvijaya*, the order of the facts related is strictly chronological. This part itself is inserted between two other parts, the first of which contains the usual invocations, whereas the second contains the author's account of himself; and after this, there follows a fourth part describing the preparations of the author to tell, and those of the men, and of the gods, and of the whole of Nature, to listen to the *detailed* description of the defeat inflicted upon the Gauda king by Yaśovarman, and of the former's death.

*In the whole of the Gāṇḍavaha, as we have it, there is, as far as I can see, no gap anywhere.* The topics treated in this poem not only are well arranged, they are also well connected with one another.

On the other hand, there are some points which strike the reader. First of all, it is a remarkable fact that, in contradiction to the title of the work, the defeat inflicted on the Gauda, and his death, are just mentioned, but not described at any length, or with any particulars. We do not even learn his name from the poet's composition. The accounts of the other historical facts mentioned in the poem are equally scanty. By far the greater part of the description of the *digvijaya* contains pictures of scenery and mythological stories, destined to show that the monster Yaśovarman—for such he was—is an



incarnation of the gods. Flattery of the vilest and grossest kind, most repulsive to the modern European mind, is the main subject of the poem. The statement of the Yaśastilaka, viz. that the poet was "thrown into prison by Yaśovarman and there . . . . composed his poem" (see Peterson's edition of Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣṭāvalī, p. 115), possibly, is well founded. As Peterson shows, "Vākpatirāja was a prince as well as a poet," and evidently was forced to sing the tyrant's praise, and Yaśovarman who, also, was a poet (see Peterson, l. c. p. 95 f., Thomas, Kavīndravacanāsamuccaya, p. 75 f.), was later reduced to the same condition at the court of his victorious enemy Lalitāditya of Kashmere, as we learn from Kalhaṇa iv, 144.

The second point which strikes the reader of the Gaudāvaha is the great length of the invocations at the beginning, and the enormous extent of the poet's account of his preparations for singing *in detail* the "destruction of the Gauda king." This, as well as the pompous manner in which the treatment of the main topic is announced, clearly shows that Vākpati intended to compose an epic work of quite an enormous bulk. Any possible doubts concerning this fact are destroyed by the poet's authentic words, in his stanza 799, quoted above, p. 10.

I am under the impression that Vākpati was ordered to compose, for Yaśovarman's glorification, a *second Bṛhatkatha*. Hence the choice of a *Prakrit* language for its composition, and hence the title of *Kathāpīṭha* which, as we shall see hereafter, is the proper title of the poem as we have it.

From these and similar considerations I only can conclude with Shaṅkar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit that *the Gaudāvaha*, as we have it, *is only the introduction to the poem itself, and that this poem was never completed.*

Against such a conclusion, *Jacobi* raises the following objections:

1. If Mr. Paṇḍit were right, the Gaudāvaha would be quite a unique work in the whole of Indian literature. The Introduction is usually an integrant part of a work, sharing its divisions into *sargas*, *āśvāsas*, &c. The Gaudāvaha, as we have it, however, is too bulky to form a single *āśvāsa*.
2. Why did the poet incorporate those parts of his work which, according to Indian notions, are the most valuable and most poetical ones, in his Introduction, instead of introducing them into the body of his work?

3. These difficulties would disappear under the assumption that the *Gauḍavaha*, as it has been handed down to us, is a mere abstract of the original poem, "from which all those parts were omitted which were only connected with the *historical* events, and, hence, could not be of any general, or permanent, interest. Only thus it seemed possible to save at least the pearls of Vākpati's poetry."
4. "As an abstract of the original poem, the *Gauḍavaha*, of course, lost its external divisions into *āśvāsas*, but retained the internal arrangement of its matters ('die innere Gliederung des Stoffs'). The single parts of the original work are perfectly recognisable, viz. (1) the Introduction, consisting of *maṅgala* and praise of poetry; (2) the story promised in the title of the poem. Of this story mainly the pictures of scenery, &c. have been preserved, but besides them features enough to show the general course of events. (In this second part, the internal arrangement of the matters, too, is distinctly recognisable; viz. (a) Praise of Yaśovarman, (b) his campaigns (c) his amusements after his victory.); (3) the poet's personal history forms the conclusion of the poem.

The same arrangement of matters is to be observed in Bilhaṇa's, Vikramāṅkadevacarita, and appears to have been the usual one in historical poetry."

5. These assumptions would account for the fact that the number of stanzas, in the different MSS., widely differs. The commentator's recension and MS. J, which represents it, contains 1102 stanzas, whereas the sum of all the additional stanzas contained in the other MSS. is 133, i. e., more than 1/9 of the total sum. The single MSS. differ in the number and in the arrangement of these additional stanzas. Hence, Jacobi concludes that several copyists of the abstract inserted into it such stanzas of the original work which they were pleased with, or such which for some other reason, they wished to preserve. Such an enlarged edition was the archetype of MSS. K. P. De.
6. All these assumptions are corroborated by the title of the commentary, which reads thus: *Haripala-viracita-Gauḍavaha-sara-ṭīkā*. Cp. *Paṇḍit*, p. vii.
7. Śaṅkar Paṇḍurang Paṇḍit argues that the concluding stanza 1207 clearly shows that the body of Vākpati's poem was to come after it. This stanza runs as follows:



तस्मै इमे पावर्णं बहिर्णवं च चित्तं च विम्हयकरं च ।

सीमद चरिचं अचरमं गराहिवदणो गिसामेह ॥

To this argument, Jacobi rightly objects that MSS. Dc and P contain the following additional stanza:

कइरायलक्षणस्तव वप्पइरायस्त गउडवहं ।

नामेण कहावीढं रदयंचिय तह समत्तं च ॥

Correcting in the first line श्व to श्वि, and गउडवहं to गउडवहो, he translates this stanza as follows: "des Kaviṛāja betitelten Vāk-patirāja's Gauḍavādha. genannter Prolog wurde gemacht und so auch vollendet." As in this case the कथापीठ would be declared to be the poem itself, Jacobi thinks that this stanza has been contaminated from two half-stanzas in order to have a conclusion to the poem formed of words of the poet himself. "If this be true—he says—we need not correct the text of this stanza as it has been handed down to us. Gauḍavāham may have been, as an accusative case, the object of a verb which was contained in a preceding line which has been lost. At all events, it is certain that after stanza 1209 some other stanzas followed which concluded the poem. Hence it is by no means necessary that originally the proper story of Yaśovarman was narrated after stanza 1209."

I really do not think that Jacobi would to-day subscribe to all these arguments which he wrote in 1888. But as Winternitz does without discussing them, and as the conclusions drawn from these arguments are highly important for literary history, and especially for that part of it we are concerned with in this paper, I cannot forbear discussing them in connexion with what has been said above on Bhavabhūti.

*The essential point which, indeed, settles the whole question, is that treated under 7. Let us begin with it our discussion.*

First of all, it is a fact that in most Sanskrit MSS. the concluding stanzas of the poets are omitted by the copyists. If they are preserved in a MS., they at once point to the fact that this MS. deserves special attention.

Now I ask: If the Gauḍavāha be indeed what Jacobi thinks it to be, i. e. a mere abstract of the original work, an abstract from which the main portions were omitted, viz. the account of Yaśovarman's campaign against the Gauḍa king, which the author so pom-

pously promises to treat *in detail*, how could the person who made this abstract, which in reality destroyed the essential part of the poet's work, lay such a stress on concluding his abstract with the poet's *authentic* statement that it was concluded?

But if he did, *how was it possible that he did not simply copy the genuine concluding stanza, but replaced it by a contamination of a line of this stanza, and of a line of a stanza from the end of the Introduction, the result of this contamination being a stanza which was unintelligible?* Everybody, I trust, will see that such a proceeding on the part of the author of the supposed abstract is an *absolute impossibility*.

Hence the stanza discussed by Jacobi cannot, possibly, have been composed in the manner assumed by him; it must be taken, in the wording which we read in the MSS., as the authentic production of the poet himself. A correction of गडडवहं to गडडवहो is, of course, out of place. For such titles are properly adjectives, the substantives denoting the literary species of the poetical production, being mentally supplied. In our case, the substantive to be supplied is महाकाव्यम्, and the genuine title of the poem is not Gaiḍavaho, as Sh. P. Paṇḍit wrongly prints on the title page, but Gaiḍavaham. See the colophon of MS. P, ed., p. ii. and in general my remarks, ZDMG. lix, p. 1, note 1.

This is the reason why in MS. De (for in P only गडड has been preserved) the wrong reading *vaham* has crept into the wording of the stanza. The genuine reading must, of course, be *Gaiḍavaham*, and the correct translation of the couplet is this: "In the (mahākāvya) entitled *Gaiḍavaham*, by Vākpatorāja, whose title is "King of the poets," this is the Introduction (कथापीठम्), composed and finished (by him)."

This absolutely necessary correction ceases to be a conjecture by the testimony of MS. K, the colophon of which Jacobi has overlooked. On p. iv, the editor gives the concluding words of this MS. Their beginning runs as follows: कदरायनं कलसं वप्पदरायसं गडडवहं । गहावीडं समत्तं ।

Here, the second line of the stanza has been sadly mangled and corrupted, no doubt because the last leaf of the original from which K was copied, had been injured, and with it the text of its last line. Cp. the state of the stanza in P. But, fortunately, the first line



of the stanza has been preserved in its authentic wording. Only \*वि before वप्पद्\* has been dropped.

K is an excellent palm-leaf MS., dated Samvat 1289. Dc is not dated; but to judge from its general appearance, from the form of its script, and from its habit of expressing numerals by letters, it is even older than K. P is dated Samvat 1286.

*Hence it is absolutely, and beyond any shadow of a possible doubt, established by the poet's own authentic wording that the Gaṇḍavaha, as we have it, is only the Introduction (कथापीठम्) to the poem which he intended to write.*

All of Jacobi's other objections to this view are now easily disposed of.

Ad 1. The text of the Gaṇḍavaha forms the kathāpīṭha. How can we say that it is too bulky to form a single āśvāsa? The poet himself tells us, in the stanza quoted above, p. 10, that the MSS. (plural!) of his kathā were विचट्ट "huge," "immense." There cannot possibly be, I suppose, any doubt about the signification of विकट. And if there were, it would be removed by the pompous and very long announcement of the body of Vākpati's work. See above, p. 15.

Ad 2. Whence do we know that the poet did *not* intend to insert similar descriptions in the body of his work?

Ad 3. Such an abstract as Jacobi supposes our Gaṇḍavaha to be, would be, as far as I know, quite a unique production in Indian literature. If, indeed, later poets did not take any interest in historical events, why is it that works like the Harṣacarita and the Rājataran-giṇī with its supplements, and even such booklets as the Kṣitīśavag-ṣāvalī, have been handed down to us? And why is it that this self-same man who, according to Jacobi, took so little interest in Yaśo-varman's person that he omitted the whole account of his campaigns, nevertheless showed so much interest in the same ruler's person that he carefully preserved all the long, and tedious, and vile, and repulsive flatteries which the poet bestows on him throughout the whole of the text? Poetical skill, moreover, may be shown in the descriptions of battles as well as in those of sceneries, and as all the classical poets were *court* poets and had, *ex officio*, to celebrate their lords' warlike achievements, they had, methinks, reasons enough *not* to neglect the study of descriptions of campaigns and of battles which had been given by celebrated poets.

Ad 4. Jacobi himself lays special stress on the fact that the internal arrangement of the events related has been preserved in our text of the *Gauḍavaha*. If this is granted, how is it possible that the very long announcement of the main story has been placed *at the end* of the poem instead of *at its beginning*? And how is it possible that *this* part of the poem has been preserved by a compiler who is supposed to have eliminated all those parts which were considered by the poet himself to be the most essential portion of his composition?

Ad 5. Spurious stanzas, as every scholar knows who has to deal with many MSS. of a single work, abound in the different copies. In Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, the difference between the shortest and the most comprehensive texts is 13 out of 125 stanzas. As to Jacobi's assumption that the scribes embodied genuine stanzas of the original text in the abstract they were copying, I cannot see anything more improbable. For such a proceeding on their part would presuppose, first, the existence of *many* copies of the full original work in their time, and secondly, a *very intense interest* they took in, and a *very accurate knowledge* they possessed of, this complete original. Such being the case, what probability is there that they did not copy this highly valued work, but in preference of it a scanty abstract from it?

Ad 6. The *ṭikā* is contained in MS. J. only. The editor had at his disposal not the original, but only a very bad copy of it. Thus we have no guaranty that the colophon of the commentary is the same in the copy as in the original MS. But even if this be the case, I cannot find that the commentator's *सार* makes any difficulty. He, of course, was aware of the fact that he was not commenting on the *detailed* account of Yaśovarman's *digvijaya*. But as the *kathā-piṭha* gives a brief sketch of it, it is *substantially* an abstract (*सार*) of it.

To all these considerations, we may add that *nowhere in our text of the Gauḍavaha does there seem to be any gap*. The historical events are mentioned in a very summary manner, in the way of a general survey of the facts which the poet intended to treat *in detail* (see his stanza 844 quoted above, p. 15) in the body of his work; but all the stanzas treating these facts are well connected with one another, and it is impossible for me to see how the huge portions of the narrative which Jacobi supposes to have been omitted could be inserted into the text as we have it.



Thus I do not doubt but that, in these exceptionally old MSS., the text of the Gauḍavāha has been handed down to us, on the whole, as its author wrote it; that there are no gaps in the text; that this text, as its last stanza declares, is only the kathāpīṭha, or Introduction; and that its author never executed his intention of composing the huge work which was to be the real Gauḍavāha.

Let us now consider the chronological inferences to be drawn from these facts.

On page 67, Jacobi quotes stanza 832 of the Gauḍavāha which reads thus:

इय तद्या खलनिवृद्धियणिययपयमङ्गमङ्गरावङ्गे ।

आए इमस्मि भुयणेषु दारुणा आनि उप्पाया ॥

*i. e.*, "Such terrible portenta then arrived in the worlds, when the king, having by a side-look restrained in a moment his vassals' transgression of their rank, set out (on his digvijaya)."

The passage in which this stanza occurs is destined to show that Yaśovarman was an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, and, hence, the lord of the worlds. The portenta enumerated in stanzas 827 ff. did not occur in *his* territory, but in the territories of *his enemies* and of *such of his vassals who were not at once willing to follow him in his expedition*. This is the explanation which the commentary gives of the passage in question, and I am at a loss to see, how Jacobi's translation of **णिययपयमङ्ग** could possibly fit the context. Jacobi translates: "Solche schreckliche Zeichen geschahen damals, als der König, zeitweilig in seiner Stellung erschüttert, mit zuckenden Augenwinkeln (zum Kampfe) auszog." But **मङ्गरावङ्गे** does not mean "mit zuckenden Augenwinkeln," and **निवृद्धियणिययपयमङ्ग** cannot signify "zeitweilig in seiner Stellung erschüttert." Even if this meaning could be forced upon the wording of the original, it would be impossible *here*. For firstly, such a mention of a heavy danger which the ruler had just escaped would make an *amāṅgalam*, *i. e.* a thing which Hindu poets are most careful to avoid; and secondly, how can a king set out on a digvijaya immediately after having experienced a serious menace to his royal position? Jacobi thinks that this transitory "Erschütterung" was the defeat inflicted upon him by Lalitāditya of Kashmere. This, at all events, seems quite impossible to me. For first, after such a defeat his *digvijaya* would simply have been an impossibility, and secondly,

the wording of Kalhapa's stanza quoted above, p. 9, shows that this defeat was not a transitory, but a definitive one. Through it Yaśovarman was reduced to the state of a panegyrist at his victorious enemy's court, *i. e.*, to the same position which his prisoner, prince Vākpati, had at his own court before Lalitāditya's victory.

If, therefore, the eclipses of the sun and of the moon mentioned in the passage under consideration really occurred, they must have done so before, or on, Yaśovarman's departure for his digvijaya as well as before his defeat at the hands of Lalitāditya. Jacobi thinks this interpretation of the passage to be impossible on the ground that, at *this* moment, according to stanzas 193—201, only auspicious omens occurred. But it is clear from the whole context of stanzas 827 ff., that the portents mentioned there occurred merely as the consequences of Yaśovarman's side-looks, and were not directed against him, but against his enemies and those vassals of his, who, for a moment, hesitated to join his army.

If, therefore, Vākpati hint at the eclipses of the moon and of the sun which, according to Jacobi, took place on August 14<sup>th</sup>, 733 A. D., this would be *not the date of Lalitāditya's victory, but that of Yaśovarman's departure for his digvijaya.*

As this event must have occurred several years before Lalitāditya subdued Yaśovarman, the date of Bhavabhūti's Mahāvīracarita as well as that of Vākpatirāja's Gaudayaha will, probably, be some years later than 733 A. D. This approximate date is in accordance with the fact that "la défaite de Yaśovarman par Mukṭāpiḍa (*i. e.* Lalitāditya) se place donc entre l'an 736 et l'an 747, plus près de la première de ces deux dates vraisemblablement".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lévi and Chavannes, JA. 1895, p. 353. Cp. Sir Aurel Stein's note on Kalhapa iv, 134.



## ALTTURKESTANISCHE VOLKSPoesie II

Von C. BROCKELMANN

### VII. Liebespoesie.

Die in dieser Rubrik vereinigten Stücke sind durchweg Vierzeiler zu je sieben Silben. Sie mögen zumeist von Hause selbständig gewesen sein so gut wie die gleichgebauten Manis der osmanischen Volkspoesie (s. z. B. Kúnos, *Oszmán-török népköltési gyűjtemény* II, Budapest 1889, S. 181 ff). Doch ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, daß mehrere solcher Strophen ein durch gleichen Reim zusammengeschlossenes Ganze gebildet haben. Da sich solche Stücke aber jetzt nur durch subjektive Willkür wieder zusammensetzen ließen, sollen die überlieferten Teile nach dem Reime und nach der Reihenfolge, wie sie in Kaschghari's Diwan erscheinen, geordnet werden. Die Reihenfolge der Reime bestimmt das arabische Alphabet.

1. *Jükñüb mava inulädi köziim jašin jümlädi*  
*bayrım bašin ümlädi ülkin bolub ol küçar.*

Sie neigte sich und grüßte mich, wischte die Träne meines Auges ab, heilte die Wunde meiner Leber und ging als Wanderer weiter. III 60, 14, 15.

2. a) *Bulnar mini ülas kōz qara maniz qıñıl jüz*  
*andın tamar tükäl tüz bulnar jünä ol qaçar.*

Das schwimmende Auge nimmt mich gefangen, das schwarze Mal, das rote Gesicht; von dort träufelt die ganze Schönheit; nachdem es mich gefangen, flieht es wieder. I 58, 14, 15.

- c) *jıylab udu artadım bayrım başın qartadım*  
*qañıñ qutuy irtadım jaymur kibi' qan saçar.*

Ich weinte hinter ihr her und verdarb, ich riß die Wunde meiner Leber wieder auf, ich suchte das verschwundene Glück, wie Regen fließt das Blut. I 229, 3, 4.

<sup>1</sup> Text *tünä* d. h. am Regentage.

- d) *Avlab mâni qaimaviz*      *ajiq ajib qaimaviz*  
*aqar közüm oñ taviz*      *tägra jürä quñ ucar.*

Nachdem du mich gefangen hast, verlasse mich nicht und nachdem du ein Versprechen gegeben, weiche nicht davon ab; mein strömendes Auge ist das Meer, rings darum fliegen die Vögel. II 38, 11, 12 (vgl. Kel. Szemle 18, 35).

3. a) *Bardı közüm jaruğı*      *aldı ösüm qonuğı*  
*qanda ärinē qonıqı<sup>1</sup>*      *ümdi udın<sup>2</sup> udıurur.*

Meines Auges Glanz (d. i. die Gelichte) ist verschwunden und hat meine Seele als Gast mitgenommen. Wo ist ihr Aufenthalt jetzt? Eben weckt sie mich aus dem Schläfe. I 48, 6, 7.

- b) *Üdik mini qanıttı*      *saqınē mava jumıttı*  
*kövlüm avar amıttı*      *jüsüm mäniv sarıarur.*

Die Sehnsucht regte mich auf, die Sorge überkam ich; mein Herz neigte sich zu ihr, mein Antlitz wird bleich. I 66, 7, 8.

- c) *Kövlüm avar qainaju*      *ütin avar oınaju*  
*käldi mava boınaju*      *oınañ mâni arıarur.*

Mein Herz wallte für sie auf, als ich innen mit ihr spielte; sie kam stolz zu mir, spielte mit mir und ermüdete mich. I 193, 3, 4.

- d) *Ösüm mäniv budırsın*      *otı auzı bağlanur.*

Meine Seele ist eine Wachtel; sie wird an ihrem Feuer hin- und hergedreht (wie am Bratspieß) I 423, 5.

- e) *Üdik otı tutanub*      *öpkä jüräk qayrurur.*

Das Feuer der Sehnsucht entbrannte; Lunge und Herz verbrennen davon. II 114, 3.

- f) *Tün kün turub jıylaju*      *jasım mäniv savrurur.*

Indem ich Tag und Nacht weine, träufeln meine Tränen. II 183, 12.

- g) *Kördi mâni ämläju*      *baqtı mava imläju*  
*qaldım kövül tunläju*      *qadyu mâni turıurur.*

Sie sah mich an, um mich zu heilen, sie schaute mich an, um mich zu grüßen; ich blieb mit erstarrtem Herzen, die Sorge hält mich fest. III 218, 14, 15.

4. Zwei Viererstrophen von Siebensilblern (einmal aber siebenmal zwei statt zweimal sieben) mit Reim am zweiten und vierten Vers auf *r*:

<sup>1</sup> S. Verbesserung in Bd. III, 337, wo aber falsch *qanıqı* vokalisiert ist.

<sup>2</sup> S. 1. für *udın*: Ablativ zu « Schlaf R I 159, vgl. II I 15.



- a) *Kizləb tutar səvənglik adriş kiñi kəlgürär*  
*başlıy közlüg jaisama<sup>1</sup> jası anıv suv aqar<sup>2</sup>.*

Wenn man die Liebe auch verborgen hält, so erscheint sie doch am Tage der Trennung; das verwundete Auge beneide nicht, seine Tränen fliessen wie Wasser. II 135, 14, 15.

- b) *Kəvli köşkb qanı qurib oysı açib qıyrar* (s. 1.)  
*siyayalıv üdiklər üssiz juzi burqurar.*

Mit verbranntem Herzen, vertrocknetem Blut und offenem Munde bricht er in Lachen aus; die Sehnsucht verzehrt ihn beinahe, das Antlitz des Sinnlosen wird runzelig. II 148, 3, 4 (vgl. Kel. Szeṃle 18, 44 n. 1.)

5. Sechs Siebensilblerpaare mit Reim auf *q*:

- a) *Aqturur közüñ julaq tuşlənür ördak jüyaq.*

Mein Auge läßt Wasserquellen enfließen, mittags rasten dort Euten und Jüyaqwasservogel. I 190, 11, III 13, 12 (mit der Var. *tuş qıhar*).

- b) *Kim əjib üstür qulaq ai əvi artuñ budaq.*

Wen hörte das Ohr sagen; Das Haus des Mondes ist ein Wacholderzweig (d. h. das mondgleiche Antlitz der Geliebten an der gertenschlanken Gestalt) I 315, 7.

- c) *İkladi məniv adaq kərmədiş öyrü tusaq*  
*ikladim andın usaq əmləgil əmdi tusaq.*

Mein Fuß erkrankte, da ich die versteckte Falle nicht gesehen hatte; davon war ich lange krank, heile mich jetzt Geliebte. I 317, 16, 17.

- d) *Atyalıv oqni usaq tükədi bu sar usaq.*

Die Verführerin wollte ihren Pfeil abschießen, aber dies verläumderische Wort erreichte mich nicht. II 18, 3.

- e) *oyrayın köndü jırağ bulnadı mənı qaraq.*

Mein eigenes Ziel ist fern, das Auge nahm mich gefangen. III 21, 11.

6. Drei Strophen zu vier Sechssilblern mit erst Binnen- dann Endreim auf *k*:

- a) *aidum anar səvəg bizni taba nə əlük*  
*küctiv jası<sup>3</sup> kərik qırlar adiz bədük.*

<sup>1</sup> S. z. 1. für *jaisama* vgl. I, 1376.

<sup>2</sup> S. z. 1. für *ıraqar*.

<sup>3</sup> Diese dreimal belegte Form und die gleich gebildeten vier anderen (s. K. Sz. 18, 46) will Bang SBPrAk. 1923, XVII, 131 in die Instrumentalformen auf *məltiv* verbessern.

<sup>4</sup> S. z. 1. für *bəd*.

Ich sagte zu ihr: Geliebte, wie weit (eig. wieviel Fingerbreiten) ist es zu uns?<sup>1</sup> Du bist über die weite Ebene gekommen, über die hohen, mächtigen Berge. I 86, 11, 12.

- b) *Aidi säniv idu*                      *ämğäk tälüm idu(?)*  
*jumlar qatıy idü*                      *könlüm sava jügrük.*

Sie sprach: Hinter dir waren Mühe und Not(?) sehr groß: die harten Berge (vgl. I 81, 12) werden weich, mein Herz eilt zu dir. I 101, 1, 2\*. Zu *idü* nach vgl. I 81, 13—15, oben II 1, 2<sup>3</sup>, 4 B 2 (SA 19), VII 2 c, Uig. III 49, 28, Manich. I 13, Radl. I 1702 *ut*, 1594 *ü*, zu *idu* uig. *idiq* Verhängnis Radl. I 1382?

- c) *Falvin anıv közi*                      *jalkın anıv özi*  
*tolun ajın jüzi*                      *jardı münis jüräk.*

Voll Zauber (Instr.) ist ihr Auge, ihre Seele ein Wanderer, wie ein Vollmond ihr Gesicht, sie spaltete mein Herz. III 25, 5, 6.

7. Sechs Zehnsilbler mit Reim auf *ivä* (*ıwa*).

- a) *Qıyasab jatsa anıv jüzivä*      *alsıqar ügin anıv sözivä*  
*mıv kisi jalıyı bolub özivä*      *birğälär özin anıv közivä.*

Wer an ihrem Busen schläft, verliert wegen ihres Gesichtes und ihrer Rede den Verstand; 1000 Menschen wurden ihr Opfer, werden ihre Seele geben um ihres Auges willen. I 206, 11, 12<sup>1</sup> (vgl. Kel. Szemle, 18, 48) III 10, 14.

- b) *Azlatur ösüm anıv tüzivä*      *amlälür kösüm anıv tozıwa.*

Meine Seele wird von ihrer Schönheit gefangen, mein Auge durch ihren Staub geheilt. I 248, 14.

8. Vier Siebensilbler:

- Biriv mava sönkija*                      *mävlig qara tuzqija*  
*jalvin tutar köskija*                      *muqum mänis bilivä.*

Gib mir ein Wörtchen, du mit dem Male, schwarzes Salzkörnchen, zauberisches Äuglein, erkenne meine Qual. III 266, 5, 4.

9. *Üdik mäni küñjür*                      *tün kün turub jıylaju*  
*kördi kösüm tavraqın*                      *jurtı qalıb aylaju.*

<sup>1</sup> Oder ist *näivä* zu lesen und zu übersetzen: Warum bist du zu uns gekommen über usw.

<sup>2</sup> Ka Paraphrase: „Wie bist du zu uns über die schwierigen Pässe gekommen“, scheint diese Strophe unmittelbar an die vorübergehende anzuknüpfen.

<sup>3</sup> Dort lese ich jetzt in Vers 3 lieber *avdim* „ich bedrängte“ von *avmag* I 152, vgl. *avib* eb. III B. 4; dieser Vers steht übrigens noch II 12 10, 11 mit der Variante *afib*.

<sup>4</sup> Wo falsch *otın* für *osın*.



Die Sehnsucht überwältigt mich, Tag und Nacht weine ich beständig, mein Auge sah schnell, dass seine Heimat weinen blieb.  
III 194, 11, 12.

### VIII. Naturschilderungen.

Besonderes Interesse beanspruchen die zahlreichen Bruchstücke von Gedichten, in denen das Wiedererwachen des Naturlebens im Frühling gefeiert wird. Man könnte zwar vermuten, daß einige dieser Stellen im Zusammenhang von größeren Heldengedichten vorgekommen wären. Wahrscheinlicher aber ist es, daß sie von vornherein selbständig waren; ein im Tone den unseren ganz gleiches Liedchen, das er im Schlußvers ausdrücklich als Ġazal bezeichnet, hat Rubyŭzi in die Josefsgeschichte seiner Qıŷaŷ al-anbijâ' (Kasan 1877) S. 131 eingelegt. Wir erinnern uns dabei, daß Naturschilderungen auch in der Poesie sogenannter Naturvölker gar nicht selten sind, und daß sie hier ursprünglich im Dienste des Fruchtbarkeitszaubers gestanden haben, s. K. Th. Preuß, Die geistige Kultur der Naturvölker, S. 89.

1. Fünf Strophen von je vier Siebensilblern mit Reim auf 2:

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a) <i>Jai baruban ârküzi</i> | <i>aqtı aqı munduzı</i>      |
| <i>toŷdı jaraq jolduzı.</i>  | <i>tınlâ sözüm külgüsüz.</i> |

Als der Frühling kam, floß sein Schmelzwasser und sein Wildbach, der Glanzstern ging auf, höre mein Wort, ohne zu lachen  
I, 88, 14, 15.

- |                               |                              |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| b) <i>Türlük âcâk jarıldı</i> | <i>barcın jadıñ kârıldı</i>  |
| <i>uñmaq jırı kôrıldı</i>     | <i>tömlüŷ jânâ külgüsüz.</i> |

Allerlei Blumen blühten auf, ein Brokatteppich ward ausgebreitet, der Paradiesesort ward sichtbar, die Kälte kehrt nicht wieder. I 107, 15, 16.

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| c) <i>Aydı bolıt kökrâjü</i> | <i>jaymur tolı säkrifü</i>   |
| <i>qalıq anı űkrifü</i>      | <i>qanâa barıŷ bälğüsüz.</i> |

Die Wolke stieg donnernd auf, Regen und Hagel sprangen heraus, die Luft bewegte sie, wohin sie geht, ist unklar. I, 296, 7, 8.

- |                                  |                             |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| d) <i>Qul qurt qamuy tırıldı</i> | <i>ârtik tılı tırıldı</i>   |
| <i>ögür alıŷ tarıldı</i>         | <i>jınqa jânâ kürgüsüz.</i> |

Vögel und wilde Tiere wurden alle wieder lebendig, Männchen und Weibchen versammelten sich, sie bildeten Herden und zerstreuten sich, ohne wieder ins Lager einzugehn. III 4, 11, 12.

- e) *Jaı körgına ınanma suvlar üzä tajanma*  
*äsizlikig anınma tılda çıqar üdgü äbz.*

Traue nicht der Schönheit des Frühlings, stütze dich nicht auf Wasser, sei nicht zu Schlechtigkeit bereit, von deiner Zunge komme gutes Wort. III 120, 17, 18.

2. Vier Zwölfsilbler mit durchgehendem Endreim auf *r*.

- a) *Tamyä suvı taşra çıqıb tayıy ötür*  
*artucları taktırä öñüb tiskin jätür.*

Das Flußwasser kam heraus und überflutete den Berg; die Wacholder sprossen ringsum hervor und wachsen in Reihen<sup>1</sup>. I 355, 10, 11.

- b) *Qordai qoyu anda üñüb jumqın ötür*  
*quşyın javan sairab anın üñi bütür.*

Kormoran und Schwan fliegen dort und singen zusammen: Rabe und Elster schwatzen soviel, daß davon ihre Stimme schwindet. III 182, 7, 8.

3. *Faruq folduz toyarda udun külib baqarmın*  
*satulaju sairasıb tatlıy tonın quş ötür.*

Wenn der helle Stern aufgeht, erwache ich, komme und schaue; die Vögel schwatzen (s. III 239, 1), zwitschern und singen mit süßer Stimme zusammen. III 146, 2, 3.

4. Vier Siebensilbler, die vielleicht in einem Heldengedicht gestanden haben; mit durchgehendem Reim auf *r*:

- Aıl suvı aqa turur qaja tübi qaga turur*  
*balıq talım baqa turur köñü taqı küşürür.*

Das Wasser der Wolga fließt beständig und schlägt den steinigen Grund; viele Fische und Frösche sind darin, die Wasserfläche ist voll(?). I 70, 8, 9.

5. Drei Strophen von Siebensilblern mit Endreim auf *ür*:

- a) *Jarattı jalış lās savurdı öñü qas*  
*tizildi qara quş tün kün üzä jürgänür.*

Er schuf den grünen Türkis, streute die hellen Jadesteine aus; das Sternbild der Wage wurde angeordnet, Tag und Nacht drehn sich umeinander. I 277, 9, 10.

- b) *Jugırdı kaval at çaqıldı qışıl ot*  
*köjürdi arut ot saçrab anın örtänür.*

<sup>1</sup> K. übersetzt *tiskin* Instr. von *tisk* Reihe I 324, 5 doppelt durch *qaffın* in Reihe und *ka'annahu muqaddu farasın* „als ob es Zügel wären“ — *tizgin* vgl. I 284, 12, Radl. III 1398.



Das edle Ross sprang, das rote Feuer wurde geschlagen; das Unkraut verbrannte, (das Feuer) sprang auf und es wurde davon verbrannt. II 105, 16, 17.

c) *Buĉ buĉ otar sāmurgūk boyzı ūn mīslanūr.*

Buĉ buĉ singt der *sāmurgūk* (ein der Nachtigall ähnlicher Vogel in der Sprache von Balasayun); für seine Kehle sammelt er Körner. II 232, 9.

6. Sechzehn Strophen von Siebensilblern mit Endreim auf *šur, šur*.

a) *Qaqlar qamuy kōlārdi taylar baši ilārdi*  
*añun tñu jilirdi tutu ĉāĉāk ĉārgāšur.*

Alle Sümpfe wurden zu Seen, der Gipfel der Berge erschien in der Ferne, der Hauch der Welt wurde heiß, die Blumen stellten sich um die Wette (†) in Reihen. I 157, 6, 7, II 225, 15, 16.

b) *Qar buz qamuy ūrūdi taylar suvi aqışdi*  
*kōkšin bolit ūrūdi qaiyug bolub ākrišur.*

Schnee und Eis schmolzen ganz, die Bergwasser flossen zusammen, die graue Wolke stieg auf; wie ein Kahn schwankte sie. I 162, 9, 10.

c) *Qulan tüköl qomutdi arqar suqag jumutdi*  
*jailay taba āmitti tiskin\* turub sākrišur.*

Die Wildpferde alle regte er (der Frühling) auf, die Steinböcke und die Gazellen vereinigte er, machte sie geneigt zur Sommerung, sie standen in Reihen und sprangen zusammen. I 184, 10, 11.

d) *Tuman ĉāĉāk tizildi būkūdān ol jazildi*  
*ōkūš jatib uzaldi jirdā qopa adrišur.*

Die vielen Blumen wurden aufgereiht sie breiteten sich von ihrem Dickicht aus, sie hatten sich in langem Schlaf entwickelt, sie erheben sich von der Erde und trennen sich. I 199, 7, 8.

e) *Jašin atib jašnadi tuman turub tušnadi*  
*adyir qisir kišnadi ōkūr ališ ograšur.*

Der Blitz schleuderte und blitzte, der Nebel stand und geriet in Bewegung, Hengst und Stute wieherten, er nahm ein Rudel und schnaufte. I 200, 16, 17.

f) *Āi qopub (s. l.) āvlānub aq bolit ōrlānub*  
*bir bir tiān ōklānub saĉlub suvi avrašur.*

Wenn der Mond aufgeht und einen Hof bekommt, wenn die weiße Wolke aufsteigt und sie sich übereinander türmen, dann ergießt sich das Wasser rauschend. I 217, 10, 11.

\* S. z. l. für *tiān* vgl. I 324, 5 *tiān* Reihe, oben z. z.

- g) *Filqı jārın attıñur*                      *otlañ anıñ attanır*  
*bäklär samız attanır*                      *sävnüb ötür ırırur.*

Das Vieh wirft sich zu Boden, frisst Gras und wird davon be-  
 fleischt, die Fürsten reiten feiste Pferde, die Herden freuen sich und  
 beißen einander. I 239, 17, 18.

- h) *Qızıl sarıy arqaşib*                      *jäbkin jäsil jüzkalib*  
*bir bir garū Jörgäşib*                      *jahnuq anı tavlañur.*

Röte und gelbe (Blumen) häufen sich übereinander, dunkle und  
 grüne schlingen sich ineinander und sind ineinander gewickelt, der  
 Mensch bewundert sie. I 331, 6, 7.

- i) *Tagma çäcäk öküldi*                      *buquqlanıñ böküldi*  
*tüksin tükün tüküldi*                      *jaryalımat Jörgäñur.*

Alle Blumen wurden übereinander gehäuft, sie bauschten und  
 beugten sich, sie wurden zu Knoten verknotet und drehten sich fast  
 bis zum Spalten. I 365, 2, 3; II 228, 3, 4 (mit *jañlıb jañı* für *jaryalı-*  
*mat*; zu dieser Form vgl. oben II 1, 8; II 3 A, 4, 5).

- k) *Alın tüñ jañardı*                      *urnat otın jañardı*  
*köñün suwın köñardı*                      *ıyır buğ muwrañur<sup>1</sup>.*

Die Gipfel und Hügel wurden grün, er bedeckte sie mit frischen  
 Pflanzen, er ließ das Wasser des Sees übertreten, Kuh und Stier brüllen  
 einander an. II 66, 1, 2.

- l) *Jaymur jayub saçıldı*                      *türlüg çäcäk suculdı*  
*jüngü qabı açıldı*                      *çindan jıpar juyruñur.*

Der Regen regnete und ward ausgestreut, alle Arten Blumen  
 wurden (ihrer Hüllen) entkleidet, die Hülle der Perle ward geöffnet,  
 Sandel und Moschus werden zusammengeknetet. II 97, 14, 15.

- m) *Köldi asın usnaju*                      *qadqa tükal usnaju*  
*kirdi budun qıstaju<sup>2</sup>*                      *qara bolıñ kökräñur.*

Er (der Frühling) kam mit Wehen, ganz einem Schneesturm  
 gleichend, das Volk kam vor Kälte zitternd herein, die schwarze  
 Wolke donnert. II, 176, 7, 8; III 108, 14, 15.

- n) *Qoidı bolat jaymurın*                      *kärüb tutar aq turın*  
*qırqa qoidı ol qarın*                      *aqın aqar muwrañur.*

<sup>1</sup> Diesem Worte, das K. III 297, 11 mit velaren Vokalen ansetzt wie Radl.  
 IV 2191, gibt er II 288 3—6, palatale Vokale.

<sup>2</sup> S. z. I. für *qısnaju* II 176, 8, *qısnaju* III 108, 15.



Die Wolke ergoß ihren Regen, spannte und hielt ihr weißes Netz, ließ ihren Schnee auf dem Bergzug, der Wildstrom ergießt sich rauschend. III 29, 13, 14.

- o) *Qo'nar taka sašildī sayliq surük qo'suldi*  
*sūlar qamıç ju'suldi oylaq qozi jamra'sur.*

Schaf- und Ziegenbock trennten sich, Mutterschafe und Herde vereinigten sich; alle Milch ward ausgegossen, Lamm und Ziege vermischen sich. III 72, 6, 7.

- p) *Ördi bolit töräli aqti aqın muora'su*  
*qaldı budun tawla'su kökrar taqı mavra'sur.*

Die Wolke erhob sich rauschend, der Wildbach floß tobend, das Volk blieb in Staunen, sie (die Wolke) donnerte laut. III 295, 5, 6.

7. Fünf Siebensilblerpaare wechselnd mit Acht- und Sechssilblern, die vielleicht aus der Schilderung eines Gelages stammen, also auch an III hätten angeschlossen werden können.

- a) *Qulda'ciqa min jayaq barca bila airuq tajaq*

Dem Bettler tausend Nüsse, bei dem allen noch einen besonderen Stock. I 349, 9.

- b) *Oyrağ ari tiyrağ jimi aniv oylaq*  
*sūti üzü sayraq jiri taqı aylaq.*

Die Männer der Oyraq (eines in Qara Jıyaç wohnenden Turkstammes, s. I 108, 6) sind stark; ihre Nahrung sind Böckchen, auf ihrer Milch steht der Becher, aber ihr Land ist wüst. I 389 16, 17.

- c) *Pıñırur jaqri qajaq toşyurur joyri çanaq.*

Gekocht werden Fett und Butter und füllen Schüssel und Topf. III 24, 6.

- d) *Sadrāmıñ olyn qıjaq sarmamıñ sūttan qajaq.*

Selten geworden ist die reife Hirse, abgeschöpft die Butter von der Milch. III 125, 8.

#### IX. Wettstreit zwischen Sommer und Winter.

Obwohl der gleiche Reim nahe legen könnte, die folgenden Stücke an VIII 6 oder II 3 (s. Bd. I S. 14) anzuschließen, ziehe ich es doch vor, sie gesondert zusammenzufassen, weil sie das bekannte Thema des Rangstreites behandeln u. zw. in der Form des Dialoges, also doch wohl einst selbständig waren. Ich darf die Gelegenheit benutzen, zu meinen Notizen „Zur ältesten Geschichte der arabischen Tenzone“ in den *Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, Paris 1909, S. 231ff., die zu Stein-

schneiders Werk über die Rangstreitliteratur auch Nachträge von Bacher 131 ff., allerdings nur aus jungen sudarabisch-jüdischen Quellen, brachten; hier nachzutragen, daß ich dies Thema jetzt auch schon vor 'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (gest. um 805) in der arabischen Poesie nachweisen kann. Der dort zitierte Streit zwischen Herz und Auge findet sich schon in einem Gedicht des Qais b. Dariḥ, Milchbruders des al-Husain b. 'Alī (gest. 680), auf den die Sage die Motive des zweiten Teils der Tristanfabel übertragen hat (s. S. Singer, Arabische und europäische Poesie im Mittelalter, Abh. der Pr. Ak. d. Wiss. 1918, Nr. 13, 8, wo nach Hammer falsch Doreidsch). Er sagt in einem Gedicht im Kitāb al-Aḡānī VIII, 113, 16, 17:

„Mein Herz sprach zu meinem Auge und tadelte es: Das ist dein Lohn von mir, drum beiße auf den Stein; ich hatte dich vor ihr gewarnt, wenn du mir gehorcht hättest; nun halte aus, denn du hast bei ihr nicht den Lohn dessen, der geduldig war.“

Verwandt ist auch das Thema des Streites zweier Liebenden vor dem Gerichtshof der Liebe selbst, das der Dichter Baššār b. Burd (gest. 783) eb. III 58, 19—23 behandelt. Auch dieser war persischer Herkunft wie 'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf. Darauf könnte man sich berufen als Stütze für die von mir a. a. O. ausgesprochene Vermutung, daß die Tenzzone ursprünglich in Persien zu Hause war; von da konnte sie ihren Weg ja auch zu unseren zentralasiatischen Türken gefunden haben. Nun findet sich aber schon ein Wettstreit zwischen Tamariske und Palme in Ebelings Keilschrifttexten aus Assur religiösen Inhalts, I Nr. 145. Dies poetische Motiv ist also offenbar an verschiedenen Stellen Vorderasiens selbständig aufgekommen.

1. Sieben Strophen von Siebensilblern mit wechselndem Binnen- und Endreim auf *šūr*, *šur*.

a) <i>Qis jāi bilā toqūštī</i>	<i>qisr kōšun baqīštī</i>
<i>tutušqalī jaqīštī</i>	<i>utyalimat oyrašur.</i>

Winter und Sommer schlugen sich, mit schiefen Augen sahen sie sich an, um sich zu packen, näherten sich einander, um sich zu besiegen, begegneten sich. I 149, 7, 8.

b) <i>Balēq balīq joyrurur</i>	<i>žiyai tavar jyrirur</i>
<i>urwāklari oyurur</i>	<i>odyuē bilā avrišur.</i>

Schmutz und Kot häufen sich, die Armen und Elenden ziehn sich zurück, ihre Finger werden gespalten, mit Feuer beschäftigen sie sich. I 210, 3, 4.



- c) *Tumliq kalib qapsadi qutluq jaiy tobsadi*  
*qarlab aʒun japsadi at jin ʔʔub amrišur.*

Die Kälte kam und wollte (sie) einschließen, sie beneidete den glücklichen Sommer, sie schneite und bedeckte die Welt, Fleisch und Haut frieren und jucken. I 385, 15, 16.

- d) *Jai qış bila qarišti ʔrdam jasiñ qurušti*  
*ʔarig tutub körüšti oqtayali utrušur.*

Sommer und Winter kämpften miteinander, spannten den Bogen der Tapferkeit, stellten ein Heer auf und blickten sich an, um Pfeile zu schießen, stellten sie sich einander gegenüber. II 78, 16, 17.

- e) *Sändün qacar sundilaʔ mändü tıñar qarqılaʔ*  
*tattiy ʔtar sandıwaʔ ʔrkäk tıñi ʔcrašur.*

Vor dir flieht der Sperling, in mir ruht die Schwalbe, süß singt der Sprosser, Männchen und Weibchen begegnen sich. I 435, 3, 4, III 134, 9, 10.

- f) *Qış jai toyruʔ) sacıanur ʔr at mändün javrajur*  
*ıllur jama sacıjur at jin taqı tikrašur.*

Der Winter rühmt sich gegen den Sommer: durch mich werden Mann und Roß stark, die Kranken werden wieder gesund, Fleisch und Haut stärken sich wieder. III 207, 16, 17.

- g) *Sändü qopar ʔadınlar qudyñ sıñäk jıñanlar*  
*ıdik mıñ quju tumanlar qudrıq tikiñ jügrıšur.*

In dir (dem Sommer) erheben sich Skorpione, Fliegen, Mücken, Schlangen: einige tausende (zu *ıdik mıñ* vgl. I 280, 9), dichte zehntausende, mit aufgerichteter Schwanz stürzen sie sich. III 271, 11, 12.

2. Drei Achtsilbler mit einem Siebensilbler am Schluß, die trotz des gleichen Reimes also einem anderen Stück entstammen müssen:

- Ol qar qamıy qışın inar ʔrliq tariy anıñ ʔnür*  
*javlaq jayı mündä tıñar san kalibän tabrašur.*

Jener ganze Schnee kommt im Winter herunter, Gemüse und Korn wachsen dadurch, in mir ruht der böse Feind; wenn du kommst, regt er sich. II 161, 15, 16.

#### X. Weisheitssprüche.

Unter diesem Kapitel vereinige ich eine Reihe von Stücken, denen zumeist die gleiche pessimistische Wertung der Gegenwart auf Kosten der Vergangenheit zugrunde liegt, und solche, die allgemeine

• S. 2. l. für *jayru*.

Lebensklugheit, insbesondere im Verkehr mit Höhergestellten predigen, wie wir sie aus dem Qutadyu Bilig kennen. Diese Sprüche scheinen z. T. selbständigen Lehrgedichten zu entstammen. Bei anderen ist es aber nicht ausgeschlossen, daß sie als Einlagen in erzählende Gedichte oder Totenklagen verfaßt sind; sie sind z. T. durch die gleiche Form und den gleichen Reim mit Bruchstücken, die nur aus solchen stammen können, die wir daher hier mit jenen zusammenfassen mußten, verbunden. Ich stelle die größeren Reihen voran und ordne die kleineren Bruchstücke nach den Reimbuchstaben in der arabischen Alphabetfolge.

1. Zwölf Zwölfsilblerpaare mit Binnenreim auf *z*:<sup>1</sup>

- a) *Bardī ārān qonuq kōrūb qutqa saqar*  
*qaldī javuz ūjūq kōrūb āvni jīgar.*

Entschwunden sind die Männer, die es für ein Glück hielten, wenn sie einen Gast erblickten: geblieben sind die Schlechten, die ihr Haus abbrechen, wenn sie ein Wegzeichen sehn (das ihnen einen Gast zuführen könnte). I 79, 13. 321, 7 (mit *aliy* für *javuz*).

- b) *Ötrük ānān\*) oyrlaju jūzga baqar*  
*ālhin tašib birmīš ašiy bašga (soh) qaqar.*

Der Listige sieht dem ankommenden Gast wie einem Diebe ins Gesicht; mit seiner Hand schleppt er die Speise herbei und schlägt ihn auf den Kopf. I 94, 1.

- c) *Gayrī ališ arqun manuš arqar jātār*  
*avlar kajik taiyan idib tilkē tutar.*

Er nimmt den Falken, steigt aufs Roß, jagt und holt ein, er jagt den Hirsch, sendet den Windhund aus und fängt den Fuchs. I 352, 13, 16.

- d) *Qarya qalī bilsā muvin ol buz soqar*  
*avči jašib tuzaq taba māngā baqar.*

Wenn die Krähe Not leidet, hackt sie das Eis auf; wenn der Jäger es versteckt, schaut sie auf das Netz nach den Körnern. I 356, 7, 8.

- e) *Oylum ögüt alyıl biligsizlik kitār*  
*talqan kimio bolsa avar bākmās qatar.*

Mein Sohn, nimm Rat an, dann geht die Unwissenheit fort; wer geröstete Gerste hat, mischt damit Fruchtsaft. I 367, 15, 16.

\* *z* und *h* werden ausdrücklich als yuzzischer Herkunft bezeichnet; *c* und *g* könnten aus einem Jagdgedicht stammen.

\* S. z. I. für atan.



f) *Bulyaq okuſ bolsa qačan bilgiſ jütär*  
*janſaq tälüm säiräb anı tamıyq qatar.*

Wenn der Aufruhr viel wird, wenn dein Wissen in die Irre geht,  
 wenn das Geschwätz viel wird, so schnürt es ihm die Kehle zu.  
 I 389, 3, 4.

g) *Tawda bilä körsä mäni ördäk atar*  
*qalva körüb qaſyalaqı suvqa batar.*

Wenn mich die Ente morgens schießen sieht, wenn die Taucher-  
 ente den Pfeil mit stumpfer Holzspitze sieht, taucht sie ins Wasser.  
 I 434, 9, 10.

h) *Ordulanıb juksäk tayıy oylaq çatar*  
*Uıyur tawın jufya alıb jumyın satar.*

Er nahm den hohen Berg als Zuflucht und brachte das Böckchen  
 (zur Ziege); am Morgen faßte er die Uiyuren leicht und verkaufte sie  
 alle. II 237, 8, 9.

i) *Us äs körüb juksäk qalıq qodı çaqar*  
*bilgä kiſi ügüt birib tavraq uqar.*

Wenn der Geier eine Beute sieht, stürzt er vom hohen Himmel  
 herab; wenn man dem weisen Manne einen Rat gibt, versteht er  
 schnell. III 34, 14, 15.

k) *Kolum qumı qopsa qalı tamıy itär*  
*körsä anı bilgä kiſi sözgä bütär.*

Wenn die Wogen meines Sees sich erheben, stoßen sie gegen  
 die Mauer; wenn ein Weiser es sieht, glaubt er dem Wort. III 100, 7, 8.

l) *Bolsa kimis altun kümüs ürlä itär*  
*anda bolub tävri gäru<sup>1</sup> tappın ötar.*

Wenn jemand Gold und Silber hat, schafft er sich eine Heimat,  
 wenn er dort ist, dient er Gott. III 189, 16, 17.

m) *Mandä bulnur sävinä otı qadyu atar*  
*qarsı körüb saydıç anı uçmaq atar.*

Bei mir findet sich das Kraut der Freude, das den Kummer  
 niederwirft; wenn der Treue mein Schloß erblickt, nennt er es ein  
 Paradies. III 276, 12, 13.

2. Siebzehn Elfsilblerpaare mit Endreim auf r:

a) *Tavar uçun tävri ädlämädib*  
*ñja qadaſ oylinı çinla beyar.*

<sup>1</sup> S. z. 1. für *tavri buken*.

Um des Besitzes willen achtet er Gott nicht, Bruder und Verwandtensohn erdrosselt er in Wahrheit(?). I 80, 9.

b) *Ärdäm tilä ögränin bolma küväs  
ärdämsizin ögünsä ävmägüdä anar.*

Suche Tugend und lerne und sei nicht stolz; wer ohne Tugend sich rühmt, kommt bei der Prüfung in Verlegenheit. I 213, 5, 6.

c) *Qut qıvıy<sup>1</sup> birsä idim qulıya  
kindä işi jüksäbän joqar ayar.*

Wenn Gott seinem Knechte Glück gibt, wächst seine Sache täglich und nimmt zu. I 269, 15, 16.

d) *Öküür sürük qoi tıvi jondı bilä  
jumurlaju ärkänin sütin sayar.*

Er sammelt ein Rudel und eine Herde, Schafe, Kamele, Pferde und melkt in der Frühe ihre Milch. I 326, 4.

e) *Ämgäksizin turıy joq munda tamu  
ädgüleküg körmädib äzun çıqar.*

Ohne Mühe bleibt der Mensch hier nicht; ehe er Gutes gesehn, geht die Welt vorüber. I 351, 13, 14.

f) *Nävin<sup>2</sup> tutar bäläju özi jımäs  
saranlıqın jıylaju altun jıyar.*

Seine Habe hält er wartend fest und läßt nicht selbst; aus Geiz hauft er unter Weinen Gold auf. I 416, 8, 9.

g) *Äran qamıy artadı nävlar udu  
tavar körüb uslaju<sup>3</sup> äskä çıqar.*

Alle Menschen sind schlecht geworden (aus Gier) nach den Dingen; wenn sie eine Habe sehn, stürzen sie sich darauf wie Geier auf die Beute. II 16, 1, 2.

h) *Kččik bolub jayını jırgü ämäs  
ädgürmädib qodsa anı ilni qınar.*

Wenn der Feind klein ist, darf man ihn nicht verachten (vgl. das Sprichwort Nr. 187 in Ostas. Zeitschr. VIII, 65), wenn man ihn läßt, ohne sich um ihn zu kümmern, stiehlt er einem das Reich. II, 24, 16, 17.

i) *Sävinmägıl jond öküür adıyır atan<sup>4</sup>  
altun kümüš bulnuban aşı tavar.*

<sup>1</sup> S. z. l. für *qıvıy* vgl. zu II 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> S. z. l. für *nävin*.

<sup>3</sup> S. z. l. für *uslaju*.

<sup>4</sup> S. z. l. für *atan*.



Freue dich nicht, wenn Rosse, Herden, Hengste und Kamelwallache, Gold, Silber, Kostbarkeiten (eig. Brokat) und Habe sich finden. II 120, 14, 15.

k) *Taqin jaynu kormadib nawni ködür  
qadaş taba it kibi qıorn baqar.*

Der Verwandte sieht nicht auf den Verwandten und wartet nur auf seinen Besitz, gegen den Bruder sieht er scheel wie ein Hund. III 16, 17, 18.

l) *Tavar jıyib suv aqın indı saqın  
qorum kibi idışm qodı juvar.*

Wenn du Besitz gesammelt hast, denke es sei ein Gießbach herabgekommen; wie Geröll rollt er seine (!) Habe fort. III 46, 14, 15.

m) *Bilgä arın savların alyü ügüt  
adgü savıy adlaş özgä şıvar.*

Nimm die Worte eines weisen Mannes als Rat an; wenn man um ein gutes Wort sich kümmert, dringt es ins Herz ein. III 115, 9, 10.

n) *Toyub taqı qalmadı mavgü arın  
aşun küni jolduşı tülê toyar.*

Nachdem er geboren, blieb der Mensch nicht ewig am Leben; die Sonne und die Sterne der Welt gehn beständig neu auf. III 280, 3, 4.

3. Drei Elfsilblerpaare mit Binnenreim auf r:

a) *Közüm jaşı savrnuq qodı aqar  
bilnib aşun amgakin tükül uqar.*

Die Tränen meines Auges traufeln und fließen abwärts; es kennt und weiß ganz die Mühe der Welt. II 180, 8.

b) *Aşun tını kunduzi jalkın kaçar  
kimni qalı satyasa kücin kavar.*

Nacht und Tag der Welt gehn als Wanderer vorüber; über wen sie hingehn, dessen Kraft schwächen sie. III 214, 6, 7.

c) *Jayı arır jalnuqın nawnı tavar  
bilig ari jayışın nalik savar.*

Sein Feind ist des Menschen Habe; wie kann ein Kluger seinen Feind lieben? III 285, 1, 2.

4. Vier Viererstrophen von je drei Sechssilblern mit wechselndem Binnenreim und einem Siebensilbler mit Endreim auf r:

a) <i>Idimni ügarman</i>	<i>biligni jügarman</i>
<i>könülni tugarman</i>	<i>ürdam üzä türkünür.</i>

Meinen Herren preise ich, Wissen sammle ich, mein Herz binde ich daran, auf die Tugend zieht es sich zurück. II 192, 10, 11 (vgl. Kel. Szemle 18, 47).

- |                           |                              |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| b) <i>Küvendi bilakim</i> | <i>jayudi tilakim</i>        |
| <i>talindi biligim</i>    | <i>tagrub avar çartilur.</i> |

Mein Handgelenk wurde schwer, mein Wunsch nahte sich (der Erfüllung), (die Quellen) meines Wissens wurden angebohrt, nachdem es mich dahin geführt hat, schwindet (das Leben). II 117, 5, 6.

- |                           |                             |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| c) <i>Uluyñi tilarman</i> | <i>tavarin jularman</i>     |
| <i>tilakni bularman</i>   | <i>jilqim avar üblanur.</i> |

Ich bitte den Grossen, stütze seine Habe, finde das Erbetene, deswegen wird mein Vieh geraubt. III 64, 3, 4.

- |                           |                               |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| d) <i>Biligni irdadim</i> | <i>bukluni ödürdim</i>        |
| <i>öshunni atırdım</i>    | <i>jalyıl atım jastınuur.</i> |

Ich suchte die Weisheit, wählte den Klugen, sonderte mich selbst ab, mein weiszmähniges Roß wird gelöst. III 173, 16, 17.

5. Zwei Viererstrophen von Siebensilblern mit Reim am 2. und 4. Verse auf r:

- |                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a) <i>Tavar kimin ökilse</i> | <i>baklık avar kargajur</i> |
| <i>avarsızın qalıb bak</i>   | <i>aransızın amgajur.</i>   |

Wer viel besitzt, dem ziemt die Fürstenwürde; bleibt der Fürst ohne Habe, so müht er sich ohne Mannen ab. I 302, 15, 16.

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| b) <i>Tavri azun toratti</i> | <i>çyri ad tazginur</i>      |
| <i>jolduzları çarkasib</i>   | <i>tın kün üsü jörgünur.</i> |

Gott schuf die Welt, ihr Kreis dreht sich als ein gutes Vorzeichen (s. I 75, 11); ihre Sterne stellen sich in Reihen und die Nacht dreht sich um den Tag. II 244, 9, 10.

6. Viererstrophe von Acht- und Siebensilblern mit wechselndem Binnenreim der drei ersten Verse und Schlußreim auf r:

- |                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Qardunı jınçı saqıman</i> | <i>tazynı manen sıqıman</i> |
| <i>bulmadıq nıgı sınıman</i> | <i>bulgalar anı jırar.</i>  |

Halte Eiskugeln nicht für Perlen, halte geschenkte Elware nicht für Arbeitslohn, freue dich nicht über eine Sache, die du noch nicht gefunden hast; die Weisen tadeln das. I 351, 2, 3.

7. Sieben Doppelverse zu zwölf Silben mit je zwei Zäsuren mit durchgehendem Reim auf a(ä); die erste Strophe zeigt diesen Reim nur am Schluß, an ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu den anderen kann man also zweifeln.



- a) *Bilgä arig ädgü tutub sözün işit.*  
*ardamını ögränibän işqa sura.*

Halte den weisen Mann gut-fest und höre sein Wort; lerne seine Tugend und erprobe sie am Werk. I 358, 7, 8.

- b) *Alyıl ögüt mändin oyul ärdim tıla*  
*Boida uluy bilgä bolub bilgin üla.*

Nimm Rat von mir an, Junge, strebe nach Tugend; wenn du im Volk ein großer Weiser geworden bist, dann teile dein Wissen aus. I 52, 4, 5.

- c) *Kalsä qalı jarlıy bolub jıñıty uma*  
*kaldür anuq bolmıñ aşıy tutma uma*

Wenn der Gast arm und bekümmert zu dir kommt, bringe ihm die Speise, die bereit ist, und halte den Gast nicht auf. I 86, 1.

- d) *Kalsä kisi atma awar örtär küla*  
*baqqıl awar ädgüllügün ayzın küla.*

Wenn dich jemand anlächelt, so wirf nicht nach ihm mit glühender Asche; schau gütig auf ihn mit lächelndem Munde. I 115, 15, II 22, 9, 10.

- e) *Jaşnat qılıç başı üsü qaqıl jara*  
*bicliñ anıñ boını tağı qalqan tıra.*

Lasse das Schwert über seinem Haupte blitzen, schlage und spalte, so daß sein Hals abgeschnitten wird und sein Schild (nutzlos) bleibt. II 286, 11, 12.

- f) *Tägmä iwät işqa körtüb turıyl ala*  
*çaqmaq çağıb tusä qalı udnur jula.*

Jede eilige Sache sich erst an und mache halt, ehe du sie nimmst; wenn man sich beim Feuerschlagen beeilt, erlischt das Licht bald. III 19, 4, 5.

- g) *Jayın taba titrü bağıb bögdän bıla*  
*oyrab qalı kalsä sawa qarşı sülä.*

Blicke deinen Feind scharf an und wetze deinen Dolch; wenn er dir entgegenkommt, so stelle ihm ein Heer entgegen. III 203, 8, 9.

- h) *Qorqma awar otu turub takrä jürä*  
*qapsa anıñ albayutın andan jara.*

Fürchte dich nicht, stelle dich ihm gegenüber und ringsum; wenn er angreift, wehre seine Helden ab. III 311, 14, 15.

8. Drei Viererstrophen von Siebensilblern mit Reim am zweiten und vierten Vers auf *ma(mä)*:

- a) *İstib ata anavıñ savlarını qadırma  
nan qob bolub küvazlık qılınıñ jana quturma.*

Wenn du die Worte deiner Eltern hörst, so widersprich nicht, wenn deine Habe viel geworden ist, werde nicht stolz und übermütig. I 419, 5, 6.

- b) *Qoldañ bilä jarañyıl qarşıñ adın odırma  
bak tut jawañ taqayı sülin jazın üdärma.*

Pass dich deinem Genossen an, wenn du mit ihm verkehrst, so wähle keinen anderen; halte fest das zahme Huhn und jage nicht dem Fasan auf dem Felde nach. III 8, 12, 13 (vgl. Sprichwort Nr. 63, a. a. O. 56).

- c) *Ayrıq ayır işınıñ adnayıqa jüdürma  
aırub özüñ üsarib adnayını todurma.*

Lade als Last deine schwere Arbeit keinem anderen auf; lasse dich selbst nicht hungern, so daß dein Blick trube wird und sättige nicht einen andern. III 50, 3, 4.

9. Vier Viererstrophen von Siebensilblern mit Reim am zweiten und vierten Verse auf *qa, ya*.

- a) *Körklüg tonıy özünä tatlıy aşıy adınqa  
tutıy qonıq ayırılıy jadsun çavıñ budunqa.*

(Ziehe) dir ein schönes Kleid (an), die süße Speise (gib) den anderen; halte den Gast in Ehren, so wird deine Stimme im Volke entscheiden. I, 47, 9, 10:

- b) *Qodıyl mava aqılıñ bolsun mava ajaya  
ıdıyl manı toğısya jüvgil mava ulaya.*

Laß mir die Freigebigkeit, daß mir ein guter Name werde; schicke mich in den Kampf, gib mir ein Streitroß. III 129, 8, 9.

- c) *Birmiñ (tavar)ˆ sänin bil jalıuq tapar qarınqa  
qalmıñ tavar adınñ kirsä qara orunqa.*

Die Habe, die du hingibst (so liest und übersetzt K., vielleicht besser *barmiñ* die verschwunden) gehört dir; der Mensch dient ja dem Bauche; die Habe, die zurückbleibt, gehört einem andern, wenn er ins schwarze Grab eingeht. III 167, 14, 15.

- d) *Baqmat budun sävugsüz jıdğı jüzıˆ saranqa  
qazyan ulıñ tüzinluk qalsun çavıñ jarınqa.*

ˆ fehlt im Druck. Nach Sinn und Metrum zu ergänzen.

ˆ S. u. I. für *juzı*.



Das Volk schaut nicht auf einen lieblosen mit finsterem Gesicht, einen Geizhals; erwirb dir, Söhnchen, Milde, daß dein Ruhm bis morgen bleibe. II, 198, 3, 4.

10. Vier Siebensilbler mit Reim *ahab*:

*Ardı uza ırandar*                      *ardam baki bilig tay*  
*aidi okus ıgütlar*                    *könlüm belur avar say.*

Früher gab es Männer, Tugendfürsten, Wissensberge; sie sagten viele Ratschläge, von denen wurde mein Herz gesund. I 83, 3, 4 (vgl. *uzaqı* früherer 323, 3).

11. Drei Viererstrophen von Siebensilblern, mit Reim am zweiten und vierten Verse auf *q*:

a) *Qoşni qonam arişqa*              *qılqıl avar arişliq*  
*artut aliş amunqıl*                  *adgü tavar oqurluq.*

Dem Nachbar, dem Lager und dem Stamme tue Ehre an; wenn du ein Geschenk empfangen hast, bereite dich (zu geben) eine gute Gabe als Gegengeschenk. I 104, 11, 12.

b) *Qoşa qalı ırrajın*                    *birgil taqı azuqluq*  
*qarıqı qılur umalar*                *jünçür körüb qonuqluq.*

Wenn er bittet: „Ich möchte (dich) besuchen,“ so gib ihm zu essen, denn die Gäste fluchen, wenn sie die Bewirtung schlecht sehn. I 230, 10, 11.

c) *Kalsa uma tüşürgil*                *tışın anıq aruqluq*  
*arfa saman jayutqıl*                *budın atı jayruqluq.*

Wenn ein Gast kommt, so laß ihn absteigen, daß seine Müdigkeit sich ausruhe; bringe Gerste und Stroh, daß sein Pferd wieder Glanz bekomme. II 255, 1, 2.

12. Zwei Strophen von je zwei Langversen zu 10, 11, 12 Silben mit Endreim auf *i*:

a) *Ardı sını qız bodı anıq tal*  
*jailıq anıq artıq burnı taqı qıfal.*

Dich tauschte ein Mädchen, deren Statur grade, deren Wacholder (-gleicher Leib) sich neigt und deren Nase stolz ist. I 346, 2.

b) *Bardı sawa jük utru tutub bal*  
*barçın kadıhan talu jırta bolub qal.*

Der Teufel kam, indem er dir Honig vorhielt; ziehe Brokat an und bleibe verrückt und schwachsinnig. III 116, 15, 16.

13. Fünf Strophen von je vier Siebensilblern mit Reim auf *i* beim zweiten und vierten Verse:

- a) *Öz kak gamur kılınıc* *faburq öza alını bil*  
*adgulu kök oyanca* *alkin bila talim qil*

Wisse, daß die Rache auf allen Menschen wie eine Schuld ruht;  
 um des guten Himmels und um Gottes willen tue mit deiner Hand  
 viel Gutes. I 46, 7, 8.

- b) *Kulsä kış jısiwä* *körklüg jısin körüngil*  
*jacdaq küdaz tıjını* *adgü savıy tilangıl.*

Wenn jemand dir ins Gesicht lächelt, so zeige auch du dich mit  
 freundlichem Gesicht; hüte deine Zunge sehr und suche ein gutes  
 Wort. III 32, 15, 16.

- c) *Ündüb ulur tabaru* *tavraq kalib jügürgil*  
*qurraq jılın budun kör* *qanda tıkar qodı il.*

Wenn ein Alter ruft, geh schnell und laufe zu ihm; in einem  
 dürren Jahre sieh auf das Volke, wo es hingeht, folge nach. III, 50, 15, 16.

- d) *Kalsä qalı qatıylıg* *artar tıjü sürüngil*  
*ödlük işin bilib tur* *anıca awar tırangıl.*

Wenn Unglück kommt, so halte Stand, indem du sagst: es geht  
 vorüber; erkenne die Sache der Zeit und stemme dich dagegen.  
 III 177, 1, 2.

- e) *Bulmıñ nıwıg tıvırsan* *agruñ awar saviñgil*  
*barmıñ nıwıg saqınma* *azraq awar öklüngil.*

Die vorgefundene Habe liebste du, freue dich gemach darüber;  
 die verlorene Habe bedaure nicht, laß dich weniger gereuen. III 267 1, 2.  
 14. Zwei Elfsilbler auf l:

- Tün küñ tapun tıvırıgı boınamaqıl*  
*qorquñ awar aimann oınamaqıl.*

Diene Gott Tag und Nacht und sei nicht stolz; fürchte und  
 scheue ihn und spiele nicht. III 279, 4, 5.

15. Zwei Elfsilbler auf n:

- Uıyruqı bulsasan adgü qılın*  
*bolqıl kışık baktır qatın jaxlı olan.*

Wenn du eine hohe Stellung findest, so benimm dich gut; sei  
 den Fürsten ein guter Vermittler. I 62, 8.

16. Vier Siebensilbler mit Reim auf n beim zweiten und vierten  
 Verse:

- İltik tarı; qodmadı* *sıçyan taqı sıtırqan*  
*kıclab nalık kötürsän* *ımdı anı qısırqan.*



Er hatte Korn gesammelt, und Maus und Ratten ließen es nicht.  
Warum verbirgst du es und bringst es weg? Jetzt sei damit geizig!  
II 209, 9, 10.

17. Zwei Dreizehnsilbler (7 + 6) mit Reim auf *u*:

*Ögrün anıw biligin kündü avar baru*  
*qutaqlıqın tapınırıl qodırıl kürväs naru.*

Lerne seine Weisheit, indem du täglich zu ihm gehst; in Demut diene und lasse den Stolz beiseite. II 110, 17, 18.

18. Zwei Strophen von vier Siebensilblern mit Reim auf *u* beim zweiten und vierten Verse:

a) *Falkın bulub barduqı* *köölüm avar baylaju*  
*qaldın arınē qadıyqa* *işim udu jıylaju.*

Da der Reisende gegangen ist, hänge ich mein Herz an ihn; ich blieb vielleicht in Sorge, indem ich hinter meinem Genossen<sup>1</sup> her weine. III 228, 9, 10.

b) *Oqlam sana qodurman ardım ögüt xumaru*  
*bilgä arig bulub san baqqıl anıw tabaru.*

Mein Sohn, ich hinterlasse dir Tugend und Rat als Erbe; wenn du einen weisen Mann triffst, so schau auf ihn. III 325, 1, 2.

19. Drei Strophen von je zwei Zehn-, Elf- und Zwölfsilblern mit Reim auf *ai*:

a) *Qışqa tün külsä qalı qutluq jai*  
*Tün kün käää alqınur odlak bila ai.*

Bereite dich für den Winter vor, wenn der glückliche Sommer kommt; Nacht und Tag gehn dahin und schwinden, der Monat mit der Zeit. I 78, 2.

b) *Tagür mänis sarımnı bilgäligä ai*  
*tınur qalı atatsa qısraq simi tai.*

Melde mein Wort dem Weisen, sage ihm: (die Stute) ruht sich aus, wenn das Füllen nach dem Maß der Stute zum Pferd geworden ist. I 179, 3; III 118, 8, 9; vgl. Sprichw. Nr. 260.

c) *Köölül kınıw bolsa qalı joq çıyay*  
*qılsa küçün bolmas anı toq bai.*

Wessen Herz arm ist, der wird, auch wenn er sich sehr bemüht, nicht satt und reich. III 180 15, 16.

<sup>1</sup> *H* für *ä* wie in II E, vgl. I 48, 2; dagegen *ä* Sache statt *ü* der anderen Dialekte wegen des Dativs *äga* I 358, 8 oben 7a, III 19, 4 oben 7f. und des Akkusativs *äy* III 163, 7 (Sprichw. Nr. 110).

## TRANSCRIPTION AND EXPLANATION OF THE SIAMESE ALPHABET

By F. OTTO SCHRADER

[*Preliminary note.* This article, dealing with the Siamese phonetic system, partly in comparison to Tibetan as the most archaic of Indo-Chinese languages, was written in the Internment Camp of Ahmednagar where the presence of quite a number of half-breeds using Siamese as their mother-tongue was an inducement to study that language. There is no reference in it to Lepsius' attempt at reconstruction (in his "Standard Alphabet") nor to F. Müller's (see Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1893), because at the time of writing I knew nothing of these, while later I found them superseded by my own more extensive researches. The first penning underwent but one notable change, viz., by my discussing at greater length than originally my equation: Siamese "low *h*" = Tibetan "small *a*" = *spiritus asper* (wherein — however maintaining the transcription *h* — my friend H. Koerber has followed me in his publication "Morphologie des Tibetischen" now ready for the press). With Prof. Conrady's classical work "Eine indochinesische Causativ-Denominativ-Bildung" (also unknown to me at the time of writing), which I refer to subsequently several times, I am at variance in some points such as my derivation of the surd media; with his transcription, however, only indirectly in that he follows Lepsius and (for the vowels) Pallegoix. — *This article uses from the outset the system of transcription dealt with in it.*]

In Siamese, as in other languages, the pronunciation came in conflict with tradition: for, Siamese is written even now just as it was pronounced half a millennium ago, though — by sound-shift and other mutations — it has changed to such a degree as to have the number of its consonants and semivowels dwindled down from 44 to 20.



In view of this fact it seems strange that Bishop Pallegoix's system of transcribing *modern Siamese* should have been again resorted to in a book<sup>1</sup> claimed by its author to be the first scientific introduction into the Siamese, while he, in his own words, is "fully aware of the unscientific character of this transcription." For, if it is not quite unimportant even for a practical learning of the Siamese to know why there are six different *hhs* used in the script only, why four of these never occur in words with rising tone, etc., — it is, of course, quite indispensable for scientific studies not only to understand these differences but also to be constantly aware of them.

To find for the Siamese a scientific transliteration unobjectionable in every detail is, indeed, not possible yet, as a number of linguistic problems (esp. for the diphthongs) have to be solved before. But linguistics, especially comparative linguistics, cannot work without a system of transcription which essentially reproduces that pronunciation on which the script is based; and this essay is to prove that such a system may be created even now and without overmuch difficulty.

## 1. CONSONANTS.

For the larger part of the consonants the method of transliteration results quite naturally from the Siamese classification of consonants as "high", "middle", and "low" letters. For, this classification — as is clear from the spelling, as compared with the actual pronunciation, of Sanskrit and Pali words used in Siamese — is but an expression of the historical fact that in the tonal system now in use 1) all *originally* (i. e., at the time of the introduction of the alphabet) *sonant* consonants (including nasals and semivowels) appear as "low" letters; 2) all *originally non-aspirate and surd* explosives (including the *spiritus lenis*) are "middle"; and 3) all the *remaining surd* explosives and other sounds are "high" letters. The class of "high" letters, therefore, comprises all (originally and now) *surd sibilants*, *h-sounds*<sup>2</sup> and *aspirate surds*, as also *f*.

By taking notice of this scheme and by transcribing all sounds borrowed from Sanskrit or Pali or common to these and Siamese in

<sup>1</sup> Frankfurter, *Elements of Siamese Grammar*, Leipzig 1900.

<sup>2</sup> "High *h*" (inclusive of "leading *h*") and "leading *h*" (cf. below p. 66 end.).

the way long since usual in Indology we obtain the following transcription of consonants.<sup>1</sup>

A. *Foreign Consonants*, i. e. such which do not occur in purely Siamese words. These appear to be the following believed to have been introduced into Siamese from Sanskrit or Pāli (the three divisions are those of the tonal system: high, middle, low):

ṭ	ṭ̃	ṭ̄	ḍ	ḍ̃	ḍ̄	ṇ	ṇ̃	ṇ̄	ṭ	ṭ̃	ṭ̄	ḍ	ḍ̃	ḍ̄	ṇ	ṇ̃	ṇ̄	ṭ	ṭ̃	ṭ̄
th	ṭ̃	s	t	ṭ̃	T	gh	jh	ñ	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	dh	bh	l						
(th)	(s)	(s)	(d)	(T)		(kh)	(ch)	(y)	(th)	(th)	(n)	(th)	(ph)	(l)						

But of these fourteen sounds five only, viz. *th*, *s*, *t*, *T*, and *ḍ*, prove to be really confined to Sanskrit and Pāli words, while the remaining nine, though more frequent in such words than in others, occur also in Further-Indian and Chinese loan-words and *ñ* apparently even in a few purely Siamese words.

[The following, among others, must presumably be considered as non-Indogermanic loan-words in Siamese: *ṣṭ* neck (term of respect), *śuk* war, *śōk* enemy;<sup>2</sup> *jhō* bush, twig (Cambodj.), *jhām* to stare (~ Annam. *xēm* to see) and (in spite of Pāli *jhama* burnt) *jhām* to burn; *śū*, two (Chin.), *mōñ* Peguan, *kheñ* unhappy, miserable (~ Annam. *khinh* light, to contempt); *ḍhao* old; *ua* at, near, *uan* in day-time (~ Annam. *nhū't* day, sun); *lā* donkey<sup>3</sup> (~ Annam. *lā* mule), *lō*, *luon* to deceive (Annam. *lōi* to be mistaken, a mistake). Again, it being by no means likely that the Siamese should have preserved in a small number of words an original sonant aspirate, the few non-Aryan words containing *gh*, *dh*, *bh*, which appear, indeed, to be Indo-Chinese, may also for the present be considered as originally foreign to Siamese.<sup>4</sup> But there is no reason why *ñ* in the group *hñ* should not be purely Siamese. For, although *kñm*, "big, older" reminds one of Annam.

<sup>1</sup> The bracketed letters refer (in terms of our system) to the present pronunciation wherever this differs from the original one. For *T*, etc., see below the discussion of voiceless media.

<sup>2</sup> These words must have been introduced into Siamese after the shifting, in the latter, of *ś* to *s* (see below).

<sup>3</sup> Beside which we have, with ordinary *l*, *lōi* mule, which may be purely Siamese.

<sup>4</sup> For these and their correspondences see Conrady, Caus.-Denom.-Bildung, p. 119. As a sixth we may add *dhō* to weave (also *dh*) = Tibetan *'dag-pa*. The pronoun of the second person *ḍha*, *ḍhō* (cf. Burm. *ḍha*, Tib. *de*) is restricted to court-parlance and thus may be also of foreign origin.



*ngài* "Your Honour";<sup>1</sup> still *hñi* "woman" is evidently connected with Tib. *gñen-ma* "wife", *hñā*, "grass" with Tib. *rya-* "hair (of animals)", etc., so that, to all appearances, *ñ* is a genuine Indo-Chinese sound preserved in Tibetan.]

We, therefore, cancel *ñ* from the list of foreign consonants, and enter it among the original sounds.

To the foreign consonants belongs also *ṇ*, a "low" letter now spoken *kh* and suitably transcribed by an underlined *ḡ*, its sign resembling that of *ḡ* *ṇ*. It occurs in a single word only, viz. *ḡṇ* "neck", which is said to be Annamite.<sup>2</sup>

There is, finally, the letter *ṭ* which I should tentatively class among the foreign consonants as long as we know nothing of its origin. It occurs in just a few Pāli words (in the place of *kh* < *kṣ*, *kṣy*) and in about a dozen non-Aryan words and is now written and also pronounced as *ṭ* *kh*. It may, therefore, be transcribed by *kh*. Part of the words containing it are undoubtedly Indo-Chinese, e. g. *khay*, "spinning top" (~ Tib. *khal-ba*, *b-kal* "to spin"), *ḡhan* (*ḡhñ*, *ḡhan*) "robust, strong" (~ Burm. *kleuan ā*, pronounced *khon ā*, "strength"); but *khē* "moon", according to Michell, comes from Cambodjan.

B. *Purely Siamese Consonants* (partly identical with those of Sanskrit, etc.). The following list includes also those of dubious transcription to be discussed hereafter.

1. "High letters" (*akṣorā sūṇ*):

ṭ	ṇ	ṅ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ
kh	ch	th	ph	f	s	h

These have not changed their pronunciation.

<sup>1</sup> For the equivalence or shifting resp. of *ñ* and *ng* (*ṇ*) in Annamite compare e. g. *ngāñ* = *ngāñ* "twig, branch".

<sup>2</sup> Compare, with ordinary *ḡ*, *ḡṇ* "neck of animals", which seems to be the original Siamese word for "neck" in general beside which as terms of respect the above *ḡṇ* as well as *ḡṇ* were introduced. There seems to be no reason why these words should not be Indo-Chinese (cf. Tib. *m-ga-dar*, *m-gar*, *m-gal-ga*), while, on account of its initial and of its normal tone, *ḡṇ* cannot be derived from the modern Annamite word for "neck" viz. *ḡ* (p. e. *ḡ* with rising tone). Compare also the Āhom word *khō* and Shān *khā*, both = "neck".

<sup>3</sup> Pronounced *akṣṇ*; compare note 2 on page 59.

2. "Middle letters" (*akṣor klāṅ*):

ก	ข	ฃ	ค	ฅ	จ	ฉ
k	c	t	T	p	p	
(j)	(d)		(b)			

3. "Low letters" (*akṣor tā*):

ง	ฆ	ฎ	ฏ	ฏ	น	ด	น	น	น	ด	ด	ด	ด	ด
g	ṅ	j	z	ñ	ḍ	n	b	w	m	y	r	l	v	
(ch)	(ch)	(s)	(y)	(th)		(ph)	(f)						(h)	

Let us now examine, as far as necessary, the particulars of this table.

The transcription of the *palatal explosives* by *ch*, *c*, *j* (and *jh*, see table A) may be objected to on account of their being compounds. But transcriptions like Wershoven's *teh*, *dj* are also unsatisfactory for the one among other reasons that it may well be questioned whether these sounds are not, or at least originally were, *simple* palatals like the Sanskrit sounds with which they are identified by the Siamese themselves.<sup>1</sup> For simplicity's sake too the transcription offering itself should be kept.

Excepting the *ch* just dealt with, the transcription of all "*high letters*" is clear.

The "*middle letters*" require throughout an explanation.

Here we have first of all to note the remarkable phenomenon of voiced and voiceless mediae<sup>2</sup> existing side by side in the actual pronunciation — the more remarkable for being confined to the dentals (with the cacuminals<sup>3</sup>) and the labials<sup>4</sup>. That both sounds — the

<sup>1</sup> It is true that the Sanskrit palatals are now-a-days often pronounced as compound sounds — so always in Europe, where English *church*, *jam*, etc. are compared, and in Kashmir where they have turned into dental affricates — but in South India, at any rate, they are still the simple sounds which comparative philology and Indian metrics proves them to be.

<sup>2</sup> The latter are said to differ from the former not only by lacking the voice but also by a somewhat stronger pressure of the evading air (Wershoven, *Lehr- und Lesebuch der Siamesischen Sprache*, p. 4). They are pretty frequent also in Europe, *e. g.* in Middle German dialects, in the place of, but not beside, the voiced mediae.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *l*, *r* of table A. These cacuminals not natural to the Siamese have most probably always been pronounced by them as dentals.

<sup>4</sup> For these sounds and their pronunciation in the neighbouring *Mon* see P. W. Schmidt, *Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen* (in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1906), esp. §§ 137 and 143. Of



one written as surd but pronounced as sonant (*t, f, p*) and the voiceless one (*ṭ, ṣ, ṇ*) — were tenues before, may be inferred from their having been used for writing the Sanskrit tenues. For, we find e. g. *tapa* "heat", *tonk* "mason's chisel", *pori* "all around", *pītar* "father"; but also: *ṭu-thāgor* "the Exalted one" (Buddha), *raykir* "chiseling, carving (of stone)", *ṣva-bha* "brightness", *ṣṭa* "father". This, however, may be accounted for by the fact that, after the tenues (*t, f, p*) had become voiced mediae in pronunciation, while the "low" sounds *d, ḍ, b* had turned into the "high" *th, ph*, nothing but the voiceless mediae (*ṭ, ṣ, ṇ*) appeared to be left to the Siamese for writing the tenues in newly introduced Sanskrit and Pāli words. That these mediae also had shifted *within Siamese* from original tenues, cannot be substantiated; but there is reason for supposing that their origin in *pre-Siamese* time is connected with certain consonantal groups containing a tenuis.

[For, as is evident from the following instances, the Siamese voiceless mediae correspond with certain Tibetan consonantal groups or their first constituent. This is the third of three cases of correspondence: 1) *Tibetan tenuis* = *Siamese tenuis*: Tib. *tol-ba* = Siam. *tol* to reach, arrive; *g-tiṅ* bottom, depth = *tiṅ*, deeply (adv.); *d-pal* brightness, prosperity ~ *pal* to sacrifice, wish prosperity; *d-pon* master, superintendent ~ *pon* to order, superintend. 2) *Voiced media on both sides*: Tib. *day* = Siam. *day*, with, also; *r-dap-ba* = *dap* to fold; *b-de* bliss, durability, *b-den* true ~ *dḥ*, genuine, true; *bun-loṅ* whirling up and down ~ *buṅ*, to cast, fling; *d-bay-po* powerful ~ *bḥṅ*, strong, strength. 3) *Voiceless media in Siamese*: Tib. *s-tan* seat, stool ~ Siam. *tan*, small bench; *s-ti-ba* to rest ~ *ṣiṅ* quiet, silent; *'dam* = *ṣam* mud; *ḍray* = *ṣroy* straight: and with labial (for *sp > f*, etc., see below the discussion of *w*): Tib. *phra* thin, fine ~ Siam. *pro* fragile, *'phro-ba* and *'brab-pa* to strew (*s-pro-ba* to spread) ~ *proi* and *prai* to strew; *'bri-ba* to decrease, grow less (*phri-ba*, *'phri-ba*, *s-brid-pa* to diminish) ~ *ṣṛi*, receding water, *ṣṛē* sloping ground; *'byed-pa* = *ṣḥi* to open. — If in a few cases we do not find the expected voiceless media (comp., e. g., Tib. *s-tab-s* = Siam. *tab* opportunity, *'brat-ba* ~

the few words containing these sounds (transcribed by Schmidt as *β, δ*) some correspond with the Siamese, e. g. *ḥan* "to plait" = Siam. *ṣan*, "to turn, twist", while others are purely Mon-Khmer (not Indo-Chinese), e. g. *ḥā* "two" = *hwa*, *ḥar*, etc. of the Munda languages.

*blat, brat, brāk* to be separated), there need not be a direct correspondence here. For, we must bear in mind that Siamese has been influenced by many a dialect related to it, such as Khāmti, Shān, Āhom, etc.; also that here as in Tibetan numerous adaptations have taken place (comp., e. g., Siam. *thā*, *ṭhā*, *thū*, *dū*, blunt, stupid ~ Tib. *g-th-mug* stupidity, *thib-i-po* dark, *dī-ki* drunk); further the rank growth of prefixes in Tibetan; and, finally, the loss, on one or the other side, of words with an original prefix.]

The transcription of these sounds must keep account of the fact that in the Siamese script the voiceless media is but a modified tenuis (*p̣, ṭ, ṭ̣* ~ *p, t, ṭ*),<sup>1</sup> which can be indicated by underlining, but better, the case being different from *k* and *g*, by small capitals not overtopping the smaller ones of the minuscules, *i. e., x, y, r*.

With these pairs of sounds does not go a guttural pair, as should be expected, but instead of it we have the single *ṇ*, in which are united, as is shown by Tibetan<sup>2</sup>, the original<sup>3</sup> guttural tenuis and a later non-aspirate and voiceless guttural which, in analogy with the discussed pairs of sounds, would have to be pronounced as voiceless media (*k*). But the two have become one both in speech and script, and the one sound, as it is spoken now, neither corresponds with our *k* nor with our voiced *g*, nor is it exactly, as appears to me and others, what might be expected here in analogy with the *ṣ* and *ṇ*. One might, therefore, feel tempted to render it in some special way, but *k* may be kept just as well.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This means that from the Siamese point of view these media are more akin to the tenuis than to the voiced media. Compare with this Sütterlin's calling the tenuis "strong voiceless explosives" and the voiceless media "weak voiceless explosives" (*Die Lehre von der Lautbildung*, p. 136).

<sup>2</sup> For instance, there being in Siamese neither *pr* nor *ph* but only *pr*, we should expect to find for Tib. *lhor* "to pour down the throat, to swallow" a Siamese word with voiceless guttural media as initial; in point of fact, however, we find *lpr* "to swallow" with the very *k* which occurs as original tenuis *e. g.* in the emphatic particle Tib. *ka* = Siam. *kā*, in Tib. *kā-bu-pa* "to cover" ~ Siam. *kāp* "sheath, shell", etc.

<sup>3</sup> Whether in an earlier stage, before the differentiations of individual languages, the Indo-Chinese tenuis sprang from media, is of no account for this research.

<sup>4</sup> The sound appears to me to be a voiceless media which, unlike *ṣ* and *ṇ*, is not produced at exactly the same place as the corresponding voiced media. Werskhoven puts it together with *ṣ* and *ṇ*, while Frankfurter sees in it, as also in *ṣ* and *ṇ*, a tenuis, saying that the Siamese had introduced *p̣* (see above p. 48) in order to obtain a pair of gutturals corresponding with *t—ṣ* and *p—ṇ*. But *p̣* is a "low" letter, not to speak



There is also no palatal pair corresponding with *t*, *ʔ* and *p*, *ʔ*, and I doubt whether there ever was one.

One more of the "middle letters" remains to be mentioned, viz., *ʔ* which as "middle letter" (for it has some more functions to be dealt with in the chapter on vowels) denotes the cracking start of the voice in words beginning with a vowel, i. e., the *spiritus lenis* familiar to us from Ancient Greek<sup>1</sup>, because in other European languages, such as English, it is not written, though spoken. This being reckoned as an individual letter by the Siamese, it must also be transcribed as such (*ʔ*), which is not very cumbersome and is, as will be seen, advisable for other reasons too.

Among the "*low letters*" there are only three the transcription of which requires a discussion.

We must, first of all, justify our use of *z* for *ʔ*. Siamese grammarians count this letter among the palatals (compare its place in the alphabet), so that, if they were right, we ought to transcribe it by *ʃ* (= *j* in French *journal*, *ʃ* in Engl. *tension*)<sup>2</sup> and not by *z* (*z* in *rose*, etc.). That they are not right, but have — as is easily understood — mistaken the nature of the sound, becomes evident as soon as we inquire into the fate, in Siamese, of the two old couples of sounds preserved as the Tibetan sibilants *ʃ*, *ʃʰ* (palatal) and *s*, *sʰ* (dental). For, the first thing this inquiry reveals is the fact that for the Tibetan *ʃ* we have *s* in Siamese:<sup>3</sup> in other words: the pre-Siamese *ʃ* has been absorbed in Siamese by *s*. This suggests the possibility of a parallel, may be coinciding, process for *ʃʰ* and *z*, a supposition apparently endorsed by the remark with which Sarat Chandra Das in his Tibetan-English Dictionary introduces the *Ξ* (*z*): "In olden times and in the frontier-provinces to the present day it was and is sounded like the

of other objections. Frankfurter contradicts himself by explaining *T*, *Tʰ*, *P* on p. 7 of his book as "original sonants", but on p. 19 as "originally surd".

<sup>1</sup> Where, however, it may have better accorded with its name.

<sup>2</sup> It is advisable — for consistency's sake — to characterize all palatal consonants, except where no discretion is needed, by the accents accent (also all caceminals) by a point under the letter) and to make use of *ʃ* only in urgent cases. Still *ʃ* may also be kept in the sense of *ʃ* + *y*, i. e., for distinguishing the compound from the simple palatal nasal (it is used in this article without regard to this difference).

<sup>3</sup> Compare, e. g., Tib. *ʃom-pa* "to prepare, make ready" with Siam. *ʃom* do., Tib. *ʃin-tu* "very, in a high degree" with Siam. *ʃin* "all, every, end, to come to an end", Tib. *ʃʰang-pa* "difference, to distinguish" with Siam. *ʃʰʃ* "to divide, classify".

English *s*; but in Lhasa and Tsang it is now pronounced like the English *s*, but always low-toned." In Siamese too the actual pronunciation is *s* which, however, cannot be directly derived from *ś*. But in Central Tibet (acc. to S. Ch. D.) ཤ (ś) is now pronounced something like ཤ (s); and thus, indeed — all *ś* having become *s* in Siamese — the possibility is given of pre- or early-Siamese *ś* having in the long run developed to *s* (*ś* > *ś* > *s*)<sup>1</sup>. And this hypothesis, viz., that both *ś* and *ś* have become *s* in Siamese, seems to be confirmed by the facts,<sup>2</sup> so that the few cases in which Tib. *ś* seems to correspond with Siam. *s*<sup>3</sup> presumably are no direct correspondences. This much is certain that the only Tibetan sound corresponding with Siam. *s* in pretty many cases is just Tib. *s* (not *ś*)<sup>4</sup>.

For the letter འ, now called "low *f*" (as distinguished from the "high" original *f*), there remains as transcription only *w*, because འ is considered with the Siamese as equivalent to Sanskrit ऋ and must, therefore, be transcribed (as in Indology) by *v*. It is true that in this way the phonetic relation of the two is inverted in so far as འ is bilabial like the English *w*; still the use of *w* as labio-dental sonant fricative (as in German) has the practical advantage that the graphically simpler sign *v* is used to denote the simpler and far more common sound. This *w* as well as its "high" counterpart, the *f*, both alien to Tibetan, have, in my opinion, formed like the voiceless mediae, viz., *w* from *sb* ('*b*') and *f* from *sp* ('*ph*')<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *I. e.*, a low-toned consonant to a high-toned one. But we must remember that, when this change took place (if it is a fact at all), the tone-system was still non-existent or only in an embryonic state.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Tib. ལཱ་ "four" = Siam. ལཱ; ལཱ་པ་ "exact", ལཱ་ལ་ "close examination, comparison" ~ ལཱ་ལ་ "to investigate, examine"; ལཱ་ལ་ "fire" (term of respect) ~ ལཱ་ "bright, shining". Many more examples will hardly be found, as most of the few Siamese roots with initial *ś* seem to be lost.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, apparently, in Tib. ལཱ་པ་ "grown lean, to fade away" ~ Siam. ལཱ "to abrink, sinking"; ལཱ་ལ་ "to ask for, beg" ~ ལཱ "beggard".

<sup>4</sup> Compare Tib. ལཱ་པ་ "to sleep, fall asleep" ~ Siam. ལཱ "nearly sleeping, sleepy"; ལཱ་ "thick", ལཱ་ལ་ "abundance, lots" ~ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ "to heap, too much"; ལཱ "line, continuation, sequel" ~ ལཱ "often, to repeat"; ལཱ་ལ་ "to make, manufacture", ལཱ་ལ་ "diligence" ~ ལཱ་ "to prepare, make ready, practise"; ལཱ་ལ་ "straight, honest" ~ ལཱ, ལཱ; ལཱ་ "atom, particle" ~ ལཱ "part, piece, half"; ལཱ "sly, false" ~ ལཱ "naughty, regalish"; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Tib. ལཱ་ལ་ "to swell (of the belly, etc.)", ལཱ་ལ་ "to swell, heave" ~ Siam. ལཱ་ "swelling of the belly"; ལཱ་ལ་ "bellows", ལཱ་ལ་ "to blow" ~ ལཱ ལཱ "puffing noise (as of an automobile)"; ལཱ "secret, hidden", ~ ལཱ "sky (in the sense



The last letter of the alphabet is the low *h*, ཨ. Its position in the alphabet, where it comes after the ག or *spiritus lenis*, and its graphic similarity to the latter show that it is considered as related to it, i. e., as another kind of *spiritus*. For this reason and a rather strange one<sup>1</sup> Michell (in the preface, well worth reading, to his Siamese-English Dictionary, Bangkok 1892) declared this *h* to be the *spiritus asper*, and a comparison with Tibetan seems to confirm his view. For, it shows the identity not only (which is obvious) of Tib. ཨ with Siam. ག,<sup>2</sup> but also of Tib. ར with Siam. ར (both of which latter we render by 'r'):

Tib. 'ug-pa "owl" ~ Siam. 'ak do.; T. 'o-dod "lamentation" ~ S. 'o "sound of weeping"; T. 'u-cag "chimney" ~ S. (Chin.) 'ue "fire"; T. 'os-pa "to be worthy; fitting" ~ S. (Chin.) 'e<sub>2</sub> "good". — To this we might add a number of words expressing various kinds of noise.

This being the most enigmatical letter of the Tibetan alphabet and, moreover, of very frequent occurrence in that language, we shall now try to obtain some more information about it.

To draw any conclusions, as to its original sound, from the Chinese loan-words in Siamese<sup>3</sup> is evidently impossible, as there is but one *h* in Chinese which, like the Indian *h* (*intā* "Hindoo", but *hima* "snow"), is rendered in Siamese partly through the "low", partly through the "high" *h*.<sup>4</sup>

of cover of the world"; wāy 1) "straw" (= "husk"), 2) "indistinct, dull" (= "veiled"); 'kag-pa "roundness" ~ wā-pa class prefix for eggs; — and with *pa*: Tib. 'u-pa "hair" ~ Siam. fā "down-feather, line, thin", fān "fine dust"; 'u-pa "general, concerning all" ~ fā pāt "eloquence" (lit. "swell-mouth"); 'u-pa "many" ~ fāy "multitude", class prefix for crowds, herds, etc.; 'u-pa 'u-pa "to repair to, transfer to" ~ fāk fā, "to give oneself up to", fāt "to send"; 'u-pa lā "shield", 'u-pa kha "apron" ~ fāy "to hide, to screen"; etc.

<sup>1</sup> Because the Siamese write the word *hotel* with "low *h*". This is, of course, done because the word, if written with "high *h*", would not have the normal tone.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. e. g., Tib. 'awa "little man, dwarf" with Siam. 'aw "within bounds".

<sup>3</sup> In the Tibetan alphabet ར follows ག and precedes the semivowels; these are followed by the voiceless sibilants, then *h* and, as the last letter of the alphabet, the *spiritus lenis*. This place of ར is probably due to its nature of a sonant fricative.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the two words mentioned above Cartwright's Dictionary terms as Chinese: 'ik "quick, impetuous", 'uwy "wind", and 'uwy<sub>2</sub> "to fight". For the first comp. Siam. jāt "fast" and kāt "hold" (Chin. *shā* "already") for the second Chin. fāy "wind".

<sup>5</sup> This difference, if not a mere inconsistency (cf. p. 38 n. 3, p. 62 n. 1), may have something to do with the tonal system; cf. p. 54 n. 1.

Nor do we get much farther by Siamese alone, for here also the language, as it is now spoken, knows only one *h*, the difference between the "high" and the "low" *h* consisting merely in their being connected with differently toned vowels. Yet it remains noteworthy that here "low *h*" is not only graphically related to the *spiritus lenis* but is also connected, through a change of sounds similar to that in the dental series (cf. *th*, etc., above p. 51), with both the *spiritus lenis* and the "high *h*", for which reason these three (and, fourthly, *l* which, however, has hardly anything to do with them) form one class of sounds in indigenous Siamese grammar. Thus we find in Siamese: 'ok "to bellow at; roaring of the tiger" besides *hok*, the sound of vomiting, and 'uok, (ဝှက်) "to feel sick, to vomit"; further 'at "to sneeze" besides 'at "to be short of breath". Compare also Tib. 'ud "to boast, boasting" ~ Siam. 'uat "to boast"; Tib. 'ak-pa "to bark" ~ Siam. *hao*, the same; etc.

It is, after all, from Tibetan that we learn most about its "small *a*" (*a chung*), as the letter is called here, presumably for graphical reasons only:

The Tibetan ༈—a "[sub-]feminine", i. e., [very] "low" letter—is, according to Jäschke's detailed description,<sup>1</sup> spoken now as follows, "changing like the shades of a chameleon": 1) in all parts of the country when intervocalic, and in Central Tibet in other positions too (but not before surd aspirates, where it is mute) as the "vowel in itself" (see below); 2) in Western Tibet, when initial before a vowel, as the *spiritus lenis*, while as initial before a consonant it is mute; 3) in Kham (Eastern Tibet), when initial before a vowel, as a voiced fricative guttural (ɣ); when initial before a consonant, as the nasal of the consonantal class concerned; to which may be added that in compounds the nasal pronunciation is rather frequent also in remaining Tibet (e. g., *dge- 'dun* > *gendun*).

Now, that this ༈ originally was a kind of *h*, as which it had already been transcribed by Csoma de Kőrös, may be proved by Jäschke's own words, in spite of his opposition. He sees in the original ༈ the voiced fricative corresponding with the (explosive) *spiritus lenis*, i. e. the "vowel in itself", the "purely vocalic sound freed from all

<sup>1</sup> In the Monatsberichte der Königl. Preuß. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1868, p. 158 ff., and in the Introduction to his dictionaries.



consonantic nature" "well-know when occurring within a word, as it appears wherever in non-compound words one vowel follows another, as in *deo*, Tib. རྩོམ་". It is, therefore, *not* a question of the "vowel in itself" (such a thing does not exist), *not* one of some weak vocalic element preceding every initial media,<sup>1</sup> but what we have to do with here is the "voiced *h*" we all know from its intervocalic occurrence in French *fléau*, *là-haut*, German *Alkohol*, *sie hat*, etc.<sup>2</sup> This agrees perfectly with what an eager scholar of Tibetan<sup>3</sup> writes to me from Calcutta about the pre-vocal ཨ (as distinguished from the pre-consonant ཨ which he declares to be completely mute): "The Tibetan initial ཨ is not a vowel or semi-vowel but a soft *h*. I do not know enough about phonetics to know whether such a letter exists, but I should say that the initial ཨ stands to ཨ<sup>4</sup> as *g* to *k*, or *d* to *t*. . . . The European, and even the Tibetan, easily pronounces it too softly, so that it becomes inaudible, or too hard when it turns into *h*." The latter case has happened in Siamese, just as in Sanskrit where *h*, long since voiceless in pronunciation, has yet retained the value of the voiced sound which comparative philology proves it to have been.

To transcribe this voiced *h* by the *spiritus asper* is all the more justified as its secondary derivation from *y* may still be observed in Tibetan, *e. g.* in *kyan* > *yan* > 'ay "also",<sup>5</sup> which is the very process by which the Indo-European semivowel *y* became in Greek the *spiritus asper*, as in *ēs* = Skt. *yas*. Vice versa, the vulgar *y* in the place of ' *e. g.* in *yog* < 'og "below, down",<sup>6</sup> tallies with the intervocalic "weak" *y* of Jaina Prakrit.<sup>7</sup>

From all this it seems to be evident that the antevocal ཨ of

<sup>1</sup> Compare the rendering of the media as nasal + tenuis in Modern Greek, and the like (J. Kirste, *Die altindischen Platten*, Vienna Acad., Phil.-Hist. class, vol. 160, first essay, p. 8). Jäschke explains the sound to be „die mit zunehmendem Anlaut hörbare Anfüllung des am Guttural-, Labial- oder Dentalpunkte geschlossenen Luftweges" as found in the initial of English *go*, *do*, *he*, *few*, while the German media are nothing to him but "soft tenuis", (*Handwörterbuch*, preface p. iv).

<sup>2</sup> Jespersen, *Elementarbuch der Phonetik* (Leipzig-Berlin 1912) 6, 52f.

<sup>3</sup> My friend and former colleague Johan van Manen, now secretary of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

<sup>4</sup> The "high" *h* of Tibetan.

<sup>5</sup> All three forms are in use, the third after vowels.

<sup>6</sup> Also pronounced *uog* (*uug*). Compare also (?) *yoghat* besides 'yog-ha "to come" (~ Chin. *uoh* "to go").

<sup>7</sup> Fiebel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 187.

Tibetan and, consequently, every Siamese  $\text{ᨾ}$  is to be looked at as a *spiritus asper*. Even before consonants (*i. e.*, as a "prefix")  $\text{ᨾ}$  need not be explained as a vowel or original nasal ( $a < m$ ), as done by Professor Conrady.<sup>1</sup> For, spirituses and h-like sounds before consonants are nothing unheard of in the Indo-Chinese languages (cf. the Burmese *hā thē*, the Siamese now mute *hə nā* and *ʔ nā*, etc.); and the facts believed to prove the nasal origin of  $\text{ᨾ}$  show merely that in pronunciation (not spelling) ante-consonant  $\text{ᨾ}$  has locally (and in compounds rather universally) turned into a nasal, while in another part of the country it has also arisen from or replaced *m* (which seems to have led to a confusion, also in spelling, of the two prefixes). The latter process is quite naturally explained by the very frequent prefix  $\text{ᨾ}$  getting the better of the less frequent  $\text{ᨾ}$ ; while, as to the former (which Jäschke accounted for "by neglecting the perfect closing of the mouth channel"), the spirant  $\eta$ , as which the ante-vocal  $\text{ᨾ}$  is spoken in Kham, shows the way, how the *spiritus asper* may have developed into the nasal.

## 2. VOWELS.

To the transcription of vowels, the historical principle is, if ever, anyway not applicable now. Vowels and diphthongs must, therefore, be rendered in accordance with the actual pronunciation, except in the two cases (*ā*, *i. e.*, nasalized *ā*, now spoken *am*, and *āi*, now *āi*; see below) in which two originally distinct letters, still written separately, are now pronounced as one. Such distinctions as the script makes for the same vowel according to its position as initial, medial, or final, as part of an open or of a closed syllable, as the first letter of a monosyllabic or of a polysyllabic word,<sup>2</sup> need not be maintained by transcription. These differences may be historic, but are sufficiently clear from the position of the vowel.

In the Siamese vocabulary the long vowels are more frequent

<sup>1</sup> Eine Indochinesische Causativ-Denominativ-Bildung, p. 23. Conrady bases his hypothesis ( $\text{ᨾ} < m$ ) on the pronunciation of Kham, on the Central-Tibetan pronunciation of the prefix *m* as *a* (as he prefers to write Jäschke's "vowel in naef" which he accepts), and on a few comparisons with words from related languages which, in his own words, are "neither exhaustive nor perfectly safe". He will find it difficult to answer the question why in Kham the two prefixes are kept distinct, *a*, but not *m*, assimilating with a following consonant (*mā* against *māi-pa*, etc., see Jäschke's tables).

<sup>2</sup> All these cases will be mentioned in their places further on.



than the short ones, wherefore it has become habitual since Bishop Pallegoix to mark only the short syllables, not the lengths,—a method contrary to general philological practice and therefore not advisable for a transcription that is to serve comparative philology. We, therefore, shall indicate length and abnormal shortness, but leave normal shortness unmarked.

In Sanskrit, nominal stems ending in a vowel (except *r*, etc.)—short or long—may have, for inflection, the so-called *visarga*<sup>1</sup>: an h-like sound, transcribed by *h*, representing original Indo-European *s*. Now, in Siamese, the final *ah* of Sanskrit words such as *māsah* "the month" (nominative) was, and partly still is, pronounced as a short *a* (or as *u* with following *spiritus lenis*): this gave rise to the conception of the *visarga* as a mere symbol of shortness for final vowels (i. e., vowels ending a word or a syllable), and it was, therefore, used to designate such short finals as do not exist (or have no sign of their own) in the Indian script (Sanskrit and Pāli),<sup>2</sup> i. e., for all except *i* (and the Siamese *ü* directly derived therefrom) and *u*. In this manner were obtained: 1) the short *a* just spoken of as final of dissyllabic Sanskrit words<sup>3</sup>; 2) the short *a* as final of monosyllabic words or other than last syllables, e. g., in words taken from Sanskrit such as  $\text{रा}$  *ra* and  $\text{रारि}$  *ra-ri*<sup>4</sup>, or in the purely Siamese  $\text{रा}$  *ra*,  $\text{रा}$  *ra*, etc.; 3) the final short vowels  $\text{इ}$  [+ Kons. +]  $\text{उ}$ ,  $\text{ऋ}$  [+ Kons. +]  $\text{ऌ}$ ,  $\text{ऍ}$  [+ Kons. +]  $\text{ऎ}$ ,  $\text{ए}$  [+ Kons. +]  $\text{ऐ}$ , i. e., *e*, *i*, *o*, *ü*, these being nothing but  $\text{इ}$ ,  $\text{ऋ}$ ,  $\text{ऍ}$ ,  $\text{ए}$  [+ Kons. +]  $\text{ऐ}$  = *e*, *i*, *o*, *ü* with the sign of shortness added to them;

<sup>1</sup> From *vi* +  $\text{ह}$  "to throw off, abandon".

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit possesses short *a*, *i*, *u*, but after consonants *a* is not expressed (but merely understood) in writing; Pāli has two more short vowels, *e* and *o*, but they are written as long ones.

<sup>3</sup> It is written now in some words with, in others without  $\text{ः}$  (cf.  $\text{द्विः}$  "deer,"  $\text{द्वि}$  "enemy", spoken *vi(a) hwa*); often appears even as  $\text{ः}$  (thus in the name *Rāmā* = Skt. *Rāma*); interchanges with Pāli  $\text{ह}$  (*hā*, *hā*),  $\text{हल}$  "roguish" < Skt. *hāla* "young, child"; and partly has grown into  $\text{ह}$  (as in  $\text{विह}$  pronounced *phut*, beside the Pāli  $\text{विह}$  *laddho*;  $\text{विह}$  pronounced *ān*, "time season", beside  $\text{विह}$  *ān* "tense (in grammar)"; etc.). To transcribe the *visarga*, which is unnecessary in purely Siamese words,  $\text{ः}$  might be used, as a mistaking it for Siamese  $\text{ह}$  is excluded.

<sup>4</sup> Which without  $\text{ः}$  would sound *eri*, or — as a purely Siamese word — *eri*.

and 4) the final short vowel: [ + Kons. + ] ๗ =  $\varphi$ , which means in reality the shortening not of  $\vartheta = \varphi$  but of a diphthong (viz.  $ao$ , see below), resorted to because ๗ seemed indispensable for the privative  $a$  of Sanskrit (see below).

All these short vowels except  $\varphi$  (see below) occur also as *medials*, i. e., in closed syllables: but only  $i$ ,  $u$  and  $\bar{u}$  (like  $i$ ,  $u$ ) have here the same sign they have as finals. Medial  $a$ ,  $\bar{a}$  are written ๖ or ๗ respectively (๗  $\bar{a}$  occurring also as final), medial  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  by means of a combination of the  $e$ -sign (๑) with that of  $\bar{i}$  or  $\bar{u}$  (๖, ๗).

$\bar{o}$ , in the sense of the short equivalent of  $\bar{a}$ , (not  $\varphi$ ), though occurring as final, does not exist as a medial in Siamese. The letter  $\bar{o}$ , therefore, may be used for transcribing a frequently occurring similar  $\bar{o}$ -sound, occurring in closed, and, in Sanskrit words, also in open syllables, which I propose to call the "inherent  $\bar{o}$ ": a short vowel midway between broad and narrow  $\bar{o}$  (i. e., between  $\varphi$  and final  $\bar{o}$ ), not written in Siamese (cf. non-initial  $\bar{a}$  in Sanskrit and Pāli) but spoken after every consonant that has no vowel-sign attached to it<sup>1</sup>.

Medial  $e$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\varphi$ , are frequent in nasal diphthongs, but have no signs different from those of  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\varphi$ . They are expressed through the long vowel together with either the tone or the symbol of (medial) short sounds called *lek̄k̄ r̄et̄* (๘), viz., in the following way<sup>2</sup>:

In words with a nasal as final and with falling or low tone<sup>3</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> And always distinguished with perfect safety from both of these, though it is said to be nearer the second than the first.

<sup>2</sup> Not, however, as final in naming the letters of the alphabet, where no vowel is written but  $\varphi$  is spoken. Inherent  $\bar{e}$  is spoken for the Sanskrit inherent  $\bar{a}$  in older loan-words (as in ๑๓ *pari* besides later ๑๓ *sa:ri*), but not before final  $\bar{a} < \bar{e} < \bar{o}$  where, again,  $\bar{e}$  is spoken (e. g. in ๑๓๑๓ *ak̄pa:n*, spoken *ak̄pa:n*). The correspondence, in Tibetan, of Siamese inherent  $\bar{e}$  is also  $\bar{e}$ , e. g., in Tib. *sem* "feeble, decrepit" = Siam. *sem* "weakly, frail" (other instances on p. 50, p. 52 n. 3, p. 53 n. 4). Where  $\bar{a}$  appears to correspond, as in *a-pal*, *a-dak-pa* (above p. 50), etc., we have in reality no direct correspondence (because Siam. medial  $\bar{a}$  = Tib.  $\bar{a}$ , e. g., in *brah̄ba* ~ *brah̄*, etc., see above pp. 50, 53 n. 4 and 5 etc.), but Tibetan or earlier ablaut (in which sense *a-pal* may probably be compared with *phol* "blister, abscess"; *a-dak-pa* with *dek̄dek̄* and *thek̄chik̄* "dam" with *thom̄-pa*, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> Compare the paragraph on the tonal system.

<sup>4</sup> Not "with rising or falling tone", as Werskhoven teaches (*Lehr- und Lesebuch der Siam. Sprache*, p. 15, note). Shortness of the vowel, rising tone, and final nasal are found together only in the few, mostly onomatopoeic words with middle initial and



vowels  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$ , — written as such by the Siamese — appear, in pronunciation, more or less short or shortened; unmistakably short is the vowel in the (non-accented) words with *lèkh r̥t*, and as a rule also in the words with low initial and first accent; in the remaining words the vowel is usually half-long, frequently, however, (at least in individual pronunciation) also short<sup>1</sup>. To draw here a sharp dividing-line will be hardly possible even with the help of phonetic instruments; and, as we cannot tell at present and by Indo-Chinese linguistics alone may never be able to find out which short vowels have been originally such and which are merely the result of shortening,<sup>2</sup> the best method at the time being seems to be to write as short vowels also the half-long ones. Consequently, the long vowels  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  of Siamese are to be transcribed as short ones in words with a nasal as final and with 1. high, middle, or — if raised by prefixed *h* (*hə nā*) — even low initial and first or second accent; and 2. low initial and first accent (= *hə nā* and second)<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, even though the word may end in a nasal, if there is a different accent from those mentioned or no accent at all, the vowel is to be read long, unless, indeed, shortness be directly indicated by *lèkh r̥t*, which occurs only in non-accented words, including such also as do not end in a nasal<sup>4</sup>.

Thus,  $\text{เล็ว } lēu$ , "to play" and  $\text{เล็ว } lēu$  "louse"; also  $\text{เล็ว } khēy$ , "to view",  $\text{เล็ว } khēy$ , "shin", and  $\text{เล็ว } khēy$  "hard, solid"; and likewise  $\text{เล็ว } khēy$

fourth accent (*lēy, rēy, tom, som*). The use of the *lèkh r̥t* in non-accentuated words is a proof of their vowel being as a rule long.

<sup>1</sup> E. g., in *sen<sub>1</sub>*, *shem<sub>1</sub>*, *khəm<sub>1</sub>*, *pəm<sub>1</sub>*, *khəy<sub>1</sub>*, *həy<sub>1</sub>*, *rəy<sub>1</sub>*, etc. For restoring the quantity, the nasal of such words is often somewhat prolonged.

<sup>2</sup> A case of original shortness of the vowel seems to me to be  $\text{เล็ว } sen_2$  "sinew" (= Burm. *sen*; spoken *sen*) — comp. O. H. German *senewa*, O. Engl. *sinu*, Skt. *sināmī* and Lat. *senā* "to bind" (Osmanli *sinir* "nerve"), and, with complete loss of the vowel, Skt. *senya* "sinew", O. H. Germ. *sinor*, etc.; possibly also Greek *senew* "sinew", Lat. *lenus* "rope", etc.; while we may have original length (?) in the word  $\text{เล็ว } en$ , meaning also "sinew" — comp. Greek *iva* "sinew", Hung. *in*, *in* do, Tamil *inai* "nerve of a leaf".

<sup>3</sup> No shortening takes place after *spiritus lenis* (*sen<sub>1</sub>*, *shen<sub>1</sub>*, *shen<sub>1</sub>*) except where specially marked (*sen* "sinew", = *sen<sub>1</sub>*).

<sup>4</sup> In much used words, such as *sen* "to see", *sen* "to be", the *lèkh r̥t* is usually omitted.

*yeŋ*, "to go on tip-toes", *ย๑น* *yəŋ*, "on the stealth",<sup>1</sup> and *ห๑ย๑* *hyəŋ* "to be afraid" have, indeed, all of them a different tone, but their vowel is the same, or very nearly the same, as to shortness. On the other hand we have, with the corresponding long vowels<sup>2</sup>, e. g. *เลน* *lén* "mud, mire", *เข๑น* *khvén* "distrikt" *ย๑น* *yəŋ* "stag, deer", *เ๑น* *vén*, "except", *เก๑น* *kén*, "patch", *ห๑น* *gən*, "hammer".

That other vowels too, not only *e*, *i*, *o*, should have been influenced by a nasal following them, seems probable. As a matter of fact, when e. g. *เ๑น* is pronounced, not the long *a* of *เ๑น* is heard, though, indeed, also not the short *a* of *เ๑น*,<sup>3</sup> and even though the latter would be heard (which may be the case in individual or dialectic speech), there can *here* be no doubt (unless we are concerned with pre-Siamese conditions) as to the *original length* of the vowel. For, in writing these other vowels, as we have seen, the distinction of length and shortness is always maintained and, consequently, *lěkh* *et* never required: and, considering the shortening tendency of the nasals, it seems perfectly excluded that e. g. an original *เ๑น* should have come to be written *เ๑น*. There is, therefore, no reason for abandoning the Siamese writing of these sounds.

*Initial vowels* in the strict sense of the term are unknown in the Siamese script, since every vowel is preceded, if not by a consonant in our sense, at least by the *spiritus lenis* which for the Siamese *is* a consonant.<sup>4</sup> As initial of a closed syllable without vowel-sign this spiritus (*๑*) is understood to contain the same inherent *e* with which in like conditions every other consonant is spoken (therefore, e. g., *๑น* = 'ok). But if a vowel-sign is added, the vowel expressed by it, not *e*, is spoken (e. g., *เ๑น* = 'ak, *ย๑น* = 'əkh, *โ๑น* = 'ik). If, however, initial *a* is a syllable by itself, it is pronounced *ā*, no matter whether it is written *๑* or *เ๑*: compare *๑น* *alajj* "shameless" with *เ๑โ๑* *a-lobho* "not greedy". The difference is as intimated by the tran-

<sup>1</sup> The discussion of the mute *๑* of this and the mute *ห* of the next word I have reserved for a special article.

<sup>2</sup> Of accented words very few in addition to those with low initial and second accent come into consideration here.

<sup>3</sup> With *ā*, etc., the shortening is, if at all, audible to a very well practised ear only.

<sup>4</sup> A purely vocalic initial, as e. g. in French *ami*, can therefore not be written in Siamese, if not by its "low" *๑* (?).



scription: 'a in the second word breaks off with a spiritus-levis-like cracking noise and has no influence on the tonal value of the following syllable, while in the first word the ð determines as "middle" letter the tone of the next syllable.'

As to *under-normal shortness*, the opinion<sup>1</sup> that this is indicated by the *visarga* (ः), is surely wrong. The error may be due to the fact that in many Sanskrit words final *a* or *ah* has grown mute. But *visarga* is by no means confined to Sanskrit words, and there is no reason why the *a* e. g. in 𑄢𑄣𑄤 *ka* should be shorter than the *a* in 𑄢𑄣𑄥 *ka*. The one under-normal short vowel existing in Siamese is the *sva-rabhaktic vowel* intervening between a consonant, other than a guttural or labial explosive, and *l* or *r*. As long as we do not know for certain that this vowel is purely euphonic<sup>2</sup> in every case of its occurrence, we should not follow the Siamese script in leaving it unexpressed; and, though its somewhat varying pronunciation<sup>3</sup> might perhaps best be rendered by *ʋ* (inverted *e*), we may choose <sup>4</sup>, as it is thus understood by the Siamese.

The simple vowels, then, in the transcription I propose, are the following:

*a-sounds*: *a*, *ā*, *a*, <sup>5</sup>. Of these four, *a* is long *a* (e. g. in 𑄢𑄣𑄤 *ṭa*), *ā* nasalized *ā*, now pronounced *ām* (as in 𑄢𑄣𑄥 *nam*); *a* the common short *a*, the several Siamese writings of which are due to its position only and need not therefore be reproduced by the transcription; and, fourthly <sup>6</sup> the *sva-rabhaktic vowel* (e. g. in 𑄢𑄣𑄥𑄤 *s<sup>5</sup>jam* "Siam").

*i*, *ī*; *u*, *ū*. Of these, *i* and *u* are open (broad) in closed syllables, close (narrow) in open ones; *i*, *ū* always close, but *u* less so than *i*.

<sup>1</sup> This distinction is perfectly arbitrary, not justifiable in any way by the Sanskrit originals, otherwise too the rendering of Indian words in Siamese being most capricious. In this connection may be specially mentioned the amusing transcription of Sanskrit *an-ek* "not-one" = "many" by 'a-nēk.

<sup>2</sup> Frankfurter, *Elements of Siamese Grammar*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> As would appear from 𑄢𑄣𑄥𑄤 *syām* "Siam" said to be = Skt. *śyāma* "black". Comp. also Skt. *lhyāḥ* "to limp, lame" ~ Tib. *lhyag-pa*, *grog-pa* "crooked, bent, curved"; Siam. *lhyak* "to move by fits and starts" ~ Tib. *lhyag-pa* "to run, move swiftly"; Siam. *lhyet* "weary" ~ Tib. *g-dud* "asleep". According to Prof. Conrady's view (*Fine indo-chinesische Causativ-Denominativ-Bildung*, p. 53) there would be no *sva-rabhaktic* here, but an original vowel preserved in Siamese but dropped in Tibetan.

<sup>4</sup> *Syām*, *syām*, *syām*, but only *syām*, and 𑄢𑄣𑄥 almost like *syōg*.

Examples: <sup>2</sup>ᨾ ᨾ good, ᨾᨾ mit knife, ᨾᨾ mi not, ᨾᨾ kim gold; ᨾ ᨾ snake, ᨾᨾ lək child, ᨾ ᨾ to wash, ᨾᨾ khut to dig.

<sup>2</sup>e, <sup>2</sup>e are the narrow e-sounds in Italian *nero*, *veniamo*, German *see*, *theater*. Examples: ᨾᨾ dē to pour out, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ very tired, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ to kick, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ lək child, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ to hasten.

<sup>2</sup>e, <sup>2</sup>e are the broad e-sounds, e. g., in French *miere*, *net*. Examples: ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ and, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ strong, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ to dig out, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ *phēu*, class prefix for flat objects.

<sup>2</sup>o, <sup>2</sup>o are the narrow o-sounds of French *chose*, Engl. *admonition*, of which *o* occurs only as final, i. e., in open syllables. Wherever we use the sign *o* as medial, it means the "inherent *o*" which is always medial except in the particle ᨾᨾ "also" (with high tone) which we transcribe by *kō*. Examples: ᨾᨾ *eo* beggar, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ *yok* wavering, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ *gōṇ*, arched, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ to throw away; ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ *goy* solid, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ *sot* fresh.

<sup>2</sup>φ, <sup>2</sup>φ are broad as in French *port*, *portable*. In words consisting of 'φ + consonant, this φ is graphically identical with the initial 'a of dissyllabic Indian words: compare ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ "breast" with ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ "atom". Initial or solitary 'φ is ᨾᨾ, i. e., *spiritus lenis* + φ; post-consonant φ is = ᨾ. The latter is also pronounced but not written when a consonant is called by name (e. g., ᨾ ᨾᨾ = *hō nam*). Examples: ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ to flatter, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ *ṛēt* lungs, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ *kṛ* island, ᨾᨾ ᨾᨾ *dṇ*, piece.

<sup>2</sup>ā, <sup>2</sup>ā is a pair of sounds peculiar to Siamese: not wholly identical with the French or German *ā*-sounds nor with Annamite "u barbu".<sup>1</sup> The long sound is written <sup>2</sup>ā in closed, <sup>2</sup>ā + ᨾ in open syllables<sup>2</sup>; the short sound always by <sup>2</sup>ā. As transcription Wershoven chooses *y*, which in our system (as in Indology) stands for the palatal semi-vowel (ᨾ). Examples: ᨾᨾ *thā* to ask, ᨾᨾ *māt* dark, night, ᨾᨾ *hā* fire! ᨾᨾ *pūy* swamp, marsh.

<sup>2</sup>ō, <sup>2</sup>ō is the broad *ō* in French *sœur*, *œuf*, written <sup>2</sup>ō | + cons. + | ᨾ and <sup>2</sup>ō | + cons. + | ᨾ in open syllables, <sup>2</sup>ō and <sup>2</sup>ō in closed syllables. This pair appears in the Siamese alphabet among the diphthongs, pro-

<sup>1</sup> The latter is broad and similar in sound to *ā*, *ā*; but Siam. *ā* is something between the broad *ā* (see below) and the German narrow *ā*, while Siam. *ā* in closed syllables sounds almost as in German *hätte* (in open syllables it is hardly found).

<sup>2</sup> Which may or may not point to a slight (original) difference of pronunciation.



bably in accordance with its origin.<sup>1</sup> Examples: (ကိစ္စ *kīś*, friend; (ပုံ *pōy*, to stare, look at; (ဂွံ *gū* shy, coy; (ယံ *yān* silver, money.

The Sanskritic *r*, *ṛ*, *l*, *ī* ought to be confined to Sanskrit words, but they are mixed up by the Siamese with their *r* + *u*, *r* + *ā*, *l* + *u*, *l* + *ā*.

The transcription of *diphthongs*<sup>2</sup> is a difficult topic: most of them contain a semivowel which ought, perhaps, from the historical viewpoint, to be rendered as such; this, however, seems for the present impracticable.<sup>3</sup>

The twenty-five diphthongs<sup>4</sup> may be described as follows:

1. *Diphthongs without a semivowel*: *āi*, *ai* (now both pronounced *ai*)<sup>5</sup>; *ao*; *āa*<sup>6</sup>. Examples: (ဂေါ *gāi* to go; (ပေါ *pāi* leaf; (ကော *kao* to scratch; (ကလ္လ *klūa* salt, (မ္လ *mūay* town.
2. *y-diphthongs*<sup>7</sup>: *ai*, *ai*; *oi*; *ōi*, *ōi*; *ōi*<sup>8</sup>; *ui*; *ūi*.—*ua*<sup>9</sup>,—*ta*, *te*<sup>10</sup>.—*hē*<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Siam. *lōi* "to be born" with Tib. *kye-lo* do., *kye-lo-pa* "to generate", Siam. *lōi* "to open" with Tib. *kye-lo-pa* do. Even the short vowels *e*, *ṛ*, *o*, *ṛ* seem to be looked at as diphthongs, but this is apparently due to their graphic symbols only.

<sup>2</sup> On nasal diphthongs see above p. 59 seq. Other combinations of vowel + *nasal* besides these and those to be dealt with do not exist in Siamese, final *l* and *r* having become *n*, at least in pronunciation.

<sup>3</sup> It will probably be found that, as in Chinese, many a diphthong has arisen from vowel + final consonant. Compare also Tibetan, where *e*, *g*, *wa*, *lo*, are now spoken in Northern Ladaik as *wa*, *lo*, while, on the other hand, in the pronunciation of Central Tibet *cha*, *la* have—undoubtedly through the intermediate stage *cha*, *la*—turned into *chā*, *lā* (comp. Jäschke, Tibetan Grammar, pp. 6 and 13, also our last but one note).

<sup>4</sup> In Wershoven's list (see his grammar, p. 28) as well as in Cartwright's (Siamese-English Dictionary, Introduction, pp. 22-23) four more diphthongs are mentioned (*āā*, *āi*, *ūi*, *āā*) which, however, exist only in theory or as exclamations (as which also occurs *āā* added by Pallegoux), while, on the other hand, those two real diphthongs are ignored which in writing have a shortened long vowel as first part.—The Siamese do not look upon *āi*, *āi*, *ao*, *ua* as diphthongs, while they reckon as such six other sounds which now, at any rate, are none (see above p. 63 seq. and 58 seq.: *ā*, *e*, *ṛ*, *o*, *ṛ*, *ṛ*).

<sup>5</sup> The connecting hyphen is needed to distinguish these sounds from the *y*-diphthongs *ai*, or which the Siamese too consider as diphthongs.

<sup>6</sup> I cannot endorse Wershoven's observation that *āa* is confined to open syllables, while in closed ones *āā* is spoken.

<sup>7</sup> I thus call all diphthongs written with *ī* in the end.

<sup>8</sup> Written with, or, more often, without *ī*.

<sup>9</sup> Understood as *ai* by Wershoven. But this *a* is not different from that of the *e*-diphthongs *ae*, *ai*; it is a short though narrow *a*.

<sup>10</sup> The former in open, the latter in closed syllables, with but one graphic symbol.

<sup>11</sup> Wershoven's rendering *hē* is inexact, and so is his *hē* for *hē* (see *e*-diphthongs). In both diphthongs the second vowel too is audibly long.

Examples: ตาย *tai* to die, นัย *nai* kind, sort; โนย *koi* to pick up; เฝย *spi* down-feather, เฝย *phet* to drop off, to sleep; เฝย (เฝย) *noi* butter; ฝย *khui* dusty; ฝย 'ui gee up! (excl. to oxen or buffaloes).—ฝย *nue* fickle, inconstant.—ฝย *mia* wife, ฝย *rien* to learn.—ฝย *nit* to be tired.

3. *e-diphthongs*: ao, eo, eo; ao, iu, iu; ui.—uo.—io.<sup>3</sup> Examples: ยาย *yao* long; เวย *'eo* waist, ฝย *reo* quick; เฝย *nio* row, line; ฝย *'ui*, hurrah! ฝย *chin* a little, gently; ฝย *hwa* head.—ฝย *suon* garden.—ฝย *ciw* to roast.

Whether there existed *triphthongs* in Siamese (may *ue* and *io* have been such?) remains to be seen. In such words as ฝย "Siamese" (lit. "free"), ฝย ฝย "monk's code", etc., the mute ฝย must be written: *dāly, vindāy*, etc.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. TONAL SYSTEM

In the Siamese script the tones are expressed *indirectly* as follows: 1. in words ending in a long vowel, diphthong, or nasal by *four accents* called "first" to "fourth" each of which, together with the *original* initial ("high", "middle", or "low"), is capable of expressing some or one resp. of the *five tones*; and 2. in words ending in a short vowel or a consonant (other than a nasal) by the mere initial which produces, if "high" or "middle", the low tone, or, if "low", either—with a long vowel—the low tone, or—with a short vowel—a *sixth tone* described by Wershoven (loc. cit. p. 25) as an uniform high tone.

Now, the original initials being *throughout* preserved only in writing, but only *partly* in modern speech, it is evident that a transcription based on the latter cannot express the tones in the way described, but is forced to express them *directly*, *i. e.*, by accents each of which always denotes one and the same tone. Thus the *acutus* was chosen for the rising tone, the *gravis* for the falling tone,

<sup>3</sup> Written ฝย-ฝย. Comp. ฝย-ฝย < ฝย.

<sup>4</sup> There seems to be a real triphthong in the word ฝยฝย *gwai* "buffalo" which would perhaps be more correctly transcribed as *gwāi*.



the circumflex (˘) for the low tone, and the dot (point) for what was called *tonus gravis* by Pallegoix (Cartwright's "acute tone", Wershoven's "eingehender Ton"), the normal tone remaining unmarked, and the sixth tone being treated either as normal or as *t. gravis*.

This second method of accentuation is less practical than the first in that it increases not inconsiderably the number of marked words.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it is less exact than the first, even if a sign for the sixth tone were added. For, these five or six signs characterize the Siamese tonality just in the main points only, but are far from exhausting it.<sup>2</sup> The watchful observer is said to be able to distinguish and read from the Siamese script no less than fourteen different inflexions. This is hardly to be wondered at, considering the multiplicity of factors (initial, final, quantity, etc.) co-operating in the Siamese tonal system. It seems, therefore, the most advisable, for a scientific transcription, to keep as close as possible to Siamese writing also with regard to the tonal system, *i. e.*, to render the accents written by the Siamese themselves. This may be done by using for them the numerals 1 to 4 (˘ = 1, ˙ = 2, ˘˘ = 3, ˙˙ = 4) to be placed at the end of the words, *viz.*, below them, so as to avoid their being mistaken, in comparative linguistic research, for the Chinese accents written also after the words, but at the upper end, in the form of numerals.

To write the accents and not the tones is advisable also because in that case it is beyond doubt that the two enigmatical prefixed letters known as "leading *h*" and "leading *'*" (*hə nā* and *'ə nā*), even though these be mere tonal signs (as which they are now understood), must be actually rendered in transcription, and not suppressed, as is generally done.

<sup>1</sup> *E. g.*, in Frankfurter's first Reading exercise (*loc. cit.* p. 23) from seven to fifteen, in the second from sixteen to twenty-three.

<sup>2</sup> Michell (*Siamese-English Dictionary*, Preface, p. XV) speaks appropriately of "the Siamese language with its infinitely varied modulations".

# TWO ANT STORIES FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF WESTERN TIBET

## A CONTRIBUTION TO THE QUESTION OF THE GOLD-DIGGING ANTS

By A. H. FRANCKE

Early in 1901 when stationed as a missionary at Khalatse on the Upper Indus, more than 50 miles West of Leh, I received a letter from Dr. B. Laufer in which he asked me to tell him, if the Tibetans of Ladakh had stories of gold-digging ants. Without delay I asked our mission-schoolmaster, *Ye-shes-rig-'adzin*, if he could answer that question, and he at once replied in the affirmative. He said that he was certain that a particular kind of ant was a gold-digger. He went off in search of it, and a few minutes later he presented me with a specimen. It was a real ant of a rather large type, but not quite the size of the German *Rossameise*. Then I asked the schoolmaster, if he could not let me have a story of their gold-digging. He went to the village to make enquiries about it, and soon after he handed over to me a piece of paper on which he had written what he was told. The text was apparently procured from the chief tale-teller of Khalatse, *bKra-shis-rgya-mthso-pa*. I made an extract of the contents of the first of the two stories contained in the MS and sent it to Dr. Laufer, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April 1901. Dr. Laufer made use of my extract for his paper "Die Sage von den goldgrabenden Ameisen", *Toung Pao*, Série II, vol. IX, p. 429 seq., where it occupies 14 lines.

As I am of opinion that these tales are of considerable importance, I herewith offer them to the public in full, both text and



English translation, for the first time. Although Khalatse appears at present to be a genuine Lamaist-Tibetan settlement, my researches more than twenty years ago have proved that in ancient times it was a colony of Gilgit Dards. A single remnant of the former Dard language of the settlement was preserved in a prayer addressed to the spirit of the home in one (or several) of the houses. Besides, the names of some of the clans in the village point to their Dard origin. All the results of my researches were published in two papers:

1) A language map of West Tibet, JASB, 1904, p. 1—6.

2) The Dards at Khalatse, MAB, 1906, p. 413 sq.

From all this it follows that the tales of the gold-digging ants may be of Dard as well as Tibetan origin.

Although neither of the stories tells of gold-digging ants, one of them speaks of ants who dive for gold, and the other of ants who bury valuable provisions in the ground and keep them there till they are wanted.

These tales together with what was said in the beginning about a particular kind of ant which is called the gold-digger, make us believe that Herodotus was right when he called the gold-digging creatures of his tale "ants" and not "marmots" or otherwise. As was pointed out by Dr. Laufer, several modern interpreters of Herodotus, viz. Cunningham, Lassen, Rawlinson, and O. Schrader have suggested that the "marmot" or another similar animal should be substituted for "ant" in Herodotus' story.

## གྲོ་མོག་འབྲུ་ཅིག་གི་སྐྱེས་ལོ་ཡིན།

### I.

ཡུལ་གྱི་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཅུག། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་སིང་ལ་  
 ཁྲི་ཐོབ་ཞུ་ཅན། དེའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་བྲུ་ཆ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཅུག། དེ་བྲུ་ཆ་དེའི་སིང་ལ་ཉི་དར་  
 མཁན་ཟེར་ཅན། ཡང་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་ཐོན་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཅུག། དེའི་  
 ཐོན་པོ་དེའི་སིང་ལ་དགར་རི་ཐོབ་ཞུ་ཅན། དེའི་ཐོན་པོ་ལ་བྲུ་ཆ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཅུག། དེའི་བྲུ་

དགར་རི་ཐོབ་

ཚ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྲི་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་བྱ་མོ་དེ་བཀ་ས་ལ་འདྲིས་པ་འི་ ། རྒྱལ་པོས་བྱ་མོ་ལ་རིན་  
 མང་པོ་ཟེར་ས། འདྲི་ཆང་ལ་ནས་ཁལ་བརྒྱ ། བསྟེན་ཆང་ལ་ནས་ཁལ་ལྔ་བཅུ ། རོ་  
 མ་རིན་ལ་ནས་ཁལ་གཉིས་བརྒྱ ། བཀོའི་རིན་ལ་ཀྱིར་མོ་སྟོང་དང་དགུ་བརྒྱ་ཟེར་ས་  
 པ་འི་ ། དེ་རྒྱག་མང་པོ་ཟེར་ནའང་ ། རྫོན་པོས་སྤྲིབ་ཅིག་ལ་བཏང་ས་པ་འི་ ། དེ་ནས་རྫོན་  
 པོས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྲི་ཐོབ་ལ་ཉུས་པ། ། བྱ་མོའི་བདག་རག་ཆང་མ་གསེར་བཅོ་ལྔ་བཏང་  
 དགོས། ། ཟེར་ས་པ་འི་ ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོས། ། དེ་རྒྱག་གསེར་མང་པོ་ག་ནས་ཁྲིང་ཡིན།  
 བསམ་སྟེ། ། ཆོར་ཀ་སོང་།

དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོས་སྤྲུ་རྒྱག་དང་ལུ་ལ་མི་ཆང་མ་བསྟེ་སྟེ། ། བུ་བས་བཅོས་པ་འི་ །  
 སྤྲུ་ལ་གསེར་ཡོད་ནའང་ ། ཁྲིང་དགོས། ། རས་དཔུལ་བཏང་ཡིན་ཟེར་ས་པ། ། གསེར་  
 རྩ་རྩན་ཞིག་ཡང་མ་ཐོབ། ། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཟིར་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཉུས་པ། ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལེ།  
 གསེར་མཚོའི་ནང་ནས་ཡོང་ཅོན། ། མཚོའི་ནང་ན་མི་ལ་ཅི་སྟབས་ན་ཡང་ ། མི་ཉན།  
 གྲེ་མོག་འབྲུ་ཅིག་རྒྱའི་ནང་ལ་ཆ་ཅེས་སྟངས་པ་ཡོང་ཅོན། ། གྲེ་མོག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱས་  
 བ་རྒྱལ། ། ཟེར་ས། ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཟེར་ས་པ། ། གྲེ་མོག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སའི་ནང་ན་ག་  
 རྒྱག་ལ་རྒྱས་ཡིན། ། ཟེར་ས་པ། ། ལྷ་ཟིར་གྱིས་ཉུས་པ། ། ན་ས་ཁའ་ནས་ཆར་བ་ཞིག་  
 པ་བ་ན། ། ཁྲིང་ཆང་མ་སའི་ནང་ནས་མི་སྟུ་རྩ་མིང་སྟེ་ཡོང་ཅོན། ། དེ་ནས་ཁ་ཅིག་རྒྱས་  
 སྟེ་རྒྱལ། ། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟོན་ཟེར་ཡིན། ། དེ་རྒྱག་བཅོན། ། གྲེ་མོག་ལྷ་ཅིག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐོབ་  
 ཡིན་ཟེར་ས། །

དེ་ནས་ཁའ་པའི་ལུ་ལ་རྒྱ་ས་སའ་ས་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཅིག། ། དེའི་རྒྱ་ས་ལ། ། ཆར་  
 པ་ཡོང་རྒྱག་ཟེར་བ་མི་ཞིག་བཏང་ས་པ་འི་ ། ཆར་པ་རྩ་རྩན་ཞིག་ཡོངས་པ་སང་། ། ལྷ་



རྩེད་དེ་ཡི་སྒྲ་རུ་སོང་སྟེ་བསྐྱས་པ། གྲེ་མོག་ཆེན་པོ་དེ་རིགས་ཁ་ཅིག་རྩམ་བ་ཐུབ་མྱེ།  
 མཁར་ལ་རྒྱལ་བོ་དེ་ཙམ་བྱིས་པ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་བོས་ཟེངས་པ། ། ལྷ་གྲེ་མོག་ཀུན།  
 བྱེ་ཞེས་རྒྱལ་བོ་དེ་སྤྱ་ཡིན། ང་ལ་ཡོད། དེ་མེན་ན། བྱེད་ཚང་མ་བསད་དེ་མེད་  
 མཁན་བཅོ་ཡིན་ཟེངས་པ། གྲེ་མོག་གི་རྒྱལ་བོ་དེ་ན་ན་ཁོ་ལ་ཡོད་ཅུག། རྒྱལ་བོས་  
 དེ་རྩལ་ཟེངས་པ་སང། ཁོ་འཛིགས་དེ། གཅིག་གིས། ང་ཡིན་ཟེངས་པ་འདི། དེ་ནས་  
 རྒྱལ་བོས། བྱེད་གྲེ་མོག་གི་རྒྱལ་བོ། བྱེད་ཀྱི་གྲེ་མོག་ཚང་མ་བསྐྱས་དེ། མཚོ་དེ་  
 རང་ནས་གསེར་མང་པོ་ཡིང་ཅུག། དེ་མེན་ན། བྱེ་རང་བསད་ཡིན། ཟེངས་པ་སང།  
 གྲེ་མོག་གི་རྒྱལ་བོ་སོང་སྟེ། གྲེ་མོག་ཚང་མ་བསྐྱས་པ། སྟོང་གཉིས་ཟམ་སོང།

དེ་ཚང་མ་བྱིད་ནས། མཚོ་དེ་གྲུ་ལ་སོང། དེ་ནས་གྲེ་མོག་ཚང་མ་དེ་སྐྱེད་པ་  
 ལ་དར་སྐྱད་བདགས་དེ། དེས་མོ་བདད་གིན་ནིག་སོང་སྟེ། གྲེ་མོག་འབྲུ་ཅིག་དེ་  
 དེས་གསེར་དོ་ལ་བྱེད་དེ་ཡིང་སྟེ། རྒྱ་བ་གཅིག་ཟམ་ཡིངས་པ། དེས་པ་བཞིན་  
 གསེར་མང་པོ་ཐོབ་སོང། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་བོ་མང་པོ་འབྱད་སོང། གྲེ་མོག་ཚང་མ་ལ་  
 སེ་མར་མང་པོ་རུ་སྟེ། མགྲོན་ཆེན་པོ་བདདས་ནས། ཁོང་ལ་དགོངས་པ་བདདས་  
 སོང། གྲེ་མོག་འབྲུ་ཅིག་གི་སྐྱེད་པ་ཁྲ་མོ་ཆ་ཅིས་དེ། མཚོ་དེ་ནང་ནས་གསེར་ཡིང་  
 ཟེན། དར་སྐྱད་བདདས་པ་སང་ཡིན་ནོག།

དེ་ནས་གསེར་མག་པོ་བྱིང་སྟེ། གསེར་ཚང་མ་ལ་ལ་ཅགས་དང། བདག་སྐྱེ།  
 ཀ་ག་ཚང་མ་གསེར་ལ་བཅོས། དེ་ནས་སྒྲོན་པོས་ཉོ་བ་བྱིངས་པ་འདི། ཉོ་བ་བརྒྱ།  
 བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ་བདུན། རྩ་མན་བདུན། སྤྱ་ན་བདུན། འཕོར་འགོ་གསུམ་དང་བཅས་  
 བྱིངས་པ་འདི། ཁོང་ཚང་མ་བྱི་ཐོབ་རྒྱལ་བོ་དེ་མཁར་ལ་སོང་སྟེ། ཞག་བདུན་བག་  
 མྱོན་བདདས། ཞག་བདུན་སོང་བ་དང་བག་མ་བྱིས་པ་འདི། དེ་ནས་སྒྲོན་པོ་ཡང།

གསེར་གྱི་ཆ་ལག་ཚང་མ་འདུག་བསམ་སྟེ་མང་པོ་འཐད་སོང་། དེར་ཡང་བག་སྟོན་  
ཞག་བདུན་བཏངས། དེ་ནས་ཕྱིན་ཀྱལ་པོ་དང་རྫོན་པོ་གཉིས་ཀ་སྦྱིད་པོ་བཅོའིན་ཞིག་  
འདུག ॥

## II.

ཡང་གྲོ་མོག་གི་གདམ་དཔེ་ཡིན། ཡུལ་ཆེན་མོ་ཞིག་ལ་བ་ཆ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ཡོད་  
ཚུགས། དེའི་བ་ཆ་དེ་ཞག་ཅིག་ལ་ཐང་ཆེན་མོ་ཞིག་གི་ཁ་ཡངས་བ་ལ་སོང་སྟེ།  
མགྲོན་ཆེན་མོ་ཞིག་བཅོས། མགྲོན་ཟ་མི་སྟོང་ཁ་ཅིག་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། དེའི་མགྲོན་ཟ་  
ཚར་བ་དང་། ཚང་མས་འདའ་སྟེ། ཁའི་འབྲུ་དྲུ་མཁན་གྱི་འབྲས་ཚང་མ་སའི་ཁ་  
པོས། དེ་ནས་དེའི་འབྲས་པང་མཁན་ཚང་མ། གྲོ་མོག་འབྲུ་ཅིག་ཚང་མ་ཡོང་སྟེ།  
དེ་འི་འཁྲུང་དེ། སའི་མཐིལ་ལ་སྦྱས་སོང་། དེ་སྦྱ་ཚར་བ་དང་། ཡང་གཞན་མ་  
ཡུལ་ཞིག་གི་བ་ཆ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་དེ་མགྲོན་བཏང་མཁན་གྱི་བ་ཆ་ལ་དམག་  
བྱོངས། དེའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་དེའི་མགྲོན་བཏང་སའི་ས་ཁྱད་ལ་དགོངས་ལ་བྱས།  
དེ་ཅུ་ཤིང་དང་ཅུ་མེད་པའི། དེའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ལྟོག་རི་ལ་བྱས་སོང་།

གྲོ་མོག་འབྲུ་ཅིག་ཚང་མ་ལ། དེའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ཟེའི་མེད་པར་བཤོང་སྟེ།  
དེའི་འབྲས་ཚང་མ་སའི་མཐིལ་ནས་ཕིང་སྟེ་བྱོང་སྟེ། དེ་དམག་ཚང་མ་ལ་བཏངས་  
པ། དེ་དམག་ཚང་མ་གྲུངས་སོང་བའི། དེ་ནས་དེ་དམག་དཔོན་དེས་གྲོ་མོག་དེ་ལ་  
འདྲིས་པ། ལུ་གྲོ་མོག། བྱོད་ཀྱན་ལ་འདི་རྒྱག་འབྲས་བཅོས་མཁན་དེ་ག་ནས་  
བྱོངས། གྲོ་མོག་ཀྱན་གྱིས་ཟེརས་པ། བ་ཆ་ལེ། ཨ་པོས་ཡུལ་ཞིག་ལ་བ་ཆ་ཆེན་  
པོ་ཞིག་ཡོད། དེའི་བ་ཆ་དེ་འདི་ས་ཁྱད་ལ་མགྲོན་བཅོམ་ལ་ཡོངས། དེ་མགྲོན་བཅོ



མྱེ། ཟ་ཚད་ར་དང། ཚང་མས་འདྲེ་མྱེ། ཁའི་ཁ་བྱད་མཁན་གྱི་འབྲས་ཚང་མ་  
 བོས་བཏངས། ཁོང་སོང་བ་དང། ང་ནས་རྒྱ་མྱེ། སའི་མགྲིལ་ལ་བྱིར་དེ་ཡོད་པ་  
 ཡིན་ཟེེས་པ།

དེ་ནས་ག་དགོན་པོ་ཡ་མཚན་སོང་མྱེ། དཔག་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཟེེས། དེའི་པ་ཆ་དེ་  
 དཔག་སང་པོ་དང་ཡུལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་པའི་ཚོད་རག། ཁོ་ལ་དཔག་མི་འབྱེད། ཁོ་  
 མི་ཐུབ་ཅེས་རག་ཟེེར་དེ། དཔག་ཚང་མ་བྱིད་དེ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་མྱེ་སོང། ॥

## STORIES OF ANTS.

### I.

In a large and wide country there lived a great king. This king was called *Khri-thob*. This king had a daughter whose name was *Nyi-dar-mkhan*. In another large and wide country there lived a great minister. This minister was called *dKar-ri-thob*. This minister had a son, and for that son king *Khri-thob's* daughter was asked in marriage. The king asked a high price for his daughter: 100 bushels of barley for the engagement-beer, 50 bushels of barley for the marriage-feast (beer), 200 bushels of barley for her first milk, and 1000 pieces of silver, in case they should separate again. Although he asked so much, the minister brought it in a moment. Then the minister said to the king: "All the outfit of the girl must be made of gold!" At this the king became very sorry, for he thought: "How should I procure so much gold?"

Then the king assembled the nobility and all his countrymen, held a council with them and said: "Whosoever has gold, must bring it, and I shall give him silver instead. But he did not receive any gold at all. Then the Wazir said to the king: "O king, gold will come out of the lake. Man cannot reach the innermost part of the lake, however hard he may try; but ants have a device by which they go to the innermost part of the lake. It will be good to get hold of the king of the ants!" Then the king asked: "How

shall we get the king of the ants out of the interior of the earth?" And the Wazir answered: "We must bring down some rain from the sky; and they will all come out of the ground. Then it will be best to seize some of them and we must say: 'Show (your) king!' If you do so, you will catch the king of the ants."

At that time there lived a hermit at the upper end of the valley. A man was sent to the priest. He was to tell him to make rain. When a little rain came down, the Wazir went out to see (what he could find). He was able to seize a few ants of good size. He took them to the castle before the king, and the king said: "Oh you ants, tell me who is your king? If you will not, I shall kill and annihilate you all!" The king of the ants was among that group; and when the (human) king spoke in such a manner, he became afraid, and (suddenly) one (of the ants) said: "It is I!" Then the (human) king said: "King of the ants! You must assemble all your ants and order them to fetch gold out of the lake. If you do not, you will be killed." Then the king of the ants went off and assembled all his ants. There were about two thousand of them.

Leading them all, he went to the shore of the lake. There he tied silk-threads round the waists of them all. Then, taking it in turns, every one of the ants brought half a *tola* of gold each out (of the lake). They continued fetching (gold) for one month, and when it was over, much gold had been obtained. Then the (human) king was highly pleased, and for the ants much flour and butter was kneaded, and a feast was given. Then they were dismissed. The narrow waist of the ants is due to the (pressure) of the silk-thread, when they went into the lake to fetch gold.

A goldsmith was now brought who worked the gold into ornaments (*ya-cags*), chains (*btag-skye*), and brooches (*ka-gu*). Then the minister sent the *nyo-pa* (bride-buyers), one hundred *nyo-pa*, seven *bkra-shis-pa*, seven drummers, seven clarinet-players, and three *'abor-'ago*. They all went to the castle of king *Kliri-thob*. The wedding-feast lasted for seven days. When the seven days were past the bride was taken, and the minister was much pleased, for he thought: "All the utensils are of gold!" There also a marriage-feast of seven days was given. Henceforth the king and the minister both lived in happiness.



## II

This is another Ant Story. In a great country there lived a great king. One day this king went to a large plain for pleasure, where he made a great feast. There were several thousand guests who partook of that feast. When the meal was finished, they went away. All the rice that had dropped from their mouths was swept to the ground. Then all the rice that had fallen on the ground was carried away by the ants who had arrived there. They buried it in the ground. When they had buried it, there came a great king of another country to make war against the king who had given the feast. The whole army made a halt at the place where the feast had been given. As there was neither wood nor water, the whole army remained hungry.

When the ants saw that the whole army was without food, they took all the rice out of the ground and presented it to the army, and all the soldiers were satisfied. Then the general said to the ants: "Oh ants, from where did you fetch all that boiled rice?" The ants said: "Oh king, in that country on the other side there is a great king. That king came to this place to give a feast here. When the feast was given and the food eaten up, they all went away, and all the rice that had dropped from their mouths was thrown away. That was gathered (by us), when they had gone and taken under ground".

At this the general wondered and said to the army: "I feel that this king is in possession of a great army and a great country. We had better not fight against him. I feel, we cannot do anything against him". Thus saying he led his army back again.

## NOTES.

The first story is interesting also from another point of view: It tells us something of the marriage customs in the ancient West-Tibetan kingdom. As we learn from the first tale, it is not only the bride that has to be paid for, but also the family of the bride has large expenses on the occasion of her marriage, for she is to be furnished with a costly outfit. The husband's party has to pay more or less on four occasions, 1) at the engagement, 2) at the marriage, 3) at the birth of the first child (the mother's first milk) 4) in case the couple should separate again, on that occasion. The amount fixed for that event seems to be the highest.

The *Nyo-pa* (the buyers of the bride) are sent by the bridegroom to the house of the bride and are not admitted, before they have answered a great number of questions on the ancient Tibetan mythology. See my book "Tibetische Hochzeitslieder"<sup>1</sup>. The *Nyo-pa* are accompanied by a number of clarinet players (*surna*), drummers with kettle-drums, and people who are called *bkra-shis-pa* (men of blessing). The latter have to shout *Ya-sha-ho* or *bkra-shis-par gyur-rig* during the recitations and during the dances. As we learn from our text, the *Nyo-pa* are furthermore accompanied by three men who are called *'adlor-'ago*, head dancers.

When the feast at the home of the bride is over, she is taken in grand style to the bridegroom's home, and there another feast is given.

At first sight it appears strange that the king of one country and the minister of another should deal with one another on equal terms in the home of the tales such marriages may actually have taken place. For a minister of the ancient West Tibetan kingdom who was generally related to the royal family, may have considered himself an equal to any of the vassal kings of that kingdom. As the king of our story is furnished with a wazir as his councillor, we are led to think of the vassal-kingdom of *Bu-rig*, where, in the eighteenth century, the title of *blon-po* (minister) was exchanged for that of *wazir*.

In the second story the king is called *ba-cha* (Badshah). By this title the great Mughal emperor was known to the West Tibetans. The name of the king, *Khri-thob*, means "receiver of a throne". The name of his daughter *Nyi-dar-mkhan*, means "sunbeam". The name of the minister, *dKar-ri-thob* means "receiver of the white hill".

<sup>1</sup> Folkwang Verlag, 1923.



# CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF CLAN SETTLEMENT IN ANCIENT CHINA I

Phratry Yen-Ying-Ki I  
(Shao-hao)

By GUSTAV HALOUN

## Introduction

That community which sinologues are in the habit of calling a clan (Chinese 姓) embraces to-day the totality of all bearing the same "family name" (modern also 姓, as clan—and family name mean the same thing to-day). It is exogamic and regulates the relations of its membership for the various generations from the paternal line; and therefore adheres to the patriarchal variety<sup>1</sup>.

But the social unit thus described does not show the original type of communal organisation among the Chinese; it is rather the result of a double evolution from an older stage of development.

Though to-day clan organisation comprises the whole of the people, the clan was formerly the sign of nobility, which as "the hundred clans" = totality of clans (百 姓) was contrasted to the "black-haired people" (黎 民) or "lower" *i. e.* numerous people (庶 人). Somewhat parallel to this widening of the clan organisation goes a second change. At the time of the old "clans of the nobles" the "community of people with the same family name" (then 氏), was not yet an independent exogamic group; a number of 氏, and quite a large number, was needed for such a group, a 姓: so that to the approximately 4000 modern 姓 = family names = old 氏,

<sup>1</sup> Since the distinction between the terms "clan" and "gens" is not yet strictly observed by sociologists, I have refrained from introducing the term "gens" for the word clan, which has become general in sinology; cf. Chavannes, *M. H. I.*, p. 1, n. 3; Tschepe, *Histoire du royaume de Tch'ou*, App. III, p. 386 ff.; Conrady, Part "China" of the *Flug-Harnung Weltgeschichte*, p. 483 ff.

given in the great Chinese encyclopaedia T'u-shu tsih-ch'eng, section 氏族, (L. Giles, Index p. XI)<sup>1</sup> only 23 (or 25 resp.) old 姓 = "clans of the nobles" are corresponding as genetic unities of a higher degree.

These old 姓 are partly likewise subordinate to a higher unit; several groups of old 姓 trace their descent back to a common ancestor and are therefore to be considered as related by blood. Such associations of related clans will be called *fratries* in this essay; the most important *fratry* consists of the clans Ki (己 + Tung), P'eng (+ T'uh), Yün, Ts'ao and Chen, which trace their ancestry back to Chuan-huh, and the smallest *fratry* is composed of the clans Kuei and Yao, which consider Shun as their ancestor.

The development of the 氏 into the 姓 and the extension of clan organisation to the whole of the people take place within an historical period, and may be observed by means of contemporary sources. The social revolution commences with the older Chou dynasty<sup>2</sup> and is completed at the end of the Chou period.

Yet this older stage of the patriarchal exogamic clans of the nobles, characterised by the distinction of 姓 and 氏, may also be traced back to a simpler state of the social organisation, provided that we can show the 氏 to have originally consisted of one of that old limited stock for which the identity of the family-

<sup>1</sup> This is not meant to say that the number 4000 is even as much as approaching that of the old 氏; for it was even lower. To find that number, several not very numerous groups must be taken off, especially the group of the modern 姓, which were formed from transcribed foreign names, when the barbarians had invaded China after the 氏 had developed into 姓 (e.g. the Toba). They form quite a considerable part of the total number. (Cheng Ts'ao, in his analysis of 1831, reckons 320 names as certainly of foreign origin (among them 295 polysyllables) to which must be added another 90 polysyllabic ones of which the Chinese origin is doubtful, which makes about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the total number; cf. T'ShTsCh' XIV, 5, 12b seq.). An increase of the old 氏, by way of division of several modern 姓 into several groups, (exogamic among themselves (= old 氏), for having been formed from 氏 of the same name, members of different old 姓) need hardly be considered; it is not a frequent case (collected from the Tung-chi of Cheng Ts'ao in T'ShTsCh' XIV, 6, 1b, seq.; cf. the notes of the same author to the three exogamic 姓 in T'ShTsCh' XIV, 134).

<sup>2</sup> K'uei-yü 2 (Chou 2), 22-b mentions six cases of marriages between members of 氏 of the same 姓 which means a loosening of the exogamic principle in these 姓, severely condemned as a serious crime [635 B. C.]; cf. also the note about the four 姬 in Duke P'ing of Tsin's harem in the Tso-chuan Chao 1 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 571/80) [541 B. C.]



names with the name of a state was the chief characteristic.<sup>1</sup> These old (primary) 氏 for their part can be linked to the old 姓 so that, as can be demonstrated, the cleavage of the 氏 from the 姓 is the result of the granting of certain landed property to a member of the 姓.

The dissolution of 姓 into 氏 (*i. e.* into independent families within the clan) must have begun, if not long, at least some time before the beginning of the early historical age.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the old indigenous clans the splitting up of the primary 氏 into secondary and of the secondary again into tertiary may be observed within the historical period. The causes of these changes are the subletting of fiefs, the conferring of hereditary offices, etc. whilst the splitting up of a 姓 into primary 氏 is only noticed with original clans of foreign origin; most clearly with Clan Ki 姬, domiciled in China through the invasion of the Chou (12<sup>th</sup> century B. C.).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In his analysis of 1831, Cheng Ts'ien separates (*vide* above) about 600 family names which go back to names of territory (國名, 郡國名, 邑名, 鄉名, 亭名, 地名) of which 233 are names of states (國名).

Without going farther into the voluminous information concerning the priority of those family names (氏) which coincide with the names of states over others which are otherwise constituted, I will simply refer to the following as examples of the most extreme opposite category, those names which coincide with office; 1. The Sze-ma 司馬 (keeper of the horse, marshal, minister for war) are descended from the Count of Ch'eng; hence their original name was Ch'eng (= Pih-ch'eng), which is the name of a district (Ch'eng, to be more exact, being the capital of the Earldom of Pih). The first man to bear the name was Hsiu-fu, who lost his fief during the reign of Sün-wang, Kuoh-yü 18 (Ch'ü 2), 2b; 2. The Shi 士 (shortened from 師, Minister of Justice, also named after their estate Fan or Sai) are descendants of the Count of T'u (T'u is the name of an estate), the first bearer of the name being Sih-shuh, the son of the last Count of T'u who was killed in 785; the son fled to Tsin and held his post there, BA Sün 43 (Ch. Cl. III/prol. p. 156), Tso-chuan Siang 24 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 305/07) Kuoh-yü 14 (Tsin 8), 3b; 3. The Chung-hang 中行 (shortened from 中 行 將軍 commander of the army of the centre) are a branch of the family Sün (Sün Yen = Chung-hang Hien-tse, Sün Wu = Chung-hang Muh tse, Sün Yin = Chung-hang Wen tse; Sün is the name of an estate, originally immediate earldom but later on annexed by Tsin). They take their name from the position held by their ancestor Sün Lin-fu (Sün Huan-tse), Tso-chuan Hl 28 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 206/13).

<sup>2</sup> *I. e.* as the following work shows, at the epoch of the union of North China under the reign of Yao, chronologically and very uncertainly so — somewhere in the middle of the third millennium B. C. (*cf.* §. 17).

<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it is not impossible that a few 姓 did not arise before the early historical period, as for example a few of the Chuan-hsi fratry; these will be discussed in the detailed investigation of the individual clans.

We have seen that the attainment of political independence on the part of a member of the 姓 as the ancestor of these 氏 can be proved as the constituent element in the genesis of a primary 氏. This fact shows decisively that the character of the old 姓 was that of a political unity.

It follows therefrom, that in its oldest form the clan organisation of the aristocratic ruling classes led to no vertical differentiation among the ancestral stock of the Chinese: (when the 姓 belonged to no special geographically limited county of the territory which was occupied by the nation; each settlement had to be formed of members of at least some and theoretically of all the clans within this space, as is the fact to-day). On the contrary, it led to a horizontal as territorial organisation, for it is only when each individual 姓 possesses a fixed part of the country as its original place of settlement (original home) that there is a possibility of assigning to the clan its political status in the government of the whole nation.

From this proof of the function of the clan being that of a political association, it follows the right to treat the apparent social unions of the ancient Chinese people from the point of view of a history of its settlements. It must be the aim of such a "history of the clan settlement of the Chinese" to discover the original homes of each ancient Chinese clan, by studying the history of the settlements of the primary 氏.<sup>1</sup>

Then by gathering together all the partial results, we shall be in a position to present an exact and detailed picture of the size and the structure of the area on which the ancestral stock of the Chinese had settled.

To judge from its material, its method (which is identical with that of the historical geography), and its aims, the history of the Chinese clan settlement must be assigned to the domain of the historian of the early history of China. Inasmuch as the historian has taken up researches into the political history, the investigation of it must even be at present considered as the most urgent object of his work, for there can be no doubt that the clans of the nobles, organised as

<sup>1</sup> An experiment which I tried in the winter of 1920 with the small East-Chinese clan Feng showed that the older the period, the more approached to one another were the settlements of the 氏, until finally a limited territory was reached which served as the point of radiation, i. e. the original home. (Since published as the first part of the "Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte chinesischer Clans", Asia Major, Festschrift für Friedrich Hirth, London—Leipzig, 1922).



political bodies, were also the only tolerably stable forces within the active ones of the time.—To a certain extent the recognition of this fact means setting up a new aim altogether for the studies of the early history of China. There is very scanty information at the disposal of the historian of this period, and this little is frequently distorted because of a prejudiced tradition; he has to ascertain this corruption, without, however, being in a position always to subject his information to a critical valuation from within, and thus he could only entertain a vague conception about the driving political and social powers of that time. The partition of the masses into large consanguineous political unions which essentially remained constant from about the middle of the third until the beginning of the first millennium B. C. gives a background, on which he can arrange the political happenings of his period, as events on its surface: the political history of Ancient China in its characteristic features will be most exactly comprehended as the history of the relations which existed between the "clans" of Chinese feudal chiefs.

After ascertaining the original homes of each individual Chinese clan and therefore discovering the geographical space of the settlements of the Chinese ancestral stock, the history of the clan settlement has a wider and last aim: to clear up the relation of the nobility clan to the tribe. Here I am also standing on solid ground. The most reliable means of ascertaining the homes of the Chinese tribes is undoubtedly a map of the ancient Chinese dialects. Such a map was reconstructed in the summer of 1922 by Mr. Lin Yü-t'ang Ph. D. of Peking University and myself, based on the oldest Chinese idiotikon, the Fang-yen of the first century A. D. When compared with one compiled by me of the original homes of the 姓, it showed that the original territory in which a Chinese nobility clan (often a fraternity) settled, was generally identical with the locality of a dialect, *i. e.* as a result there is the following formula for the relation of the 姓 to the tribe:—a clan (or a fraternity resp.) of the ruling classes corresponds (generally) to a tribe within the lower classes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The term "tribe" is here used to designate the whole of the people with the same language (or of the same dialect) which is organised to a political unity. Owing to the complexity of the material to be investigated, it was impossible to avoid a definition, which in many cases must imply too wide a conception of the tribe (*v. g.* among the Tih as occasionally among others it would be better to speak of the tribal character of the 氏; here 姓 coincides rather with "nation"). It was not feasible to define it

This solution of the problem is fundamentally fixed, although a good deal of investigation of detail is still necessary in order to solve the part problems, which must of necessity arise owing to the great length of time which is covered by the various stages of evolution.<sup>1</sup>

Although from the point of view of methodical investigation, the Fang-yen had to be used as one of the starting points for an enquiry on the old ethnical groups since generally speaking it is easiest to prove tribal territories through dialectic localities, and this is the only work from which they could be reconstructed, it contains, however, many drawbacks: firstly, there is its relatively late a date and then, for example an extremely awkward geographical terminology<sup>2</sup>, so that further references in literature are greatly to be desired, especially in the historical sources of the first millenium B. C.

But even though no comprehensive reference can be expected, we are not in such a bad position as one might be led to suppose from the complete silence of the great native historians on this

in a more restricted sense and give the term "nation" to the social body described above, because, as will be seen later, within the old indigeneous clans, which above all mostly are in dispute it was generally only a number of clans or fratries which bore the character of a nation.

Conrady was the first to see that we could advance from the clans to the ancient Chinese tribes, without, however, making a fixed formula in the passage quoted there (cf. in "China", p. 522: the comments on the "primordial emperors"). Otherwise, as far as I know nothing has been done in this direction, since the investigation of the political history of Ancient China has been quite unbroken ground. In Qulstorp's *Männergesellschaft und Altersklassen im alten China* (Mit. d. orient. Seminars in Berlin, 1916) and others, the use of the word "tribe" and its boundary line in connection with the "clan" is very undecided.

\* The fact that the map of the dialects which was valid approximately at the beginning of our era could with quite inconsiderable exceptions be brought in a perfect equality with a map of the original homes of the clans, which after all reproduces in all essentials the family states of circa the end of the third millenium B. C. is the most important result of the comparison for the historian, for the constancy of the ethnical groups is thereby very distinctly shown. The following formula will therefore hold good for certain provinces: transfers in the clan membership of the ruling classes generally do not affect the ethnical character of the lower classes (the Chou can serve as an example; they govern the largest part of North China directly or through the states of their clan from the end of the second mill about the middle of the first millenium B. C. without their language supplanting the old indigeneous dialect in any part).

\* Some sections (e. g. 楚) can only be exhaustively treated through the help of the equation of the primitive seats of the clans of the nobles with the localities of the dialects, which equation had been found from other parts.



subject; in point of fact, information about the primitive Chinese tribes is to be found in their sources, although they did not make use of it. From the point of view of the history of settlements an unprejudiced investigation of the so-called "barbarians" shows quite convincingly that the preponderating part of them is identical with the primordial tribes which have been deducted from the map of the original homes of the clans on the one hand and that one of the early dialects on the other, resp. that since several of these formed a "barbarian people", in this more favourable second case several primordial tribes could be gathered together into primordial peoples<sup>1</sup> and thus we should be in a position to complete, in very essential characteristics, the picture gained from the history of the clan settlements and the maps of the dialects.

The results thus gained from all these elements for the ethnical structure of the cultured Chinese nation have been added to the introduction in an appendix called "The Chinese Primordial Tribes". I have included in this compilation all the primitive and half civilized peoples which had been absorbed down to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. whether Indo-Chinese or not.

In the preceding remarks the method, work and aims of the history of the clan settlement in Ancient China have been positively set out. It seems to me that they suffice the historian as the basis for his research and justify the idea of a history of the clan settlement for China before the sociologist. It will be the task of the sociologist on the one hand to determine the development of the patriarchal, exogamic clan of the Chinese ruling classes<sup>2</sup>, and on the other hand to clear up the social structure of the lower classes. For the history of the clan settlement the results of his work are only

<sup>1</sup> The civilized Chinaman lacks an ethnical self-designation: 中國人 "Man of the Middle Empire" or 漢人 "Man of (the Kingdom of) Han" are taken from the name of the state and these either go back to the nomenclature of dynasties (夏 Hsia, or 華 | Hua Hsia, or Han 漢 itself) or they arise from the egocentric conception of the world and the universalistic tendencies of the state (中國 Middle Kingdom). This circumstance has certainly contributed towards obstructing the understanding of the Chinese historian on the "barbarian question".

<sup>2</sup> Chavannes, like Conrady and the latter's pupils, Quistorp and Erkes, assume that, in China as well as everywhere in the world, the patriarchal organisation succeeded a matriarchal one, which was in accordance with the results of the scientific researches of that time. Conrady (China p. 484 ff.) has given many reasons for his view.

mediately of importance. The condition of my investigations does not allow me at the moment to fix my opinion on this matter, either one way or the other.

In the first place I have to thank Prof. Conrady and then Dr. A. Wedemeyer of Leipzig for kind assistance, and Dr. O. Maenchen-Helfen for various references. The results were for the most part ventilated and discussed at the sittings of the Far Eastern Seminary of Leipzig University.



## The Chinese Primordial Tribes

(Provisional Results of Research up to December 1922)

### *1. North Chinese Centre of Civilisation.*

1. North East Chinese Civilised People: Self designation *Jung* 戎:
  - A: Phratry: *Yen* 偃—*Ying* 纘—*Ki* 己. Original seats: the plains of N. W.—and N. Shantung. Holders of the dynastic power in the Jung State before the consolidation of N. China.
  - B: Phratry: *Ki* 己 (+ *Tung* 董)—*P'eng* 彭 (+ *T'uh* 秀)—*Yün* 紃—*T'ao* 曹—*Chen* 斟. Original seats: W. Shantung, the southern neck of Chihli and parts of N. E. Honan.
  - C: Phratry: *Kuei* 媿—*Yao* 姚. Closely related to B. Original seats: about Ts'ao-chou-fu in W. Shantung. Holders of Shun's dynasty (Yü).
  - D: Clan *Tse* 子. Original seats: E. Honan. Holders of the Shang dynasty.
2. Middle and West Chinese Civilised People, presumably the nucleus of the Chinese. The name they gave themselves not yet ascertained:
  - A: Clan *Kiang* 姜. Original seats: S. W. Shansi and adjacent parts of N. and N. W. Honan.
  - B: Clan *K'ü* 屈. Closely related to A. Original seats: S. E. Shansi and Ho-nan-fu Basin (?). Holders of Yao's dynasty (T'ao-t'ang).

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<sup>1</sup> The Jung group was first discussed by me in a contribution to Schindler's "Development of the Chinese Conceptions of Supreme Beings", in *Asia Major*, Birth Anniversary Volume p. 361. Schindler succeeded in dividing the supreme deity of the old Chinese Huang-t'ien Shang-ti, into two older ones, each of which has to be assigned to one of the 2 large ethnic groups of the N. Chinese centre of civilisation. This is a highly important start on the way of dividing the entire N. Chinese civilisation, after Conrady's success in proving the parts contributed by North China and South China to the whole of Chinese civilisation. This again opens wide perspectives for the early history, to mention only: that the Shih-king songs, decried as highly lascivious by the orthodoxy, and from which so special customs and habits of the author's home may be inferred (Conrady), must now be assigned as a whole to the Jung region.

- C: Clan *Sze* 緡. Original seats: the plains of the Wei Valley and the Upper Han Valley around Han-chung-fu, *i. e.* E. and S. E. Shensi. Holders of the Hsia dynasty.
3. Remaining Clans: Ethnologically undetermined:
- A: Clan *Kih* 嵒. Original seats: the mountains E. of Ho-nan-fu and the plain to the N. of K'ai-feng-fu, *i. e.* N. E. Honan.
- B: Clan *Man* 曼. Original seats: On the Upper Ju-ho, in the mountains S. E. of Ho-nan-fu and in N. W. Hupeh N. of Han-River where River Tan empties into it; presumably also the Peh-ho and Tang-ho Plains of S. Honan (over which—in very early times—members of I, 2, A held the dominion). This clan—at the same time—forms the transition to II.

*II. South Chinese Centre of Civilisation* ("Barbarians" of Indo-Chinese progeny).

1. The *San Miao* 三苗. Original seats S. E. Hupeh, N. E. Hunan, N. W. Kiang-si. Their state was destroyed towards the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millenium B. C. (The ruling stratum related to I, 2, A ?).
2. A: Clan *Hung* 熊 and B: Clan *Mi* 羣. Ethnic name used by themselves: *Man* 蠻 (?). Original seats: Plains of N. and M. Hupeh, N. slope of Yang-tse Valley beyond Kuei-chou.

*III. Eastern Barbarians belonging to the Indo-Chinese Group:* Self designation *I* 夷. Original seats: the mountainous land of Middle Shantung, S. S. E. Shantung and the Shantung peninsula, N. E. Nganhui and N. Kiangsu N. of the Huai. The nobility-clan organisation comprised but a part of the people, only one indigenous clan, the clan *Feng* 鳳,<sup>1</sup> whose original seats were near Yen-chou-fu in Middle Shantung; with the exception of the peninsular and adjoining coast-tribes of Shantung and Kiangsu, they were very early overtopped mainly by members of groups I, 1, A and B.—The Princes of the Lai on the Shantung peninsula evidently accepted successively the clans Tse (I, 1, D) and Kiang (I, 2, A; the clan of the earlier princes of Ts'ì).

<sup>1</sup> Advanced as an hypothesis in my contribution to the Hirth Anniversary Volume. A number of other arguments will be treated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of this treatise, when the seats of the I in Shantung will be discussed in order to substantiate the assumption of the Feng clan belonging to the I proposed there, which may, therefore, pass as ascertained.



IV. *South Eastern Barbarians of the Indo-Chinese<sup>1</sup> Group.*<sup>2</sup>

1. The *Shu* 舒. Original seats: Middle Nganhui round about Lū-chou-fu and the Ch'ao-hu. No nobility-clan; in historic time overtopped by I, 1, A.
2. The *Wu* 吳 (*Kou-wu* 勾 亅). Original seats: Plains S. of the Yang-tse mouth, i. e. in S. Kiangsu, S. E. Nganhui and adjacent portions of N. Chehkiang. The ruling family accepted the clan of the Chou dynasty (VII, 1).
3. The *Yüeh* 越 (*Yü-yüeh* 於 亅). Original seats: Middle and S. Chehkiang coast and farther south along the Chinese coast in a length not yet determined by me. A kindred, though tribally strongly differentiated population apparently inhabited also Fuhkien, E. and S. Kiangsi, S. E. Hunan, Kuangtung and E. Kuangsi. Furthermore Tongking and Annam stood very near, at least politically [as between 473 and 333 the old Wu (S. Kiangsu and parts of S. and E. Nganhui, N. Kiangsu and the coast of S. E. Shantung)]. As, surely, Austric languages dominated here, it will be difficult to settle the boundaries between this whole group and the Austric family (I remark—according to the newest results found by Conrady of kindred origin with the Indo-Chinese): perhaps (as assumed already, by Chavannes) the whole group must be counted as among Austric, or at any rate it must be taken as an open question (thus Conrady. That, on the other hand, their region, including 2, is—as a whole—nearly congruent with the domain of the modern so-called “South Chinese Dialects” must not be forgotten). The royal family of the north eastern kernel-state accepted the Hia clan (I, 2, C). Chinese colonisation had, to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C., only taken hold of the northern part.

<sup>1</sup> This is, however, not quite sure; cf. the statements of the following note.

<sup>2</sup> Groups IV—VII appear to have been formed from a geographical point of view, but—as far as I can see—they also reflect ethnical groups of large dimensions.—I give the subdivisions with greatest reserve; for the linguistic material on hand, very scanty till now, does not suffice for making definite statements whether they morphologically correspond with the subdivisions of I and II or represent units of a superior order (perhaps as I—III themselves). As far as I can see, we shall have to see such a group at least in Yüeh (without detriment to their possible Austric progeny), considering the enormous area covered by them.

Whether 2 and 3 have developed an indigenous clan (clan *Li* 離, ancestor Ti Hung, Tsin-yün), I cannot tell yet.

#### *V. South Western Barbarians of the Indo-Chinese Group.*

1. *Yung* 庸 and relatives. Original seats: mountains of W. Hupeh and on Middle Han River. No indigenous clans known.—Also the *Yu-fu* 魚復 about K'uei-chou-fu, N. E. Sze-ch'uan are reported to belong to them.
2. The *Pa* 巴. Centre of location: S. E. and E. Sze-ch'uan and the southwestern neck of Hupeh, S. of the Yang-tse. The royal family accepted the Chou clan (VII, 1); but several indigenous clans are known too. The original seats, at least those of the ruling family seem to lie in S. E. part (I-shui region, *Lün*). Near relation to the *P'uh* 濮 in the Tung-t'ing region seems highly probable.
3. The *Shuh* 蜀. Original seats: Middle Sze-ch'uan about Ch'eng-tu-fu, thence the neighbouring Upper Han Valley. (The nucleus: Ts'an-ts'ung-ch'eng, Yü-fu-ch'eng, P'i, is entirely in the plains of Ch'eng-tu-fu). The royal family belongs to the Sze-clan (1, 2, C) or at least claims this origin.

#### *VI. Western Barbarians of the Indo-Chinese Group.*

1. *Kuan-jung* 犬戎 and relatives. Original seats: Upper Wei Valley. In the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B. C. they took possession of the Wei Valley Plains, but their states were destroyed by the Ts'in towards the end of the same century. From the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century a detached part lived in the mountains S. and S. W. of Ho-nan-fu and—mixed with VII, 4—in the Tan-kiang Valley. They consider themselves related to 1, 2, A. (Descending from members of the group II, 1, forced to settle there?)
2. The *Kiang* 羌. Original seats: Middle, W. S. and S. E. Kansuh and adjacent parts of N. Sze-ch'uan. Sinified in the S. E. parts only, the rest being merged in the modern Tibetans. Informations about the social organisation of this people are found in HHSi, chap. 87 (lieh-chuan 77).



*VII. North and North East Barbarians, originally probably not Indo-Chinese, sinified before the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C.<sup>1</sup>*

1. The *Chou* 周. Clan *Ki* 姬. Original seats: Lower Ma-lien-ho, Middle King-ho and the plateau on the Ts'ih and Tsü in N. E. Kansuh and W. Shensi. Holders of the Chou dynasty.

Probably pertaining to them: the *Mih-süh* 密須 about Ling-t'ai, perhaps also the *Hu-chi* 烏氏 about King-chou in E. Kansuh, and some lesser tribes (*Li-jung* 騶戎 among others).—Of Turkish origin?

2. The *Ngí-kü* 義渠. Seats: Ma-lien-ho Valley, evacuated by the Chou. Clan unknown.
3. The *Chu-no* 朝那. Original seats: around P'ing-liang-fu in E. Kansuh. Clan unknown. May be related to 2.
4. The *Tih* 狄. Original seats: Highlands of Middle and N. Shensi, N. of the Wei Valley Plains and neighbouring regions E. of the Ho in W. Shansi. Part of them emigrate in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B. C. and seize upon S. E. Shansi, S. W. and Middle W. Chihli and N. E. Honan. (A portion, the kingdom of *Chung-shan* 中山, old *Sien-yü* 鮮虞—around Ch'eng-ting-fu—Pao-ting-fu in Chihli—existed till about 300 B. C. here though after 408 under foreign rulers).—Clans: *Kuei* 隗 and *Ts'ih* 漆 (the latter the clan of the tribe *Sou-man* 鄯瞞 which probably had left before).
5. North Shensi and North Chihli tribes presumably Tungusian: Old name: *Meh* 緄, 緄, since the Chan-kuoh time *Hu* 胡 (*Tung-hu* 東胡) dominating: In the west (Shansi about 38° n. lat. and adjacent Chihli) about the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B. C. the *Lou-fan* 樓煩, *Tan-lin* 潏林, and *Tai* 代 become conspicuous. The states of *K'iu-yu* 仇由 and *Pan-wu* 般吾 (in the region of Yü-hien—P'ing-shan-hien, S. of the Upper Hu-t'o) must rather be added here than to 4.—In the east the group *Ku-chuh* 孤竹—*Wu-chung* 無終—*Ling-chi* 令支—*Tu-ho* 屠何 in the region of Yung-p'ing-fu—Chao-yang-fu, border line between Chihli and S. W. Manchuria, is paramount. It has old relations to China (as presumably also

<sup>1</sup> This group has been arranged from a geographical point of view. The boundary line between the Turkish and Tungusian families cannot yet be exactly drawn.—Further it is not impossible, that also some tribes of Indo-Chinese origin have been absorbed by the lower groups.

the neighbouring *Chao-sien* 朝鮮 [*Fah-chao-sien* 發 1 1]: Liaotung, N. W. Corea) and has apparently been sinified already in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C. No indigenous clans known. Ku-chuh is reckoned with I, 2, A—1 suppose wrongly. (The most ancient dynasty of Chao-sien claims to descend from a Shang prince.)

### Abbreviations

(cf. the index of quoted authors and works)

BA = The Annals of the Bamboo Books, *Chu-shu ki-nien* (V)

Ch. Cl. = The Chinese Classics by Legge (contains V, VII, LVI, LXXXVI, LXXXIX and CVIII)

HHS<sub>h</sub> = *Hou Han shu* (XXVI)

HK = *Hou-ki*, 後記 part of the *Lu-shi* (LII)

KKCh = *Kün-kuoh-chi* 郡國志, Chap. 19–23 of the *Sü Han shu* (LXXI)

KMK = *Kuoh-ming-ki* 國名記, part of the *Lu-shi* (LII)

MAGW = *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien*

Mayers = W. F. Mayers, *The Chinese Readers Manual*, 2<sup>e</sup>, Shanghai-London 1910

M. H. = *Mémoires historiques de Sze-ma Ts'ien* by E. Chavannes (translation of LXV and chap. 1–47 of LXXX)

PWYF = *P'ei-wen-yün-fu* (LXIII)

Ti-hing-chi = 地形志, chap. 106 of the *Wei-shu* (CXIV)

TLCh = *Ti-li-chi* 地理志, chap. 28 (8) of the *Ts'ien Han shu* (CXI)

TLKSh = *Ch'un-ts'iu ti-li k'ao-shih* (IX)

TSh'TsCh' = *T'u shu ts'ih-ch'eng* (CIII)

TWSHk = *Ti-wang shi-ki* (XCVIII)

Ts'HS<sub>h</sub> = *Ts'ien Han shu* (CXI)

Tze-tien = *K'ang-hi tze-tien* (XLIII)

Wedemeyer, Yao, Shun, Yü = A. Wedemeyer, *Schauplätze und Vorgänge der chinesischen Geschichte gegen Ausgang des dritten und im zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend. I. Kapitel: Yao, Shun und Yü. Asia Major*, 1922.

Yung-cheng-shu = *K'in-ting shu-king chuan-shuoh hui-tsuán* (v. Legge, Ch. Cl. III/Prol., p. 201–202)

WH Map = *Karte zur Geschichte des Yao, Shun und Yü*, v. A. Wedemeyer u. G. Haloun. *Asia Major*, 1922.

Pr Map = *Karte von Ostchina 1:1 000 000 der kartographischen Abteilung der Königl. Preussischen Landesaufnahme*, 1901 ff.

WCh'Map = „*Wu-ch'ang-Karte*“ (v. v. Richthofen, *Atlas von China I, Vorerl. S. 2*) = *Huang-chao chung-wai yih-t'ung yü-tu* (subhead *Ta Ts'ing yin-t'ung yü-tu*). Revised edition. *Wu-ch'ang* 1863.



§ 1. The clans Yen, Ying and Ki<sup>1</sup> (of which the latter is closely connected with the Ying clan) all together trace their descent from the "emperor" Shao-hao. The enquiry into the historical value of this figure consequently must become the natural starting point of a general investigation of the fraternity; for it is to be expected that the most ancient conditions will be found with the genealogical representative of their one-time unity.

§ 2. Shao-hao's historical position can now be considered as anything but certain; the high degree of unsteadfastness is shown, however, by the bare fact that no fewer than eleven names<sup>2</sup> are attributed to him.

Now these names are, for the predominant part only comprehensible from the functions of their bearer in a cosmological system; they therefore prove that Shao-hao had such functions; indeed the most important name of this figure "Shao-hao" itself, which means "little splendour", cannot be historical (but belongs to the terminology of the historically stated cosmology, as is proved by the following) since it would hardly be thought of independently but could well be under-

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to give the transcription with absolute certainty, on account of the troublesome interchange of 己, 巳, and 已, which occurs over and over again in Chinese prints; and there is corresponding uncertainty among the sinologues, whenever they have to deal with the name of this clan. Thus Legge favours the transcription See: in the explanation of Ch'un-t'siu I, 2, 2 for Kū (Ch. Cl. V, p. 9) and at 7, 4, 1 for Tan (Ch. Cl. V, p. 296), but is not always consistent (Ch. Cl. V, p. 249, Col. II, L. 15—16; Shing See next to Shing Ke, I, 19, for the name of Princess 聲 己 of Kū). Chavannes M. H. I, p. 34, n. 2 transcribes Ki (but writes 巳), likewise Tschepe in Ap. II of the *Histoire du royaume de Tch'ou* p. 388 (in the translation of the chapter of the Jih-chi-luh referring to the subject); de Harlez in Koue-yu II, p. 99 transcribes Tze, which however is absolutely wrong. After some hesitation I have decided on Ki on account of the variant 紀 which is given throughout HK and KMK by Lo Pi on account of the Shi-pen. The clan is also inserted in T'ShTsCh' (XIV, 401) under 己, whereas a name of a clan 巳 does not occur there, and likewise the Tze-tien only knows 己 as the name of a clan. It must surely follow that there were two clans 己 belonging to different fraternities of which the one descended from Shao-hao comprises Kū and Tan while the other including the families K'ou-wa, Sū, Wen, Kuan, Tung and those who descended from them (cf. e. g. Kuoh-yü 16, (Cheng), 3a) goes back to Chuan-hūh. Whenever it is necessary to differentiate between them, the first named will hereafter be designated by the sign 紀 which for the time being will be written next to the name of the clan.

<sup>2</sup> 少昊; 白帝; 金天氏; 朱宣; 清 (青); 清陽 (青上); 玄囂; 質帝; 窮桑; 雲陽.

stood as an antithesis ("Gegenspieler") to a "great splendour", a T'ai-hao. This shows the direction the investigation will take. It is necessary first of all to grasp Shao-hao's place in the cosmological system and thus to achieve the basis from which it will be possible to separate the historical personality of the clan hero from the cosmological, extra historical figure. After eliminating the mythical portions this personality must be placed into its proper relation to recognised historical realities.

It has already been remarked above that the majority of the 10 cognomens of Shao-hao are the cognomens of a cosmological figure, in fact of a figure which, if we are to judge from the character of these names, must have fulfilled many functions within the system.

At this stage, after having determined these functions, the investigation must be amplified by the necessary trial to reestablish from them the cosmological unity which must be corresponding to the real genealogical unity already shown up, and to point out the tendencies which led to the disruption of it. On the other hand, this very rupture of the functions of Shao-hao forms the most favourable basis for an easier and more thorough insight into the structure of the pseudo-historical orders of the clan heroes, than could possibly be the case with any other figure; and thereby is given the possibility of finding a solution to one of the most important problems in the study of the clan and beyond it of Chinese history in general.

§ 3 A. But at any rate Shao-hao belongs to the multifarious orders which Chinese historiography places together in the schedule of the "three sublime ones" and the "five emperors". Therefore we have to make ourselves acquainted with these.

Arranged systematically they fall into the following groups:

三皇:	A:	—	B:	T'ai-hao (Fuh-hi)	D:	D1:	—	D2:	天皇
		—		Shen-nung (Yen Ti)			—		人
		—		Huang Ti			—		地

五帝:	A:	T'ai-hao	B:	Shao-hao	D:	Fuh-hi (Pao-hi)
		Yen Ti		Chuan-hüh (Kao-yang)		Shen-nung
		Huang Ti		Ti K'uh (Kao-sin)		Huang Ti
		Shao-hao		Ti Yao (T'ao-t'ang)		Ti Yao
		Chuan-hüh		Ti Shun (Yu)		Ti Shun



三皇:	C: C <sub>1</sub> —C <sub>2</sub> :	Sui-jen (T'ai-yang)	C <sub>3</sub> :	Chuh-yung	C <sub>4</sub> :	Wu-huai
	—	Fuh-hi (T'ai-hao)		Fuh-hi		Fuh-hi
	—	Shen-nung (Yen Ti)		Shen-nung		Shen-nung
	C <sub>5</sub> :	Fuh-hi (T'ai-hao)	C <sub>6</sub> :	Fuh-hi	C <sub>7</sub> :	Chu-siang
		Nü-kua		Shen-nung		K'oh-t'ien
		Shen-nung (Yen Ti)		Kung-kung		Yin-k'ang
五帝:		Huang Ti				
		Chuan-hüh (Kao-yang)				
		Ti K'uh (Kao-sin)				
		Ti Yao (Tao-t'ang)				
		Ti Shun (Yü)				

The following are mentioned as representatives:

**A:** Lü-shi ch'un-ts'iu, Yüeh-ling of Li-ki, Huai-nan-tse 5,21 b—23 b (with 赤帝 instead of 炎<sup>1</sup>).

**B:** Shu-king preface of K'ung Ngan-kuoh (acc. to Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 1, 1 a), Ts'HS h. 20 (8), Huang-fu Mih in TWSbK 1, 8 a<sup>2</sup>, Su Che in the Ku-shi and Cheng Ts'iao in the T'ung-chi (both according to Ko Wei-k'ü in the Shi-ki p'ing-lin, Shi-ki 1, 1 b), Lo Pi in the HK, the T'ung-kien kang-muh, since then official. (The same order of the san-huang is also to be found in the San-fen-shu: Fuh-hi—Shen-nung—Hien-yüan).

**C<sub>1</sub>:** Shi-pen (Shi-ki cheng-ngi loc. cit; T'ung-kien wai-ki 1/II, 28 b), the Ta Tai Li-ki ch. 7 (62) and from the latter Kia-yü ch. 5 (23); Shi-ki ch. 1<sup>3</sup>.

**C<sub>2</sub>:** Fuh Sheng in the Shang-shu ta-chuan (Ko Wei-k'ü in the Shi-ki p'ing-lin, commentary to San-huang-pen-ki, 1 a); Ts'iao Chou in the Ku-shi-k'ao; Chen Yao-tu (T'ung-kien wai-ki loc. cit.).

*Variant 1:* Fuh-hi—Sui-jen—Shen-nung in the Han-wen-kia-ki (PWYF s. v. 三皇 according to Feng-suh-t'ung).

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 1, 1 a. It must be granted that he also knows Nü-kua as 女皇 (1, 3 a according to a quotation in the Li-ki cheng-ngi and in the Tai-p'ing yü-lan, ch. 78; cf. also v. 1. (考異), a quotation of the Hsi-tz'e cheng-ngi and the commentary to San-huang-pen-ki 2 b). But as far as the present fragments can be ascertained, it is certain that he does not count them, so that in any case Huang Ti belongs to the san-huang, which fact is decisive for the classification of his system.

<sup>2</sup> The order Huang Ti — Shun is already found in the same sequence in the Kuoh-yü 4 (Li 1), 62—b; the absence of Shao-hao is decisive for its membership to system C (close to C<sub>6</sub>; see p. 93 note 5).

*Variant 2:* Fuh-hi—Shen-nung—Sui-jen in the system of Liang Wu Ti (T'ung-kien wai-ki loc. cit.).<sup>1</sup>

**C3:** Li-hao-shi-ki in the Feng-suh-t'ung (Ko Wei-k'í, PWYF, loc. cit.) and the Peh-hu-tung (Ko Wei-k'í loc. cit.); Sung Kün (Commentary to the San-huang-pen-ki 2 b).

*Variant 1:* Fuh-hi—Chuh-yung—Shen-nung in the Shantung sculptures (Chavannes, Sculptures sur pierre en Chine, pl. III and pp. 4—5).<sup>2</sup>

*Variant 2:* Fuh-hi—Shen-nung—Chuh-yung in the Hsiao-king (T'ung-kien wai-ki 1/II, 30 b).

**C4:** Kuan-tse 16 (50), 10 a-b (this chapter, in my opinion, in the bulk interpolated at the time of Han Wu Ti); Shi-ki 28, 5 b—6 a (M. H. III, p. 423—23).<sup>3</sup>

**C5:** Ch'un-ts'iu-yün t'ou-ch'u (in the Feng-suh-t'ung, Ko Wei-k'í, PWYF 1 c.); Sze-ma Cheng in the San-huang-pen-ki; Cheng Hsün.<sup>4</sup>

*Variant:* Fuh-hi—Shen-nung—Nü-kua Kuo Yu in the commentary to Li-shi ch'un-ts'iu 14, 1 b.

**C6:** Anonymous source in the T'ung-kien wai-ki 1/II, 28 b. In the table, Kung-kung is arbitrarily placed after Shen-nung, but could just as well be placed at the head instead of Fuh-hi.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here Shao-hao is reckoned among the wu-ti so that Shun falls out (among the 四代); that, of course, is wrong; Shao-hao has to be eliminated from the wu-ti in that case as with the ti-order of Cheng Hsün (v. note 4).

<sup>2</sup> According to the quotation cited in the PWYF, the Li-hao-shi-ki should likewise really belong to this variant; unfortunately I was unable to look up the text of the Feng-suh-t'ung itself.

<sup>3</sup> The order which has been transmitted follows: Wu-huai—Fuh-hi—Shen-nung—Yen Ti—Huang Ti—Chuan-hüü—Ti K'uh—Yao—Shun, i. e. an order of nine, in which however, Shen-nung and Yen Ti belong together, so that in reality it is only an order of eight.

<sup>4</sup> The membership of Cheng Hsün in this system is beyond question; in some details however, I do not see my way clearly; the commentary to San-huang-pen-ki 2 b asserts that Cheng Hsün reckons Nü-kua among the san-huang on the authority of the Ch'un-ts'iu-wei, but makes no standard about the wu-ti order. This order runs according to Lin Shu (in the T'ung-kien wai-ki 1 c. Cheng Hsün assigns, as sources, the Ch'un-ts'iu-yün t'ou-ch'u): Hsien-yün (Huang Ti)—Shao-hao—Kao-yang—Kao-sün—Tao-t'ang—Yo-yü (san-huang: Fuh-hi—Nü-kua—Shen-nung); it is quite clear that in this case Shao-hao springs from the wu-ti.

<sup>5</sup> The passage Kuoh-yü 4 (Lu 1), 6 a-b decides the matter by mentioning the following sequence: Lieh-shan (Shen-nung)—Kung-kung—Huang Ti—Chuan-hüü—Ti K'uh—Yao—Shun; i. e. a sequence of seven, which can be brought up to the proper sum total by the addition of Fuh-hi (cf. also the order with Kung-kung in the Tao-chuan to Chao 17 (Ch. CL V, p. 665—66/67—68) which is, however, absolutely corrupt and finally Ts'HSü 21/II, 14 b—15 a).



**C7:** Obtained from *Lü-shi ch'un-t's'u* 5, 10a—13a; the order transmitted is: Chu-siang—K'oh-t'ien—T'ao-t'ang. I have corrected the senseless T'ao-t'ang in the table to Yin-k'ang<sup>1</sup>.

**D1:** *Hi-tz'e-chuan* to *Yih-king* (section 2, 1; *Yih-king* 3, 20a-b). *Lü Shu*, who immeasurably overates the authority of *Hi-tz'e-chuan*, has taken this system as basis of the (*Tze-chi*) *T'ung-kien wai-ki*, just as *Wang Feng-chou* has accepted it in the *Kang-kien tsih-lan* (*Fries, Abriss der chin. Geschichte*). The order also occurs *Chan-kuoh-ts'eh* 19 (*Chao* 2), 10b, but it must be left in suspense if it is meant being a system in that place.

**D2:** *Hu Hung* in the *Huang-wang ta-ki* (*Ko Wei-k'í* in the *Shi-ki p'ing-lin* to *Shi-ki* 1, 1b).

§ 3 B. A mere external comparison for the present (referring only to their shape) shows that the orders **D1** and **D2** are adjustments of systems **A** and **C1**: as a matter of course, they are to eliminate therefore from the further investigation. The orders **C2—C7** too prove to be secondary ones for they are obviously built up on analogous lines to **B**: the discrepancies in the *san-huang* (*Sui-jen*, *Chuh-yung*, *Wu-huai*, *Nu-kua* or *Kung-kung* are inserted quite clearly in place of the elsewhere needed *Huang Ti*, while **C7** seeks to avoid the rocks by the introduction of otherwise unknown names)<sup>2</sup> show quite sufficiently that this superstructure must be later than the substructure of the *wa-ti* which remained unchanged in every part

<sup>1</sup> The text is corrupt because T'ao-t'ang = Yao occurs once more in the same sequence. Its comparison to *Ts'HSu* 20, 4a—b, *TWSuK* 1, 5a and the *San-huang-pen-ki* (*M. H. I*, p. 20) shows Yin-k'ang as the name which must be inserted.

<sup>2</sup> *Chu-siang*, *K'oh-t'ien* (and *Yin-kang*) are first mentioned as far as I am aware in the passage of the *Lü-shi ch'un-t's'u* referred to. The cult of *Chu-siang* and of *Yin-k'ang* can thus be fixed geographically. As regards *Chu-siang*, the neighbourhood of *Chieh-ch'eng*, a lien of the *fu Kuei-teh* in *Ho-nan* is owned by him. Old *Chieh-ch'eng* passes as the city of *Chu-siang* (*Ho-nan-fu-chi* in *T'ShTsCh'* VI, 391/I, 6b; cf. 396/III, 22a; older sources: *Lo Pi* in the *Ts'ien-ki* 9, 9b, *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-ki*, quoted by *K'iao K'o* in the commentary to same and *Lü Chao* *ibid.*); the local chronicles give a temple and a grave of *Chu-siang* in old *Chieh-ch'eng* in *T'ShTsCh'* VI, 396/III, 31b, 395/II, 18a. (A grave of *Sui-jen* is also shown near *Kuei-teh-fu*, 2 li northwest of the city; *Kuei-teh-fu-chi* in *T'ShTsCh'* VI, 396/III, 22b—23a. Perhaps from this, *Sui-jen* belongs to the territory of the well known fire cult in *Sung*; as far as I know, he is first mentioned in *Kuan-tse* 23 (78), 5a, *Chuang-tse* 6 (16), 5a, (18), 22a and *Han-fei-tse* 19 (49), 1a—b). On the other hand *Yin-k'ang* belongs to the neighbourhood of *Lin-t'ung—Si-ngan-fu*, *Shen-si*, where his grave is shown (*Ts'ien-ki* 9, 10b).

and meant increasing the number of five in this order to the number of eight of the other system. A further reason for suspicion results from the fact that T'ai-hao is often not in the right place (C2, C3, C4, cf. the variants thereto which attempt to correct the disproportion) and becomes always meaningless through the absence of the opposing Shao-hao. Further utilisation of these orders must be out of the question as well and so A, B and C1 are all that remains for the attempt at the reconstruction of the archetype.

§ 3 C. I am taking system A as the starting point of it for the postulate, hypothetical at present, that the order of the wu-ti altogether, and not only in this system where it has been positively transmitted, stands in a certain relationship to the general foundation of all the other speculative "orders of five", "the five elements" (or "the five corners of the world" which may be better in this case). That it did not result from history is proved by the changes in the figures already brought to light, whilst at the very outset the numbers which always remain unchanged throw suspicion on the cosmological origin of it.

(Among other things), within the five elements theory there is the following correspondence:

East	Blue (Green)	Wood (Jupiter, Spring)
South	Red	Fire (Mars, Summer)
West	White	Metal (Venus, Autumn)
North	Black	Water (Mercury, Winter)
Centre	Yellow	Earth (Saturn, —).

Fitted in with this scheme are: first the 五神 or 五行之官. Their order will be treated fully in the second part of the essay<sup>1</sup>; close to them and, as should be mentioned at once, at the very beginning the only ones are: the wu-ti.

Within system A T'ai-hao corresponds to the east, Yen Ti (Ch'ih Ti) to the south, Huang Ti to the centre, Shao-hao to the west and Chuan-hui to the north: i. e. here the wu-ti bear quite distinctly the character of the rulers of the corners of the world („Weltgegendenherrscher“).

<sup>1</sup> There are individual figures from this order because of the establishment of a second younger 神 (佐) order, which occasionally also slipped into the wu-ti (Yüeh-tüeh-shu [5], 42).



§ 3 D. An analysis of the names of the *wu-ti* order of system A shows that these names cannot belong to one single stratum of tradition because the pairs Tai-hao—Shao-hao, Yen Ti (Ch'ih Ti)—Huang Ti and the name Chuan-hih show, in each case, other principles of construction.

Let us keep to the type of the "rulers of the corners of the world" and let us set out as a postulate that the system of the most homogenous nomenclature must be the oldest for that reason, which postulate will not be difficult to defend. We shall find as a corresponding order to these hypotheses, one of the *wu-ti* orders of the *Kia-yü*.<sup>1</sup> This order is first used, as far as can be traced for the designation of the gods of the planets at the time of the Han.<sup>2</sup> It calls the lords of the corners of the earth after the colours corresponding with them *i. e.* 青帝, 赤 |, 白 |, 黑 | and 黃帝.<sup>3</sup>

In consideration of the age problem, it may be remarked here that the combination of colours with the elements resp. the corners of the earth, must of course be as old as the theory of five elements itself. According to that, the 五色 [the five (!) colours] are the first to be found in the passage fixed as very old (Yü!) of the *Shu-king* 2, 4 I, 5 (Ch. Cl. III, p. 81). A few old passages not so well known may be mentioned here; for the positive combination of the five colours with the five elements: *Chou-shu* 3 (28), 9<sup>a</sup>, *Meh-tse* 15 (69), 3<sup>a</sup>; for the positive combination with the corners of the earth: *Chou-shu* 5 (48), 8<sup>a</sup>, *Meh-tse* 12 (47), 5<sup>b</sup>—6<sup>a</sup> [*Wen-tse* (7), 16<sup>b</sup>—17<sup>a</sup>] gives a most interesting old collection of orders

<sup>1</sup> This *Kia-yü* sequence is to be found in Lockhardt, *Manual of Chinese quotations* (Ch'eng-yü-k'ao), p. 41—43 (as I only had part of the Chinese text at my disposal, I am unable to give the original passage); it is, moreover, not quite intact, as instead of Ts'ing Ti Tai-hao has been inserted, which has no meaning whatsoever.

<sup>2</sup> *I. e.* more exactly, in a later stage of development, for another sequence of probably foreign names is added to it; cf. Chalmers' arguments in Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 97—98 (illustrated *fluidum*); on the age problem cf. p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Shao-hao's cognomen Peh Ti springs from this order and another cognomen, Chu-shan, from its further development in the Ho-t'u (cf. the Ho-t'u order by Pfäffmayr, *Geisterglaube im alten China*, p. 4 of the Reprint; cf. the detailed treatment of the question in TWSHK 考異 2<sup>a</sup>—<sup>b</sup>). The primary source of Chu-shan as a cognomen of Shao-hao might be *Sen Kün*, cf. *Chih-shu* Tung-t'ien 1, 8<sup>a</sup> and *K'iao K'o* to HK 7, 5<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> Although Conrady is of opinion that the *Chou-shu* chapter 3 (28) is no longer preclassical.

<sup>a</sup> For the age of *Meh-tse* cf. p. 102 note 2.

<sup>b</sup> For the age of *Wen-tse* cf. p. 102 note 3.

of five used cosmologically, from a still older source (中黃子). These passages prove the high antiquity of the "colour order" from the literary side, as well, for there was the possibility at any time that the rulers of the corners of the earth were named after the cosmical colours.

The Ch'ih Ti (Yen Ti) and Huang Ti of the *wu-ti* order of system A are therefore common to the "colour order" (Proto-A Sequence)<sup>1</sup>. The divergences of the former from the latter consist of the following: 1. two opponent pairs (E. S.—W. N.) are introduced, led by T'ai-hao and Shao-hao, as figures with opposite names, and, in Huang Ti an indifferent element is put in between them; 2. T'ai-hao has supplanted Ts'ing Ti, and Shao-hao Peh Ti and 3. Chuan-hüh has supplanted Heh Ti.

It is very important that Huang Ti stands in the middle, for he could also end the order. At the end the element earth or its equivalent is to be found in: 1. Chou-shu 5 (48), 8 a, Tso-chuan Ch. Cl. V, p. 729/31 (五神 sequence), Kia-yü (the *wu-ti* order quoted p. 96 and the element order in 6 (24), 1 a): Wood, Fire, Metal, Water, Earth; 2. Shu-king 5, 4, 5 (Ch. Cl. III, p. 325), Chou-shu 3 (28), 9 b: Water, Fire, Wood, Metal, Earth; 3. Shu-king 2, 2, 9, (Ch. Cl. III, p. 56 = Tso-chuan, Ch. Cl. V, p. 247/50), Wen-tse (9), 23 a [cf. (12), 28 b]: Water, Fire, Metal, Wood, Earth; 4. Wen-tse (8), 17 a, b, and *ibid.* (12), 28 a, Luh-t'ao 2 (28), 7 a, Peh-hu-tung 2, 1 a: Metal, Wood, Water, Fire, Earth; 5. Yüeh-tsüeh-shu (5), 4 a: Metal, Water, Wood, Fire, Earth<sup>2</sup>.

The introduction of the name "Chuan-hüh" points to a higher standard of corruption of the archetype, because Chuan-hüh is not a cosmological name as T'ai-hao and Shao-hao still are.—The neglect of the "Black" with Lü Puh-wei especially could probably be explained by the fact that the Ts'in only brought sacrifices to the white, blue, yellow and red "emperor" (cf. M. H. III, p. 449; for the establishment of the various sacrificial places,

<sup>1</sup> It must be emphasized that in all systems the names Huang Ti and Yen Ti (Ch'ih Ti) are the primal ones compared with those of the personalities identified with them. Hsien-yün, Yo Hsiang, Tsai-yün and Ti Hsiang have hardly ever succeeded in supplanting Huang Ti; and in the older writings Yen Ti is used for Shen-nung to a much greater extent, and also denotes another figure in Ch'ü-yü, that has never been merged fully into it (cf. p. 104—105). With all this, both names are probably quite explicable from the colour order which fact represents another proof of the primitiveness of the latter.

<sup>2</sup> For the cosmological proper meaning of the sequences cf. Forke, *Lun-heng* II, p. 469—72. The Lü-shi ch'un-t'u sequence with Huang Ti in the middle (the colour sequence Kuan-tse 14 (41), 15b—16a corresponds also to it) is characterised in Hsüan-tse 3, 21a and often in the Ch'un-t'u fan-lu, especially ch. 13 (39) as that in which the elements follow and produce each other (in the course of the seasons).



M. H. III, p. 419-20, 423 and 429)<sup>1</sup>.—How strongly Chuan-hih's character is determined by his cosmological function, can be best inferred from this little feature that he, like his Near-Eastern and Mexican counterparts has also to do with the crossways (vide Huai-nan-tse 11, 6 b: 帝顓頊之法婦人不許男子於路者拂於四達之衢).

§ 3 E. After analysing sequence **A** let us now compare it with **B** and **C**. With **B** we see a part of the old wu-ti connected with the five elements (the five points of the world)—while maintaining the sequence of system **A**—pushed into the san-huang order (even with retention of the title 帝!) and the gap in the Ti sequence filled up with personalities either genealogically or historically important, who therefore are in no way originally connected with any one of the points: i. e. san-huang: T'ai-hao (Fuh-hi) E.—Yen Ti (Shen-nung) S.—Huang Ti centre; wu-ti: Shao-hao (Peh Ti) W.—Chuan-hih (Kao-yang, Heh Ti) N.—Ti K'uh—Yao—Shun.

Later on, K'uh, Yao and Shun are also found correlated to parts of the elements sequence, but the correspondents are of necessity only re-iterations of its first three components, for we are consequently obliged to see a subordinate development in these proceedings. In spite of this the process of this secondary combination with the elements is very interesting and not unimportant for the criticism of the wu-ti, because it spreads beyond Shun to reliable historical dynasties. The normal order as given e. g. Ts'HSb 21/II, 15 b seq. is the following: Ti K'uh—wood—blue; Yao—fire—red; Shun—earth—yellow; Hia—metal—white; Shang—water—black; Chou—wood—blue; Ts'in—fire—red. An older example is in Lü Fuh-wei, Lü-shi ch'un-t's'iu 13, 5a—b: Huang Ti—earth—yellow; Yü—wood—blue; Tang—metal—white; Wen-wang—fire—red; reserved for the Dynasty which should be the following: water—black (as a matter of fact Ts'in Shi-huang-ti recognised water as his element, the 10<sup>th</sup> month as the beginning of the calendar and black as the Dynasty colour, Shi-ki M. H. II, p. 129—130, Ts'HSb 25/I, 5 b and TWSHK 6, 1a)<sup>2</sup>. Of no less interest for the relation of the san-huang to the wu-ti are the further constructions: 五帝—三王 and 三王—五伯 (| 霸), of which the former is first mentioned by Wen-tse (2), 4 a; (7), 16, and (12), 28 a, Yin-wen-tse (2), 7 a, Chuang-tse 6

<sup>1</sup> The system of four of the Shun-hsi-king: Kou-mang—Chih-yung—Jah-shou—Yü-kiang (instead of Hsün-ming) is fundamentally different from this.

<sup>2</sup> These speculations have also produced that colour order which as the only one, as far as I know, deviated from the general rule in respect of its correlates in the sequence of the elements, viz. in K'ia-yü 6 (24), 2b—3a: Yao—fire—yellow; Shun—earth—blue; Hia—metal—black; Shang—water—white; Chou—wood—red.

(17), 9a, Kuei-kuh-tse (4), 4b, Hoh-kuan-tse 3 (12) 1a<sup>1</sup>, Han-fei-tse 19 (49), 9a and more often in Lü-shi ch'un-t's'iu, and the latter, not taking into account the interpolated passage in Kuan-tse 20 (64), 15b likewise first by Wen-tse (7), 16a. Here also the numbers only are constant, so that the orders are unhistorical (That will say they are not engendered by the very real historical conditions though they may avail themselves of historical realities). Thus e. g. in Meh-tse 2 (9), 9a and 12 (47), 2b is to be found: 昔者三代聖王堯舜禹湯文武者是也 or 8 (31), 6b; 昔者虞夏商周三代之聖王, or again 9 (37), 9a, and 13 (49), 1a: 昔者三代聖王禹湯文武 and again for the ordinary order of the wu-peh (pa) (Mayers, p. 336)<sup>2</sup>: T'si Huan-kung—Tsin Wen-kung—Sung Siang-kung—Ch'u Chuang-wang—Ts'in Muh-kung, Meh-tse 1 (3), 6a [cf. Lü-shi ch'un-t's'iu 2/III, 11 a—b] gives: Ts'i Huan-kung—Tsin Wen-kung—Ch'u Chuang-wang—Wu Hoh-lü-wang—Yüeh Kou-t'sien-wang, while from Hoh-kuan-tse 3 (16), 12b (cf. 3 (12), 1b, 5a and (13), 7b) the following order can be recognised: Ts'in Muh-kung—Ch'u Chuang-wang—Tsin Wen-kung—Yüeh Kou-t'sien-wang—Ts'i Huan-kung, which order is also absolute for Han-fei-tse (cf. 3 (10), 13b; 4 (14), 23a; 5 (18), 11b; 7 (22), 25a, 28a; 15 (37), 13b; 16 (38), 5b, (39), 11a, 14a, 15b; san-wang wu-pa mentioned 20 (51), 4b; wu-peh resp. wu-pa 15 (37), 14a and 16 (39), 11b).

Order **C<sub>1</sub>** turns out essentially to be the latest for it has only two of the old five rulers of the corners of the world (Huang Ti and Chuan-hü) and of these Huang Ti is evidently in a wrong position and stands instead of Shao-hao, as the system would require (cf. also § 3 K at the end).

To conclude, the orders **B** and **C<sub>1</sub>** presuppose order **A**, as orders **C<sub>2</sub>—C<sub>7</sub>** that of order **B**, and consequently their relative age can be fixed provisionally in the formula **A→B→C**. Order **A** itself has attained the correspondence with the five elements in a preceding "colour order" [**Proto-A-(P-A)-Order**] and the composition of the **P-A** order is logical and complete in itself.

§ 3 F. The antithesis of Tai-hao—Shao-hao (which is of particular importance to us) in virtue of **A**, must be traced back to the antagonism of the groups E. S.—W. N. and from there it does not come out of the wu-ti. But it no longer belongs to the **P-A** order and thus, after all, must not necessarily belong originally to the scheme of the wu-ti.

<sup>1</sup> For the age of Hoh-kuan-tse cf. p. 102 note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Yin-wen-tse [(1), 6b] seems to be the first to know this order, for which the fact decides that he reckons Sung Siang-kung among the wu-peh.



The ascertainment of this fact is of the highest importance, for we are then in a position to undertake a further reconstruction within the cosmological orders of the rulers of the corners of the world. If on the strength of A it were to be expected that the designation Ts'ing Ti had been due to Tai-hao—Fuh-hi (the transmitted Ruler of the East), we find that it is tied up in the most unexpected but convincing way to Shao-hao; Tai-hao—Fuh-hi, on the contrary having only 天皇 (so TWSHK 1, 2a).

*Shao-hao—Ts'ing Ti*: Ts'HSK 21/II, 15a (from an older source): 少昊曰清, and just so the primary gloss to the BA, Ch. Cl. III/prol. p. 110. The oldest passage is likely Chou-shu 6 (56), 11a printed in the Pi-shu-nien-yih-chung—and in the Han-wei-ts'ung-shu edition: (帝) 乃命少昊請司馬鳥師以正五帝之官. For 請 we possess the v. l. 清 through the quotation of the passage in the commentary to Shan-hai-king 14, 1b and HK 7, 1a; 清 is to be understood as belonging to the name, if 司馬 is to be taken verbally; in my opinion this should not create any difficulties and agrees with the interpretation of the passage by Chang Heng (cf. Shan-hai-king, commentary l. c., cf. also PWYF s. v. 清陽). The identification of Shao-hao with 青陽 (清 |) also belongs here. This figure plays an important part in the genealogical system (v. § 4) and is looked upon there as Huang Ti's son: Chang Heng HHSK 59, 3b, BA primary gloss, l. c., TWSHK 2, 1a (cf. 考異 2b). Sung Chung after Sze-ma Cheng to Shi-ki 1, 7b, T'ung-kien wai-ki 1, 7b; Lo Pi HK 5, 2a b and 7, 1a—b interpolates 青 as father of 青陽—Shao-hao between the latter and Huang Ti, as already the Ts'HSK, in its explanation of the above quotation considers Shao-hao—皐 as a descendant (子孫) of a son of Huang Ti named 清—清陽 (cf. as well the commentaries to Shi-ki 1, 7b, Kuoh-yü 10 (Tsin 4), 9a, Chuh-shu t'ung-tsien 1, 8b, Shan-hai-king 14, 1b, Lo Pi HK 7, 1a and T'ung-kien wai-ki l. c.).

The result of that is the following scheme (P-Order):

I. 天皇	— 太皞	1. 青帝	— 少皞
II. 人		2. 赤   (炎  )	
III. 地		3. 白   (or instead of 4)	
		4. 黑   ( " " " 5)	
		5. 黃   ( " " " 3)	

<sup>1</sup> II and III can be interchanged as the order 天—地—人 is proved early enough by Chou-shu 2 (8), 3b (cf. 3 (28), 9b).

<sup>2</sup> Or 玄帝, as Chuan-t'ieh is called in Lo Pi HK 8, 2a.

The antithesis of Tai-hao—Shao-hao, appears in that case to be firmly established by the function of the bearers of the names as leaders of the two groups san-huang and wu-ti; the nomenclature is thus much more obvious than if it had been motivated through opposite groups within the wu-ti; who through their connection with the five elements, would sooner be a unity, and less qualified for a split.

§ 3 G. The primitiveness of the scheme will be established if the reasons for shifting Shao-hao from the 青帝 of the order P to the 白帝 of systems A and B can be further cleared up.

I think I am in a position to do this; in 770 B. C. Siang of Ts'in, risen to the dignity of a prince of the Empire and appointed lord of the West Marches (西垂) erected the sanctuary Si (西 = West!) and offered up a sacrifice to Shao-hao as Lord of the West and as 白帝 (M. H. III, p. 419—20; cf. M. H. II, p. 15, n. 2 and I, p. 78, n. 1)<sup>1</sup>. Ts'in Siang as a member of the Ying Clan traced his descent from Shao-hao and was the official representative of the kingdom in the west; these two elements seem to be sufficient to account for Shao-hao as Lord of the West, that is, as the ancestor of the prince of the west.

If the K'üan-jung be really descended from the San Miao and these latter in their turn trace their descent from Pan-hu, (which will be discussed more fully in the second part of this article) we shall be able to identify the figure which Shao-hao has supplanted (as Peh Ti). In all probability Pan-hu is identical with a 白帝, who was honoured especially in the territory of the Yang-tse-kiang rapids of E. Sze-ch'uan and W. Hu-peh; and, in a most characteristic manner it is not exactly a white dog, but a piebald one, thus likely a black and white one, if it is to correspond to the picture which Rück has drawn from parallel material outside Chinese sources as being applicable to the representative of the west in the old cosmic image of the Chinese (Stern Glaube und Weltbilder der Tolteken als Zeugen verschollener Kulturbeziehungen zur alten Welt, MAGW LII (1922) p. 102 and in other places)<sup>2</sup>. (I first find the white tiger mentioned as the representative of the west (with the blue dragon, red bird and dusky warrior for the other corners of the earth) in Hoh-kuan-tse 3 (17), 16 b, 1, 2 in a text which in its present form must

<sup>1</sup> In Ts'in sacrifices were offered to 白帝 further in the following other places: in the sanctuary of Fu, for the first time by Wen in the year 756 B. C. (M. H. III, p. 420; cf. II, p. 16, n. 3) and in the sanctuary of Hu, for the first time by Hien in the year 374 B. C. (M. H. III, p. 429.)

<sup>2</sup> A white dog is the progenitor of the K'üan-jung, Shan-hai-king 17, 7a—b; Pan-hu is a dog with a coloured coat (其毛五采) HHSu 86, 1a.



have originated about the year 240 B. C.)<sup>1</sup>. Another presentation of the cosmical animals, which assigns five dragons coloured after the cosmical colours (*i. e.* a blue, a red, a white, a black and a yellow one) to the corners of the earth as cosmical animals, is preserved by Meh-tse in that interesting passage 12 (47), 5 b—6 a, written circa 400 B. C.)<sup>2</sup>.

But if Shao-hao has effected this function then Tai-hao must of necessity fall back into the order of the wu-ti, take the place of Shao-hao—Ts'ing in the east and become the leader of the wu-ti *i. e.* system A is evolved.

The first testimony of Shao-hao as the predecessor of Chuan-huh is to be found in the Tso-chuan, as the oldest source in this case in the year 525 B. C. (Chao 17, Ch. Cl. V, p. 666/67); the cognomen Kin-t'ien-shi (Lord of Metal-heaven (corner of the earth)) which must be traced from his function as lord of the west, is first verified in a passage to Chao 1, in 541 B. C. (Ch. Cl. V, p. 573/80); there are therefore about 200 years in which the above described development could have taken place.

*A preliminary note on the antiquity of the san-huang-wu-ti-system.* The san-huang-wu-ti are mentioned in the following old works: Chou-li (Biot, Tchou-li, II, p. 119), Wen-tse (3), 6 b, (5), 9 b, (8), 17 a, (11), 26 b (san-huang only (1), 1 b; san-huang-wu-ti—san-wang (2) 4 a)<sup>3</sup>, Yang Chu in

<sup>1</sup> Ch. 3 (16) gives the discussion between P'ang Nuan (P'ang-tse of the text?) and King Tao-siang of Chao (244—236 B. C.). In 3 (12), 3a—b an episode is given (the history of Kih Sin) which took place in 242 B. C.; the final casting of the work must, however, have taken place shortly after 240, as a passage of Hoh-kuan-tse (3 (13), 8b is quoted in Han-fei-tse (7 (23), 13a—b), who died in 233 B. C. (Parts of the text are repeatedly quoted by authors of the second century B. C., *e. g.* very often by Kia Ng!).

<sup>2</sup> The nucleus of the work must have already been in existence at the time of King Hui of Ch'u (488—432 B. C.) [v. 12 (47), 1b], while another part must have been written down later, as for example ch. 13 (49) which must have been written just before 412; at the time of Han-fei-tse, the followers of Meh Tih were already divided into three schools [19 (50), 13b—14a].—While reading the proof sheets, I was in a position to examine the translation of Meh-tse, since published by Forke (Mê Ti, des Sozialethikers und seiner Schüler philosophische Werke; Berlin 1922, Mit. Sem. für orient. Sprachen, Beiheft). As I see that Forke has come to the very same results in general with regard to the age of Meh Tih, I can abstain from citing some details which ought still to be discussed.

<sup>3</sup> Wen-tse, however, is perhaps a pupil of Lao-tse himself, which fact is expressly mentioned in the work [(5), 10a] in Wen-tse's discourse with King Ping of Ch'u (528—516 B. C.). Unfortunately, this text, which must become so important for the future Lao-tse interpretation, does not seem to be entirely free from interpolation (in

Lieh-tse 7, 9a-b (Wilhelm, *Lü shi*, p. 88) and Lieh-tse himself, 4, 3b (Wilhelm, p. 41), Chuang-tse 5 (14), 26a, 29b, (29a twice falsely 三王 instead of 三皇), as well as in the *Lü-shi ch'un-t's'iu*, the system of which is constructed strictly on the *wu-ti*, 7, 8b and 14, 1b; further Lub-t'ao 2 (28), 7a knows the *san-huang*, and Chou-shu 6 (54), 5a, Kuan-tse 6 (17), 14a, Hoh-kuan-tse 2 (9), 14a (cf. § 5 A to the 九皇 of this author), and K'ang-ts'ang-tse (acc. to Tung-kien wai-ki 1/II, 26a: 明皇—聖帝) know the climax *ti-huang* (devoid of numbers).

Now it is quite true that the textual transmittance of most of these works is at present not so examined as it might be. We have, of course, to reckon with apocrypha and interpolations, but I must most emphatically enter a warning against so radical a criticism as that of Liu Shu, who having based his remarks on K'ung Ying-tah, declares in a treatise of Tung-kien wai-ki (1/II, 24 ff) that all these passages have been interpolated. Once their unhistorical character is ascertained, we get the orders *wu-ti-san-wang* and *san-wang-wu-pek(pa)* as an indirect proof of the existence of the order *san-huang-wu-ti* for they are analogous formations to it, and thus to the literature already enumerated can be added Meh-tse, Kuei-kuh-tse, Yin-wen-tse, Han-fei-tse and the Chan-kuoh-ts'eh; as compared with the writings of K'ung-tse, Lao-tse, Ts'eng-tse, Tung-tse, Shen-tse, Teng-sih-tse, Wu-tse and Wei-liao-tse<sup>2</sup>, they form only a fraction but they

(8), 19b Meh Tih is mentioned next to K'ung-tse!), but it is quite out of the question in view of the numerous passages concerning the *san-huang-wu-ti* (in addition to those concerning the *wu-ti-san-wang*, *san-wang-wu-pek*; for those v. p. 98/99) that just these should have been interpolated. For textual criticism of the work cf. v. d. Gabelentz in *Ber. d. Kgl. Sachs. Ges. d. W., phil. hist. Cl.*, Leipzig 1887.

<sup>2</sup> In connection with the Chou-li passage especially, Schindler, "Priestertum im alten China" I, p. 73 in discussing this work has stood up for its age. To be sure he does not bring forward the happiest arguments: his conception of Chalmers' notes rests on a misunderstanding, as well as his three Chinese quotations.

<sup>3</sup> Leaving the *Sho-king*, *Shi-king*, *Yih-king* and the *Ch'un-t's'iu* aside, in spite of Liu Shu's assertion, none of these authors mentions either the *san-huang* or the *wu-ti* and *san-wang*. The complete order which is given by him l. c. 26a, runs as follows: Lao-tse, Ts'eng-tse, Tung-tse, Shen-tse, Teng-sih-tse, Yin-wen-tse, Sun-tse, Wu-tse, and Wei-liao-tse. Of these I have only been able to verify Lao-tse, Shen-tse, Yin-wen-tse, and Sun-tse as the other four texts were not at my disposal, with the result that Yin-wen-tse who mentions the *wu-ti-san-wang* (v. p. 98 and cf. p. 99 n. 2) and Sun-tse who, 9, 10 (according to Giles' division in his translation of *Sun-tse* p. 84) mentions the battle of the 黃帝 against the 四帝 have to be eliminated. The result of this is that the reliability of the reference of Liu Shu for the other texts as well, comes into question; more particularly as also those for Wu-tse, Kuei-kuh-tse and the *Lü-shi ch'un-t's'iu* are insufficient, and his literary proofs in general are also not satisfactory, for a number of works of the period in question, which have been still preserved, e. g. K'ung-sun-jung-tse or Shi-tse, are not even considered by him. (Under such circumstances it is



require careful consideration within the literature out of the first millenium B. C. which was still in existence after the Burning of the Books.

Considering the eminently fragmentary character of the pre-classical works which have been preserved, especially of the Shu-king, it is therefore no longer possible to work in this case with the argumentum ex silentio; the more so as the order of the san-huang—wu-ti can be put together without any difficulty from larger classical works, as for example from the Tso-chuan—in spite of Sün-tse 3, 6a—b—even though the system san-huang—wu-ti is not mentioned. On the other hand the purely speculative philosophical character of authors as Lao-tse, Shen-tse or K'ung-sun-lung-tse justifies positively its non-mentioning, and the same holds true for works on special subjects, such as Wu-tse's or Wei-liao-tse's Art of War, or the Ch'un-t's'u Chronicle. After all, the radicalism of the philological criticism of Liu Shu is, surely, very narrowminded, if he repudiates a whole work because of one interpolation, without considering the rest of its contents or even wishing to approach the material points of view—although one cannot help being sympathetically affected by the critical spirit of this famous historian.

An investigation based on material criticism and executed in the bulk on strictly philological lines has led to a date, between 770—550 B. C., in which the P order was changed into the order of the system A (as far as I know no Chinese historian has attempted to reconstruct the archetype of the san-huang—wu-ti orders, in spite of their striking discrepancies). This, therefore, places the P order chronologically quite definitely before this period.—That this statement is correct will be proved hereafter by the derivation of the ti order of System C from B—A, which will follow from the genealogical system and for which I would refer the reader to § 3 K and finally to § 18.

The reconstruction of the archetype has given a number of eight for the order of the rulers of the corners of the earth, while the order A which by comparison of orders A—D has been proved as relatively the oldest, is a typical order of five. Therefore it seems to me to be desired greatly to produce *further proofs of the primitiveness of the number eight for the rulers of the corners of the earth.*

To commence with Chinese material: the figure of 炎帝 of the present systems falls quite openly into two personalities in olden times, namely Shen-nung and Ch'ü-yu. If the designation Yen Ti originally belonged to

particularly unfortunate that I had no opportunity of examining the originals of a number of works quoted by him (besides the above mentioned works especially: Shang-tse, Yen-tan-tse and Ssu-ma Fab).

Ch'i-yu, then Shen-nung originally belongs to another order which can only be that of the san-huang; this is not at all improbable because the battle of Huang Ti with Yen Ti seems to have been referred exclusively to him and not to Shen-nung, and it is certain since only he bears the character of the god of war (cf. Shi-ki 28, 9b.—M. H. III, p. 432) while Shen-nung bears that of an agricultural hero. The connection between 神農 and 地皇 is however quite obvious.

For a logical investigation of the material, it will be necessary to make use of the results of the research in comparative mythology, even though they have mostly been gained from extra-Chinese material. Firstly these researches have shown<sup>1</sup> that the numbers 5 and 8 are most closely connected, for both originate in the Venus calendar<sup>2</sup>. Since in such a case both numbers belong to the same calendarical (and therefore to the same cosmological) system, it is not unimportant to me that pertinent investigation is inclined to allow a higher antiquity to the system of eight than to that of five. Röck writes, l. c. p. 83: "... So weit wir bisher zu erkennen vermögen, stellt die Venusrechnung mit Achterwoche und Maltermonat<sup>3</sup> eine ältere Kulturschicht dar als der Venuskalender mit Koppelung von Fünfer- und Siebenerwoche bezw. mit alleiniger Verwendung der Fünferwoche." That agrees with the results I have obtained in so far as they require the priority of the origin of the system of eight over the system of five in the ranks of the Chinese rulers of the corners of the earth, and also justifies them on a broader basis.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Authoritative on this problem are the three articles: F. E. Weidner, Die astronomischen Grundlagen des Venusjahres; F. Röck, Das Venusjahr, and W. Schulz, Das System der Acht im Lichte des Mythos und der mythenhaltigen Überlieferung, which appeared in *Memnon* IV (1910), p. 29 ff., 83 ff., 111 ff.; to these may be added as a new and comprehensive work on the subject the article by F. Röck in the *MAGW* which is quoted on p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of it rests on the equation: five synodic Venus periods (2920 days) = eight solar years (2920 days).

<sup>3</sup> That is the month lasting  $32\frac{1}{2}$  days of the Venus reckoning; kleiner Maltermonat, mala-mōta.

<sup>4</sup> I have purposely abstained from following up—from the cosmological side as well as from interpreting—the P order ascertained as the archetype of the systems A—D, and have allowed it to stand in the form which splits the 8 into  $5 + 3$ , which is hardly the oldest, because that seemed to me the *certainly* oldest attainable stage of the Chinese order of eight rulers.

The 八方 of the Chou-shu 5 (47), 5b, the 八極 in Hoh-kam-tse 1 (4), 7b, 9b, 2 (10), 17a, as well as the 八風, for example in the same author 2 (11), 17a, 25a, and similar, may make it possible to continue the investigations from the standpoint of Chinese tradition. A further distinct East Chinese eight ruler order has been preserved



§ 3H. Compared with system **A**, system **B** represents a re-establishment of the archetype, in so far as it shows again an order of eight and in so far as Tai-hao and Shao-hao resume their old places. Yet, this Shao-hao is not the Ts'ing Ti of the **P** order but the Peh Ti of system **A**, and thus in accordance with its inner character, system **B** is the prototype of the latter orders wu-ti—san-wang; *i. e.* the orders of three and five which are supplementing one another to the order of eight are detached from each other in wrong place, after Huang-ti instead of after Chuan-hui, as ought to be the case according to the historical development.—On the whole, system **B** is merely only a throw back of system **A** into the form of the archetype, whose essence *i. e.* the original cosmological meaning was no longer recognised; thus we have an order to the cosmological component of which must have been added such of another kind.

§ 3J. Now this component is given in the fusion of the old rulers of the corners of the earth with the clan heroes; the system **A** was already exposed to it; in § 3G, the transformation of the **P** order into the order of system **A**, which owes its rise to the

in the Shi-ki (28, 9a—10a=M. H. III, p. 431—35), but it is corrupt to a high degree: Lord of the Heavens, Lord of the Earth, Lord of War, Lord of the Yin (=the dark, feminine principle), Lord of the Yang (=the light, manly principle), Lord of the Moon, Lord of the Sun, Lord of the four Seasons.

This may suffice for the time being, for if a far stretched investigation would now follow, there would be great danger of misunderstandings. A satisfactory investigation into the lore of numbers for Ancient China by a well-equipped specialist is an urgent necessity and had to go far beyond a mere translation of the respective tracts. To substantiate another item of the Venus-Calendar viz. 52, we take at random two other "historical" dates: Ti Koeth—Kieh, the last (17<sup>th</sup>: 17=5+12) Emperor of the Hsia reigned 57 years (so Standard-Chronology: 1818—1706; BA 30: 1589—1559), as also Shun-shin—Chen, the last (28<sup>th</sup>: BA: 30<sup>th</sup>) Emperor of the Shang (so BA: 1102—1050; Standard Chronology 32: 1154—1122); its correlate, the number 73, (see below) I document by Kuan-tse 16 (50)=Shi-ki 28, 5a—7a=TsHSK 251, 3b—4b: "72 generations have already brought the sacrifices feng and shan; if Duke Huan should bring his (as 73<sup>rd</sup>), this would be perilous to him." (In Central America, everybody is known to have reckoned on the possibility of the end of the world, whenever this period [„Jahrsbündel", „*xihumilpill*", the Maya-scientists' "Calendar Round", which period is brought about by uniting a solar year of 365 days with the "Tunahmatl"—52×365=18980=73×260 *i. e.* 20×13] came to an end—and this clears the situation in both cases.)

The meaning of the 8 which has been split into 3+5 within the constant numbers of the Mythos has been established by W. Schulz in the article mentioned above (v. p. 105 n. 1). It takes its rise in the week of the Venus month epagomena and corresponds therefore to the "Aryan" 3 (by which it is influenced) and the "Babylonian" 12.

shifting of Shao-hao from Shao-hao—Ts'ing Ti to Shao-hao—Peh Ti, was based upon the fusion of Shao-hao (Ts'ing Ti) with the hero of the Ying Clan, or in a wider sense of the fraternity Yen-Ying-Ki.

The most necessary particulars about the clan heroes are as follows: Fuh-hi (Pao-hi)—T'ai-hao is looked upon as the progenitor of the clan Feng, Shen-nung as that of the clan Kiang, Huang Ti as that of the clans Ki (姬)<sup>1</sup> and Kih (岐), Shao-hao as that of the fraternity Yen-Ying-Ki, Chuan-hüh as that of the fraternity Ki (己 + Tung)—P'eng (+ T'uh)—Yün—Ts'ao—Chen, and in addition to these of the clans Kuei and Yao connected with him through Shun and of the clan Sze connected through Kun-Yü. A separate position as is occupied by these three clans whose heroes have not been merged directly into the rulers of the corners of the earth, is occupied as well by the progenitor of the clan Tse (the clan of the Shang Dynasty), by Kao-sin the "father" of Hou Tsih (progenitor of the Chou clan Ki (姬)) and by Yao (progenitor of the clan K'i (齊)); in the following paragraphs (for the results see §§ 16—17) we shall have to occupy ourselves with the reasons for its independence. The clans of the south and southeast Chinese states (*i. e.* Hiung, Li, etc.) are attached to Huang Ti, so much so that their clan heroes (Yo Hiung, Tsin-yün, Ti Hung) have been merged with him into one person; an exception forms the clan Mi which took Chuan-hüh as its ancestor (in order to legitimise itself) at an earlier moment. Further, the dynasties of these states have, to some extent, adopted the clan of the Chou Kings, as for example Pa (巴) 姬 Tso-chuan Chao 13, Ch. Cl V, p. 644/50) or most likely also Wu; another part has been attached to other dynasties (*e. g.* clan Sze—Hia-clan in Yüeh and in Shu, to which surely he could originally belong; clan Tse among the Lai, etc.); similar conditions hold good for the northern and western neighbours of China in so far as they have been comprised within the genealogical system (thus for example, as far as the Hiung-nu are concerned they traced their descent from the Hia.)

As we have seen from § 3 G, generally speaking the **P** order has given the basis for claiming historical authenticity of the rulers of the corners of the earth, and the order of system **A** has been the product

<sup>1</sup> As the ancestor of this clan he appears only secondary because of the setting up of the genealogical system, cf. § 3 K.



of this process;<sup>1</sup> or if we wish to take into consideration the exceptional position of the clans of the Dynasties, (Kuei-Yao, Tse-K'i, K'i, Sze) the order of system B, most completely corresponds to it: the nine ruler order with which we shall be acquainted in § 5 A.

§ 5 K. The most striking modification which the order of the rulers of the corners of the earth has experienced during their metamorphosis into the pseudo-historical order of the clan ancestors has been that the rulers of the corners of the earth instead of being placed side by side in point of space, had to be turned into a coming one after the other in point of time as relative to ancestors of clans who must descend one from the other if the order should be supported at all; that means a vertical building up of the new *ti* order in the place of the horizontal one of the old order.

This process was the formative of the genealogical *system* which has come down to us.

This system has been built up on the preponderance of the Huang Ti on the one side and of the Chou clan Ki on the other. Huang Ti is looked upon as the progenitor of this clan and the following are also counted as belonging to it: Ts'ing-yang (Shao-hao) as Huang Ti's son, Chuan-huh as Huang Ti's grandson, and Kao-sin as the great grandson of Huang Ti; from the last named the genealogical tree of the Chou branches off from the "emperor order" through Hou Tsih.<sup>2</sup>—That this system cannot correspond to the historical conditions, is convincingly proved by the fact—should further proof still be considered as necessary—that we cannot point to a single state of the Ki clan in China proper, whose foundation goes back beyond the Chou invasion in the Shang kingdom *i. e.* about the

<sup>1</sup> There seem to be divergences among other clans. *E. g.*, as far as I can see at present, the ancestor of the clan Kiang, Shen-nung, is the figure which has already been handed with Ch'i-yu—Yen Ti, which we at the earliest meet in the order of system A, while Yen Ti—Ch'i-yu himself is no longer an independent clan hero. This again points to A as the basis for the historification, and if needed, this system could be interpreted as the still purely cosmological adjustment order of the A and P orders. Without doubt the blending process took a long time, and it is not necessary to assume that it was regulated uniformly from one spot only.

<sup>2</sup> It is therefore superfluous to count Yao as belonging to the clan Ki (Chavannes in M. H. J., p. 42, n. 1 from a source not mentioned, and otherwise as far as I know only HK 10, 12). This certainly does not belong originally to the system and is nothing but a meaningless analogous construction. For Yao's real clan membership cf. § 16.

end of the twelfth century B. C.<sup>1</sup> But if in spite of this we find Huang Ti, the old ruler of the centre, bound up with the clan of a reigning dynasty and looked upon as the progenitor of other ancestral lords of clans, then, without forcing this fact, his preponderance in the genealogical system can only be explained by means of that veneration for the centre ("the navel of the world") which has its rises in the cosmological system and which must also have been connected with the theory of the five ends of the earth in China.

That Huang Ti *had to be* the starting point for each genealogical system is shown also just convincingly by his fictitious membership of the clan Ki as well as by the genealogical system which Wang Mang on founding the Dynasty Sin had ordered to be contrived and which is preserved in Ts'HSu 98, 1a. Since he is descended from the T'ien, who as members of the clan Kuei trace their genealogical tree back to Shun, Wang Mang has had to make Huang Ti the progenitor and the genealogical links which connect him with them members of the Shun's clan Yao.

Here we have the key to the understanding of the order of system C. Since Huang Ti has now become a starting point for genealogical orders, it is but natural that the tendency should have arisen which allowed him to stand at the head of "History". Because Huang Ti owed his position as progenitor to his position in the middle among the other four rulers of the world, this tendency above all must have led to the fact of not being able to take notice of Fuh-hi and Shennung when setting up the new "emperor" order if it was desired to begin the order with Huang Ti. This could be done in a twofold way since there existed two historical orders of the old rulers of the corners of the world, those of systems A and B. Either an order of three was established with Huang Ti—Shao-hao—Chuan-hüü as the balance of the five ti of system A or an order of five was established putting Huang Ti at the head of the wu-ti of system B, which place was filled there by Shao-hao. If the latter way were adopted then Huang Ti had to come in collision with Shao-hao. That way was taken and Shao-hao evacuated his position; his disappearance from the wu-ti order is just the characteristic of the orders of system C; he became the son of Huang Ti and "did not come to the throne", so that he need not be counted and thus disturb the traditional order

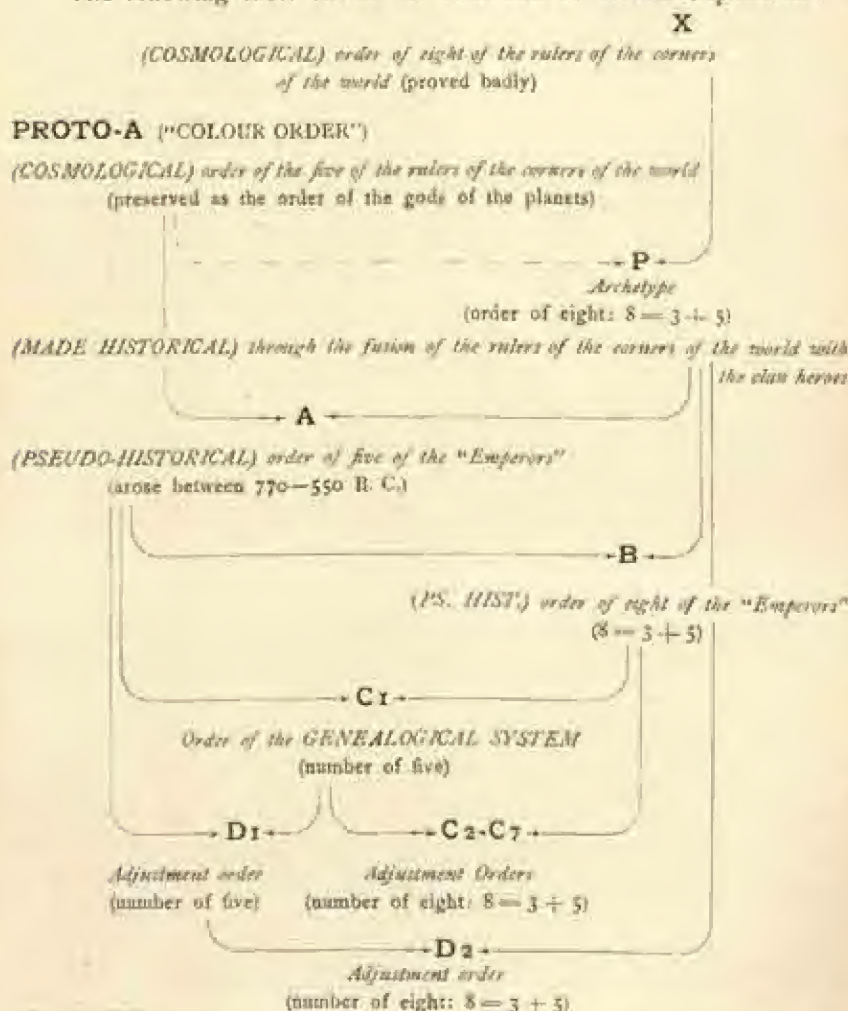
<sup>1</sup> The early history of the Chou, however, will be treated with full particulars in 5-8 and in the "Appendix" and the tradition subjected to appropriate criticism.



of five. Thus arose the order **C**<sub>1</sub>, while **C**<sub>2</sub>—**C**<sub>7</sub> are adjustments of it and of the order of system **B**, as has been shown in § 3 B.<sup>1</sup>

§ 3 L. Now that we have succeeded in tracing the last of the transmitted cosmological or pseudo-historical systems of the san-huang—wu-ti from the archetype disclosed, we are in a position to set up its genealogical tree.

The following table shows its condition of mutual dependence:<sup>2</sup>



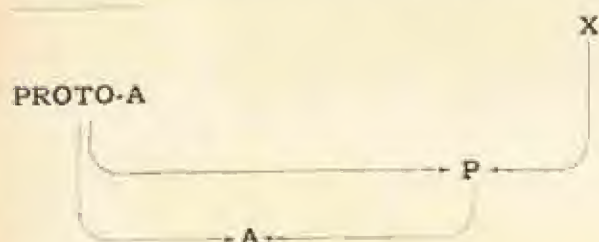
<sup>1</sup> Thus Shao-hao was also "in ill favour" among the Chou, to whom is to be ascribed the authorship of this genealogical system and according to this of order **C**<sub>1</sub> of system **C**. (Ts'HSü 21/II, 154.)

<sup>2</sup> With reference to the arguments put forward p. 108 n. 1 for the present I would like to have open the possibility of the following scheme:

§ 4. The above analysis in § 3K of the order C1 has explained why (Shao-hao) Ts'ing-yang is not counted among the "emperors" in the orthodox historiography (on which for example the Shi-ki is dependent) and has simply remained a genealogical figure.

From the literature on Ts'ing-yang there still remains the investigation of a corrupt though ancient passage, Kuoh-yü to (Tsin 4), 7b—8a, which for all that has become particularly important for the building up of the genealogical orders, so that its interpretation has become directly the basic formula for the different varieties of the genealogical system.

However interesting it might be, after having shown the ground idea of the genealogical system, to become acquainted with the pedigree of the genealogical order in the same way as with the pedigree of the san-huang—wu-ti orders, I have resisted giving it at this point and would refer the reader to § 19 (second part of this work), because the results of this investigation, in so far as they concern above all Shao-hao are of importance for the assessment of the position of the clan Ki within the Shao-hao fratriy.



(cosmological) adjustment order

*This the first to become historical*

As already shown at that place the one scheme does not necessarily preclude the other; the membership to this or that variant will have particularly to be noticed from time to time during the investigation of each clan here.



## ZU LUN-YÜ II, 16

Von A. FORKE

Die Ausführungen von H. Haas zu den verschiedenen Übersetzungen von Lun-yü II, 16 sind von prinzipieller Bedeutung. Sie behandeln die Frage, wie sich die des Chinesischen nicht mächtigen Religionshistoriker den ihnen von Sinologen gelieferten Übersetzungen gegenüber zu verhalten haben, wenn diese sich widersprechen oder voneinander abweichen. Haas verwirft mit Recht den Standpunkt von A. Jeremias, daß man sich bei der Benutzung von Übersetzungen einem einzigen erprobten Führer anvertrauen solle. Ein Forscher, welcher Übersetzungen orientalischer Texte zu benutzen hat, muß sich, wenn es mehrere gibt, mit ihnen auseinandersetzen und sich für diejenige Übertragung entscheiden, welche ihm nach kritischer Prüfung die zuverlässigste zu sein scheint. Für diese kritische Prüfung lassen sich einige Grundsätze aufstellen.

Wenn eine Stelle in einem größeren Werke enthalten ist, so sind die Übersetzungen derjenigen am zuverlässigsten, welche das ganze Werk und nicht nur diese einzelne Stelle oder eine kleinere Auswahl übersetzt haben. Das gilt ganz besonders für das Chinesische, in welchem einzelne aus dem Zusammenhang gerissene Sätze sehr schwer verständlich sind und eine Vertrautheit mit dem Werke eines Schriftstellers eine richtige Übersetzung am ersten gewährleistet. Haas gibt eine Liste von allen Übersetzern von Lun-yü II, 16, deren Übersetzungen ihm zugänglich waren. Von diesen würde ich nach obigem Prinzip ausscheiden und nicht berücksichtigen J. H. Plath, W. Grube, H. Giles und de Groot, die nur einzelnes übersetzt haben. Von den übrigen sind diejenigen als Führer zu wählen, welche als Übersetzer den besten Namen haben. Das sind J. Legge, P. Zottoli und P. Couvreur. Legge ist vielleicht der beste Übersetzer, den wir haben, auch Zottoli und Couvreur sind recht gut. Auszuscheiden sind

ferner die alten katholischen und protestantischen Missionare P. Couplet, der Verfasser von *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, P. Noel, J. Marshman, Rev. Collie, denn zu jener Zeit war die Sinologie noch nicht so weit vorgeschritten, daß man genaue Übersetzungen erwarten konnte. G. Pauthier ist als Übersetzer sehr unzuverlässig. Für einen Nichtfachmann ist es natürlich nicht leicht, die verschiedenen Sinologen richtig zu bewerten. Ein einigermaßen richtiges Bild werden sie sich machen können, wenn sie die Besprechungen der Hauptwerke der Betreffenden durch Fachgenossen lesen. Die Übersetzungen der fraglichen Stelle durch Legge, Zottoli und Couvreur stimmen überein, man kann daher wohl annehmen, daß sie richtig sind. Danach ist 攻 als „sich befassen mit“ und nicht als „angreifen“, und 異端 als „falsche, von den orthodoxen abweichende Lehren“ aufzufassen.

Übersetzungen, welche von ihren Urhebern zur Stützung irgendeiner Theorie benutzt werden, sind mit dem größten Mißtrauen aufzunehmen. Das gilt von Couplets „*Oppugna heretica dogmata*“ und von de Groot's „Greift die Irrlehren an“. Couplet stützt darauf seine These, daß schon Konfuzius die Ketzer bekämpft und daher die Ausrottung der Ketzerei durch Ludwig XIV. mit Freuden begrüßt haben würde, wenn er davon schon hätte Kenntnis haben können. Soederblom findet darin eine Bestätigung der von der Mehrzahl der Sinologen verworfenen Ansicht de Groot's von der religiösen Verfolgungssucht der Chinesen. Wer eine Theorie zu verfechten hat, wird unbewußt auch in seinen Übersetzungen davon beeinflusst, daher sind stets die Übersetzungen derer vorzuziehen, welche ohne Voreingenommenheit übersetzen und eine Stelle nicht benutzen, um irgend etwas damit zu beweisen.

Ist man im Zweifel, wie ein Ausspruch eines Schriftstellers zu erklären sei, so wird man in vielen Fällen dadurch zum Ziele gelangen, daß man sich fragt, welche Erklärung dem Charakter und der Anschauungsweise des Autors am besten entspricht. Dieser Grundsatz ist von Haas in richtiger Weise angewandt. Er kommt zu dem Resultat, daß die Aufforderung zum Kampf gegen Andersdenkende wohl der Sinnesart des feurigen und stark polemischen Mêng-tse — und wir können hinzufügen auch des streitlustigen Hsün-tse — aber nicht der des sehr bedächtigen und ruhigen Konfuzius entsprechen würde. Daher kann er sie nicht an seine Jünger gerichtet haben, und der Ausspruch ist anders zu verstehen, und zwar so, wie ihn auch die meisten Chinesen auffassen.



In der kommentierten Ausgabe der Dreizehn Klassiker 十三經注疏 sind von Ho Yen, 3. Jahrh. n. Chr. die ältesten Kommentare zum Lun-yü zusammengestellt: 論語, 何晏集解, 邢昺疏. Darin wird 攻 als „bearbeiten, in Angriff nehmen“ erklärt: 攻治也. Die Paraphrase 疏 sagt: 正義曰此章禁人雜學. „Der richtige Sinn ist, daß in diesem Abschnitt die Menschen angehalten werden, nicht alles mögliche durcheinander zu studieren.“ 異端 wird definiert als: 諸子百家之書也. „Die Werke der hundert Schulen der Philosophen.“ Dazu wird folgende Erläuterung gegeben: 言人若不學正經善道而治乎異端之書斯則爲害之深也. „Das bedeutet, daß, wenn die Menschen nicht die gute Lehre der echten Klassiker studieren und sich mit den Werken der abweichenden Standpunkte beschäftigen, sie dadurch in die größte Gefahr geraten.“

Die „Vier Bücher mit Erklärungen“ 四書合講 stellen die Forderung auf, daß der Mensch sein Wissen mit der Orthodoxie in Einklang bringen müsse 當正其學. Alles was zu der richtigen Lehre 正道理 im Widerspruch steht, gilt als I-tuan. Der Sinn des Ausspruchs wird in folgender Weise umschrieben: 若惑於其術專治而欲精之造出一種議論別立一箇教門將見其心既已陷溺其說必然偏僻以之修己便壞自己的性情以之治人便壞天下的風俗有不可勝言也. „Wenn jemand sich von jenen Methoden betören läßt, sich speziell damit beschäftigt und sie zu ergründen sucht, wenn er sich in eine Diskussion darüber einläßt und eine besondere Schule gründet, dann wird man sehen, wie sein Geist in den Sumpf gerät und mit seinen Reden wird er sicher auf Abwege kommen. Wenn er damit sich selbst veredeln will, so wird er seine eigene Natur verderben, und wenn er damit die Menschen regieren will, so wird er die Sitten des Reiches zugrunde richten. Das läßt sich gar nicht alles ausmalen.“

Nach demselben Kommentare erklärt der Philosoph Tch'êng-tse 程氏 i-tuan als 邪說誠行戾乎正道者也. „Ketzerische Reden und üble Taten, welche die richtige Lehre schädigen“, und kung als 重看異端 „grundlich die verderbten Lehren studieren“, wer das tut, „der ergründet das in den Seltsamkeiten enthaltene Annehmbare, was äußerst gefährlich ist“ 攻則窮其異中之趣而爲害甚矣.

Der Kommentar des Tschu Hsi zu dieser Stelle 朱熹集註 lautet: 范氏曰. 攻. 專治也. 故治木石金玉之工曰攻. 異端非聖人之道. 而別爲一端. 如楊墨是也. 其率天下至於無父無君. 專治而欲精之. 爲害甚矣. „Fan sagt: Kung bedeutet: speziell bearbeiten, daher wird die Bearbeitung von Holz, Stein, Gold, Jade kung genannt. I-tuan ist nicht die Lehre des Weisen, sondern irgendein anderer Standpunkt wie etwa der des Yang Tschu oder Mè Ti. Wenn solche die Welt beherrschen, dann gelangt man dazu, daß es keinen Vater und keinen Fürsten mehr gibt. Wenn sich jemand speziell damit beschäftigt und sie zu ergründen sucht, so führt das in die größte Gefahr.“ Marshman hat diese Erklärung gar nicht verstanden und sie, wie Haas zitiert, folgendermaßen umschrieben: *„Twen-see says . . . those who practise juggling, with wood, stone, gold etc. Restrain these evil things, juggling, palmistry etc. He adds: They are opposed to the sage's doctrine, and point to a different end. These delusions corrupt a country till it loses all veneration for both parents and ruler. Restrain these then and regulate the desires of the people lest their minds be completely corrupted by these things.“* Von *„juggling and legerdemain“* ist hier gar nicht die Rede, denn i-tuan hat diese Bedeutung nicht. Schott ist Marshman blindlings gefolgt, indem er „Gaukelei und Taschenspielerkünste“ übersetzt und W. Wilhelm scheint früher von Schott beeinflusst zu sein, indem er von zauberisch-spiritistischen Übungen sprach.

Tschu Hsi's Kommentar fährt fort: 程子曰. 佛氏之言. 比之楊墨. 尤爲近理. 所以其害爲尤甚. 學者當如淫聲美色以遠之. 不爾. 則駸駸然入於其中矣. „Tsch'êng-tse sagt: Die Worte Buddhas kommen der Wahrheit näher als die des Yang Tschu und Mè Ti, daher sind sie sehr viel gefährlicher. Die Lernenden müssen sie wie unsittliche Musik oder verführerische Schönheit betrachten und sich von ihnen fern halten, andernfalls werden sie ganz plötzlich davon umgarnt.“ Diese Worte können als weitere Erläuterung zu der oben zitierten Äußerung des Tsch'êng-tse dienen.

Tschu Hsi bedauert, daß zu seiner Zeit viele Gelehrte dem Buddhismus verfallen seien — er selbst hat sich eine Zeitlang damit beschäftigt — der feiner sei als die Lehre des Yang Tschu und Mè Ti. Mit seinen Schülern hat er sich, wie aus dem 語類 hervorgeht,



wiederholt über Lun-yü II, 16 unterhalten und die Frage seiner Schüler, ob kung nicht auch „angreifen“ bedeuten könne, verneint. Er sagt: 攻者是講習之謂非攻擊之攻 . . . . . 既入於邪必害於正 „Kung bedeutet studieren, es ist nicht das kung von „angreifen“ . . . . . Wenn man in die Ketzerei hineingerat, so nimmt die Orthodoxie Schaden“ (四書朱子異同條辨). Weiter definiert er kung als: 專治之也 „sich besonders mit etwas beschäftigen“. Als Grund dafür, daß kung nicht angreifen bedeute, gibt Tschu Hsi an, daß dann der Satz unklar und unvollständig wäre und noch etwas hinzugesetzt werden müßte, denn weder Tschu Hsi noch irgendein chinesischer Erklärer faßt kung als Imperativ auf, sondern würde ihn so konstruieren: „Wenn man die Irrlehren angreift, so ist das gefährlich“, womit allerdings nichts anzufangen ist, denn man fragt sich, warum das gefährlich sei. Tschu Hsi bezieht sich auf eine Stelle des Lü Pu-wei, worin vom Angriff auf falsche Lehren die Rede ist und das Wort kung gebraucht wird.

In dem angeführten kritischen Kommentar zu den Vier Büchern wird gegen Tschu Hsi bemerkt, daß manche Konfuzianer kung als „angreifen“ verstanden. Das Angreifen von Irrlehren schade nur dem Angreifenden, daher habe es zu unterbleiben. In dieser Weise wird kung aufgefaßt von einem gewissen Lin 林氏 und von Ts'ai Tchieh 蔡節, 1245 n. Chr. in seinem Kommentar: 論語集說. Danach wäre der Sinn der Stelle: Es genügt, die wahre Lehre zu kennen, dann verschwinden die falschen von selbst. Sie anzugreifen ist nicht nötig, das schadet nur.

Eine eigenartige Auffassung hat Tschiao Hsiao-lien 焦孝廉 in seinem Kommentar 論語補疏. Er versteht kung als „bearbeiten“, ein Wort, das vom Feilen und Polieren von Edelsteinen gebraucht wird. Es soll denselben Sinn haben wie 序 anordnen, regeln, in Ordnung bringen. Unter Anlehnung an einen Ausspruch des Têng Hsi-tse I (7) und des 韓詩外傳: 別殊類使不相害 序異端使不相悖 „Wenn man verschiedene Kategorien trennt, dann geraten sie nicht in Kollision und wenn man abweichende Ansichten ordnet, dann kommen sie nicht in Konflikt“ gibt er als Sinn: „Man muß die fremden Ansichten bearbeiten (indem alle Ecken und Spitzen abgeschliffen werden), dann schaden sie nicht mehr.“ Die Finale 己 wird 止 „aufhören“ gleichgesetzt. Diese

Erklärung ist nicht annehmbar, da 也 已 eine ganz übliche Finale ist, in der 已 seinen ursprünglichen Sinn verloren hat.

Sowohl im Kang Hi als auch in dem großen neuen Wörterbuch der Shanghai Commercial Press, Ts'e-yuan 辭源 wird Lun-yü II, 16 zitiert und in beiden mit 治也 „bearbeiten“ erklärt, wobei das Ts'e-yuan noch hinzusetzt: 如攻金攻玉 „So wie man Gold oder Jade bearbeitet“. Da sich diese Erklärung in allen gangbaren Kommentaren und in den großen Wörterbüchern findet, so wird ein Chinese, wenn er nicht gerade das Lun-yü zu seinem Spezialstudium macht und die Kommentar-Litteratur durcharbeitet, gar nicht auf den Gedanken kommen, daß kung hier „angreifen“ bedeuten könne, und da keiner der Kommentare einen Imperativ annimmt, so wird auch niemand in diesem Worte des Konfuzius eine Aufforderung zu religiöser Unduldsamkeit und zur Verfolgung fremder Lehren und ihrer Vertreter erblicken, vielmehr nur eine Warnung vor der Beschäftigung mit nicht orthodoxen konfuzianischen Theorien darin sehen.

Sind nun nach den Regeln der chinesischen Grammatik beide Erklärungen kung = angreifen und kung = in Angriff nehmen möglich und läßt sich danach nicht feststellen, welche Übersetzung die richtige ist, die von J. Legge: *The study of strange doctrines is injurious indeed* oder die von de Groot: Greift die Irrlehre an, denn sie ist das Schädliche und Gefährliche? Mir scheint grammatisch nur die erstere haltbar.

Keiner der mir bekannten Kommentare faßt das Verbum als Imperativ auf, daher muß eine solche Auffassung großes Bedenken erregen. Wäre es ein Imperativ, so müßte irgend etwas im Satze daraufhindeuten. Wenn sonst Konfuzius Aufforderungen an seine Schüler richtet, so pflegt er sie anzureden.

Kung kann „feindlich angreifen“, aber auch „in Angriff nehmen, bearbeiten, sich beschäftigen mit“ bedeuten. In beiden Fällen folgt ein direktes Komplement. Folgt aber ein indirektes mit 乎 (an, in, auf, bei), so bedeutet es nur in Angriff nehmen, bearbeiten. Verben, welche eine so direkte Handlung wie stoßen, schlagen, verwunden, töten, angreifen ausdrücken, verlangen immer ein direktes Objekt ohne Zwischenpartikel, wohingegen, wenn die Handlung nicht in gerader Richtung auf das Objekt losgeht, sondern an demselben vorbei und um dasselbe herum wie bei bearbeiten, wenn man mit einem Gegen-



stand herumhantiert, daran feilt, reibt oder poliert, so kann dies durch ein indirektes Objekt mit einer Partikel wie *hu* zum Ausdruck gebracht werden. Ich glaube, daß sie in diesem Falle absichtlich gewählt ist, um anzuzeigen, daß das *kung* hier nicht angreifen, sondern sich beschäftigen mit bedeuten soll.

De Groot bezieht 斯 „sie“ auf *i-tuan* „Irrlehre“, während die chinesischen Kommentatoren es auf den ganzen vorbergehenden Satz beziehen. Nur das ist richtig. Abgesehen von dem Pronomen 之 pflegt man im Chinesischen bereits erwähnte Substantiva bei Wiederholung nicht durch persönliche oder hinweisende Fürwörter zu ersetzen, sondern einfach zu wiederholen.

Aus allen diesen Gründen würde ich nicht wie Haas mit Bezug auf den strittigen Satz des Konfuzius ein *non liquet* aussprechen, sondern mich ohne Bedenken für die Erklärung des Tschu Hsi und der überwältigenden Mehrheit der chinesischen Kommentatoren sowie der besten Übersetzer des Lun-yü Legge, Zottoli und Couvreur entscheiden. Wollte man auf die Benutzung aller chinesischen Texte, welche nicht in übereinstimmender Weise von allen verstanden werden, verzichten, so würde eine Forschung kaum möglich sein. Nach demselben Prinzip könnte man auch kein deutsches Gesetz benutzen, denn fast kein Paragraph wird von allen Juristen in gleichem Sinne aufgefaßt.

THE CHAO-YIN-SHI 招隱士  
"CALLING BACK THE HIDDEN SCHOLAR"

By HUAI-NAN-TZE<sup>1</sup>

EDITED, TRANSLATED, AND ANNOTATED

By A. E. ERKES

桂樹叢生兮山之幽  
偃蹇連蜷兮枝相紉

1. Cassia trees are densely growing in the mountains' solitude.

2. Bent together and intertwined, their branches clash together.

1. Wang Yih (W) explains this line thus: "The cassia trees are odouriferous, and thereby refer to the faith and purity of K'üeh Yüan. After having left the king's palace, he has hidden himself."

2. W interprets the line, as follows: "K'üeh is of beautiful appearance, his virtue is abundant and flourishing, his charity and justice supply each other, his perfection is finished. By talent and virtue he is pre-eminent, and shining before others. He will help the noble ones to become firm and strong." The Wu-ch'en say: The beautiful appearance of all the trees is like the model conduct of Yüan.—Hung Hing-tsu explains 紉 by 糾 to bind together.—Instead of 蜷 there is a v. l. 卷 „bent”.

山氣嵒嵒兮石嵒嵒  
谿谷嶙嶙兮水曾波

<sup>1</sup> For the general character of the kind of poetry to which this piece belongs, as well as for its hero, K'üeh Yüan, and for its commentators, see my translation of the *Ta-chao*, in *Asia major*, Introductory Volume (Birth Anniversary Volume), as well as my edition of the *Chao-lun* of Sung Yüeh (Leipzig 1914). On the author, Huai-nan-tze, compare the introduction to my translation of his *T'ieh-hing-hün* (*Das Weltbild des Huai-nan-tze*, *Orientalische Zeitschrift*, vol. V (1917), pp. 27—32).



3. The mountain-air is dense and heavy, the rocks are slippery and steep.

4. The torrent-beds are abruptly precipitous, the waters are swollen and streaming on.

3. 崑崙 is explained by the Wu-ch'en and by Chu Hi (C) as "the appearance of air filled with rain"; 嵯峨 by "appearance of the high". But there is no reason why the two characters forming the second term should not be taken in their literal meaning "slippery and steep".

4. For 冒 v. L 增 "to rise".

猿猱羣嘯分虎豹  
攀援桂枝兮聊淹留

5. The crowd of the Yüan- and Yu-apes screams; tigers and leopards roar.

6. They tear and pull at the cassias' branches, nevertheless he tarries and stays.

5. Yüan and Yu are two big species of monkeys; the yu is, according to the Tze-tien, a black ape with long arms. Instead of 猿 v. l, 猱 "ape". 嘯, lit. "to whistle" is also used of the shrill screams of monkeys. W. explains the meaning of the line thus: "Where birds and beasts are dwelling, he (K'üeh) would stay with pleasure. But the wild animals fight for their prey and want to tear each other to pieces. Therefore it is said, that in the lonely darkness of the mountain valleys, at the steep heights, there is no place to dwell for a noble man. Monkeys, tigers and leopards are no society for the wise."

6. W explains thus: "(The animals) climb upwards and tear at the trees; he, in coming along, looks at them full of sadness. Everywhere in the wilderness he tarries to go on." Our translation follows this explanation. If it is right, then this line may perhaps contain some allusion to K'üeh Yüan's adversaries, as in the Chao-hun, where they are depicted (1.32) in the same way as tigers and leopards. The Wu-ch'en think otherwise, they explain 援 by 持 "to hold fast", thus making K'üeh the subject of the sentence "he tears at the branches and clings to them". The meaning is, according to the Wu-ch'en: "Yüan clings to his model conduct, he tarries and keeps backwards, thus waiting for an enlightened ruler."

王孫遊兮不歸  
春草生兮萋萋

7. The grandson of kings wanders about and does not return.

8. The herbs of spring are sprouting and thriving luxuriantly.

7. K'ih Yüan is called "grandson of kings", because, as the Wu-ch'en say, he was of royal descent and related to the royal family of Ts'u. See Lisao, ls. 1—4. Hung calls attention to the same phrase occurring in the Yüeh-fu, 王孫遊(出於此). "The grandson of kings wanders." 遊 he is glad (instead of v. l. 游), hardly correct.

8. 萎 | is explained by the Wu-ch'en as "the colour of the herbs", but this explanation seems rather arbitrary. Curiously enough, the commentators say nothing about a further hidden meaning of the line.

歲暮兮不自聊  
蟋蟀鳴兮啾啾

9. The year advances, therefore he himself is not glad.  
10. Crickets and cicadas are softly chirping.

9. W: "The year advances, and life (thereby) is shortened. Therefore the heart becomes trist and inquiet, and full of care."

10. The commentators seem to find in the line the meaning, that the crickets are chirping softly, because they are sad for the advance of time, and see their own end coming near. Hung refers to Chuang-tze, who expresses a similar thought (Chuang-tze 1, 1, 22, the crickets know neither summer nor autumn). He also cites the Fang-yen, after which 蟋蟀 is a word from the dialect of Ts'u, used there instead of 蟋蟀, for which they say 蟋蟀 in Ts'u.

夙兮軋山曲  
心淹留兮惘惘

11. Insurmountable and endless are the crooked mountain-paths.

12. The heart sinks and tarries, (it is) sad, embarrassed and frightened.

11. 夙 is explained by Hung, quoting the Kia-i-fu 賈誼賦, as meaning "insurmountable", which explanation comes nearest to the primary meaning. After W it means, "dim, dusky", after another expositor, Chu, "an atmosphere without sun-light", a third explanation even gives "reflection" (遠和映貌). C explains 軋 as "the sound of being rubbed together". All these explanations are baseless and quite arbitrary. The same is due of C's explanation of 曲 as "crooked".

12. 惘惘 is said by C to mean "spirits and demons". This meaning is entirely impossible and would give an impossible sense ("this makes



the spirits and demons sad"). If we assume the characters to have their primary meaning, then they are simply three adjectives, a construction not rarely met with in the Ts'u-t'ie, for instance, Chao-hun, l. 49, and elsewhere. Another reading of the three last characters is 洞 空 忽 "the caves are empty and dark". (?)

因 兮 怖 驚 兮 栗 虎 豹 穴  
 叢 薄 深 林 兮 人 上 慄

13. Frightened out of his wits, he trembling beholds the caves of the tigers and leopards.

14. Bushes and shrubs deepen the forest; in climbing upwards, man becomes frightened.

14. Instead of 上, v. l. 之. The somewhat strange expression 上 is not explained by the commentators. It seems most adequate to take it as a verb, as the description shows that K'ü is thought to climb the mountain.

巖 岑 嵒 嶺 兮 嶮 嶮 嶮 嶮  
 樹 輪 相 糾 兮 林 木 茂 茂

15. High and steep, rugged and rifted, abrupt and craggy the mountains are.

16. The crossed branches of the trees are entangled; the twigs of the forest trees are bent.

15. All terms occurring in this line, generally written with rad. 山, design "the appearance of the mountains".

16. The characters 林木 are missing in one edition, but this reading must probably be rejected, as the metre would be too much disturbed by their omission. 茂 猷 designs, after the commentaries, the crossed branches; 茂 originally "leaves", means "the twigs bent down". Instead of 茂, v. l's. are 菱 "root", and 枝 "branch".

青 莎 雜 樹 兮 蘋 草 蕭 靡  
 白 鹿 曇 麋 兮 或 騰 或 倚

17. The green herbs, shrubs and trees, the matting-grass are (all) pliant and flexible.

18. The white stags, males and females, these are jumping, the others leaning.

17. 蘋 fan is a kind of grass, used in the fabrication of mats. V. l. 蘋 p' in "often", also "shore", only the latter meaning could come into

question; the phrase might thus be interpreted as "the grasses on the shore". Instead of 藿 v. l. 藿 and 藿 leaves', the meaning would then be "the leaves of the grasses on the shore are pliant." The commentators seem to think that medicinal herbs are meant, Hung at least refers to a Pen-tsao, where it is said: "As to these grasses, the people of antiquity made a poem; "Much used are the herbs and roots, that are called fragrant and of curative power". Thus these grasses and herbs were looked at".

狀貌嵒嵒兮峨峨  
淒淒兮漚漚欄猴兮熊羆

19. They appear high-horned, like the mountain-crests.

20. Cold and damp(look) the monkeys and bears.

19. W gives instead of 貌 the incorrect form 覯.

嵒 | means, after the Wu-Ch'en, "the high appearance of the antlers", after W, "the antlers are differently shaped, like mountain-crests".

20. Instead of the first 兮, a v. l. presents 而. Instead of 漚, v. l. 漚 "numerous", what seems to be out of place here.—欄 mi, and 猴 yilan, are two big species of monkeys, comp. 1. 6. 羆 is, after Hung, "a yellow bear with white marks". The Wu-ch'en seem to think that "monkeys and bears" must be taken here as pars pro toto, meaning "mountain-beasts" in general.

惡類兮以悲  
攀援桂枝兮聊淹留

21. If you think, (how much) you resemble them, then you will become sad.

22. They tear and pull at the branches of the cassias, and nevertheless he tarries and stays.

21. W gives a very long commentary, however, without making the meaning of the line much clearer: "Sorrowful he is and unhappy, as said above. All the many mountain-forests teem with dangers; herbs and trees are flourishing luxuriantly, deers and stags are living there, and tigers and rhinoceroses abide there. This is not suited for developing Tao and virtue, and to perfect heart and mind. One ought to wish K'üeh Yüan to turn back." The Wu-ch'en say: "This means: The animals in the forests seem to regard him as their companion; full of sadness he (therefore) leaves the place, and this oppresses his heart." C repeats the commentary of W. Therefore the meaning seems to be: By staying in the wilderness, K'üeh sinks down to the level of the beasts, and this ought to make him sad.



22. Compare note to 1. 6.—援 is missing in one edition.

虎豹鬪兮熊羆咆

禽獸駭兮亡其曹

王孫兮歸來山中兮不可以久留

23. Tigers and leopards are fighting; the bears growl.  
 24. Birds and beasts are afraid, and forget their kinship.  
 25. Grandson of kings, oh come back! in the mountains you cannot stay long!

23 and 24. The commentators say: "The murderous beasts of prey roar and fight angrily, the crowd of hares and pheasants becomes frightened and flees. They leave their companions and loose them."

25. The last line seems to contain an allusion to Chao-hun, 1. 30, where the text runs thus: 歸來 歸來 不可以久些.—C gives the following comprehensive explanation: "Yüan is not yet in the mood of returning, how may he be called back? Therefore it is said once more: To live in the mountains is impossible. In the last line, Huai-nan-tze at last makes his view known. He does not mean that (Yüan) ought not to stay in the mountains, but that he ought not to stay long. But he does not venture to assert that K'ih Yüan will return."

# EINIGE VERBESSERUNGEN ZU DE GROOT, DIE HUNNEN DER VORCHRISTLICHEN ZEIT

Von E. VON ZACH

S. 9 findet sich eine Note: „über Tsiao-huo (焦穫) läßt sich gar nichts sagen“. Es handelt sich um ein Marschland (oder einen See) im nordwestlichen Teile von 涇陽縣 in Shensi, welches schon im Shih-king (Buch der Oden) vorkommt. Vgl. Legge, IV, S. 283. (Legge übersetzt unrichtig: when they confidently occupied Tseaou and Hwoh.) Es heißt auch 鄠口 oder 鄠中; vgl. Chavannes, Mém. hist., III, S. 524. Ferner s. Couvreur, Dict. class., (1904) S. 663.

S. 11 不去其旗 (vgl. Tso-chuan, Legge, V, S. 126, Z. 17) „er wollte seine Fahnen nicht im Stich lassen.“ So übersetzt auch Legge: would not *leave* his flag; verbessert sich aber auf S. 397: would not *take down* his flag. Hier muß nämlich 去 ch'ü<sup>1</sup> to remove und nicht 去 ch'ü<sup>4</sup> to leave gelesen werden.

S. 15. Den Satz aus dem Tso-chuan (Legge, V, S. 160) 且言王子帶 to speak about the king's brother Tai übersetzt de Groot: „und auch mit dem König über Tse-tai zu sprechen“; während die einzig richtige Übersetzung lautet: und auch über Wang-tzū Tai (d. h. den Königssohn Tai) zu sprechen.

復命 bedeutet nicht: „den Gegenauftrag überbringen“, sondern: to give account of mission, über seine Gesandtschaftsreise Bericht erstatten. (Im Tsochuan mindestens 20 Male gebraucht.)

齊仲孫湫致之 bedeutet: Chung-sun Chiao (der Diplomat von Ch'i) brachte dies zustande; oder: veranlaßte es; es war seine Idee usw.

Legge und mit ihm de Groot übersetzen unrichtig: conducted their troops to it.



Überdies liest de Groot 諫 Ts'iao, während es nicht aspiriert ist (chiao, mandschur. jio); auf derselben Seite liest er 廟 t'au, obwohl es aspiriert ist und ch'ü heißen muß.

S. 16. „... das ‚Lob der Heirat‘ sagt....“ Zu dieser Übersetzung vergleiche man Text (V, S. 181, Z. 8) und Übersetzung des Tso-chuan (V, S. 183). Es handelt sich um ein Zitat aus dem Shih-king (IV, S. 320): „and their relatives are full of their praise“.

S. 17. T'ai-shu (der erhabene jüngere Bruder) auch Wang-tzu Tai = Prinz Tai genannt, war Sohn des 17. Königs von Chou (Huei) von dessen zweiter Gemahlin (vgl. Chavannes, Mém. hist., I, S. 290). Seine Mutter hätte natürlicherweise lieber ihn als seinen älteren Stiefbruder Hsiang als Thronfolger gesehen. Als Hsiang 18. König von Chou wurde, floh sein Bruder Tai, wurde aber wieder zurückgerufen und begann ein Verhältnis mit der Königin, die eine Tiksche Fürstentochter war. Bei de Groot heißt es: „der Tai (der große Spätergeborene) war ein Günstling der Königin Hui gewesen und hatte Verkehr mit der Tikschen Königin“.

S. 26 wird ein Satz aus dem Ch'un-ch'iu angeführt, den Legge früher (V, S. 327) vollkommen richtig übersetzt hat: an army of Tsin carried Ying-urh, viscount of Loo, back with it to Tsin; in der Mandschu-Übertragung: lu gurun i ze ing el be gamame bederehe (gefangen heimbringen); de Groot: „ließ den Lehnsherrscher heimkehren“.

其.....之謂乎: kann wohl von..... gesagt werden, trifft bei..... wohl zu (乎 wird als Finalpartikel aufgefaßt) oder: kann dies nicht auch von..... gesagt werden? (乎 als Fragepartikel); eine im Tso-chuan oft vorkommende Verbindung, z. B. S. 11<sub>13</sub>, 42<sub>13</sub> usw.; vgl. Gabelentz, Chines. Gram., S. 179. Daher muß auch die Stelle S. 322<sub>10</sub> so übersetzt werden: Der Spruch der Weisen: „Man zieht sich das Unheil selbst zu“ trifft wohl auch bei Hsien Hu zu. De Groot (S. 26): „Ein Weiser hatte gesagt: ‚Wenn Unheil einen Menschen trifft, dann hat er selbst es sich als Strafe zugezogen‘. Waren diese Worte mit bezug auf Sien-hu gesprochen?“

S. 27. 地反物爲妖 „wenn die Erde den regelmäßigen Zeitlauf des Gebärens umkehrt, dann ruft das Unheil hervor“. Tso-chuan, V, S. 326, Z. 12: die Erde zeigt ungewöhnliche (unheimliche) Erscheinungen, wenn der Natur entgegengearbeitet wird. 物 = die Natur (im engeren Sinne, die Naturreiche). Legge (nicht ganz richtig): when the productions of the earth are reversed, we have prodigious things.

S. 29 übersetzt de Groot die Worte des Tso-chuan, V, S. 336, 劉康公 „Liu, Fürst von K'ang, während es heißen muß: K'ang, Fürst von Liu (einem kleinen Staat im königlichen Gebiete) – der posthume Titel des jüngsten Sohnes des Chou-Herrschers 頃王, vgl. Legge, V, S. 308.

欺大國 kann nur heißen: ein großes Reich (nämlich Chou) betrügen; aber nicht „sein eigenes Reich trügerisch vergrößern“.

S. 36 läßt de Groot King K'o den König von Ts'in erstechen. Nun ist in China allgemein bekannt, daß King K'o den Ch'in Shih Hwang nur ermorden wollte; 弑 an der betr. Shih-chi-Stelle muß daher mit: ein Attentat verüben, aber nicht „erstechen“ übersetzt werden.

Hier findet sich auch ein Druckfehler: lies 舞陽 und nicht 無陽.

S. 37. 多聞諜 „er gab viele Urlaubspässe aus“ – während es bedeutet: er vermehrte die Kundschafter (bildete den Nachrichtendienst aus).

S. 38. 畜, „daß sich keine Ernte einbringen ließ“ – es bedeutet: daß man kein Vieh züchten konnte.

佯北 „以數十人委之“ „das machte den Eindruck, als ob sich in den nördlichen Gegenden keine ihnen überlegene Macht befände. Mit einigen tausend Mann trieben sie dort Volk und Vieh zusammen . . .“ Es bedeutet: er ging absichtlich zurück (scheinbar floh er) und ließ einige Dutzend Leute in ihren Händen zurück, – Im Shih-chi und im Pei wên yün fu steht 千 (tausend) und nicht 十 (zehn), obwohl letzteres wahrscheinlicher ist (vgl. Tung chien kang mu, Kap. 2, S. 11); das ändert aber nichts daran, daß 北 (Norden) hier „fliehen“, „sich zurückziehen“ bedeutet.

S. 83. 郎中令 „Intendant des inneren Hofes“; Chavannes, Mém. hist., II, S. 515: „surintendant du palais“. Es ist aber klar, daß eine militärische Würde gemeint ist: Chef aller Garden.

中尉 „der Kommandant der zentralen Kriegsmacht“ (wird zum Heerführer ernannt!) Chavannes, Mém. hist. II, S. 521: chef de la police à la capitale.

S. 86. Der letzte Satz muß lauten: wenn wir beide von diesen Prinzipien beseelt sein werden, wird es auf der ganzen Welt niemanden geben, der das einträchtige Verhältniß der beiden ebenbürtigen Nachbarreiche (China und Hunnen) nicht loben sollte.

Obwohl de Groot (wie aus S. 219 hervorgeht) weiß, daß 敵 ebenbürtig bedeutet, übersetzt er doch: „Han und Hung-no sind Nachbarreiche, die Gegensätze bieten.“



S. 87 übersetzt de Groot: „Ich liefere daher das von dir entflohene und bei mir abgefangene Volk aus“, während im chinesischen Text deutlich steht: die zu dir geflohenen Chinesen sollen von mir nicht weiter verfolgt werden.

S. 91. 中大夫 „der Großwesir des inneren Palastes“; vergl. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, II, S. 515. Es handelt sich um einen Untergebenen des 郎中令 (vgl. oben d. Anm. zu S. 83), also etwa Gardehauptmann.

S. 93. Li Kwang bewährt sich im Felde als tüchtiger Offizier und wird bei seiner Rückkunft zum 中郎 ernannt; aus Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, II, S. 516 geht hervor, daß dies Gardeoffizier bedeutet; man begreift auch eine solche Ernennung eines tapferen Offiziers zum Gardeoffizier. De Groot übersetzt „Hofintendant“.

S. 102. 廷尉 wird mit „Kriegsgericht des Hofes“ übersetzt, obwohl es nach Chavannes der oberste Gerichtshof ist; in späterer Zeit wurde dieses Amt 大理寺 genannt, was Mayers mit Grand Court of Revision übersetzt. Es ist die höchste richterliche Behörde des Staates.

S. 116. 郎中令 (vgl. Anm. zu S. 83) „Intendant der Palastpforten“.

S. 117. 長史 „Untergouverneur einer Mark“ — es handelt sich um einen Offizier, etwa Generalmajor.

Ebenda wird von einem „Strafrichter“ 罪正 gesprochen, obwohl es heißt: 問其罪, untersuchte seine Schuld; der Armeerichter (軍正) usw. Also falsche Cäsur! Steht man vor einer Kombination wie 罪正, so muß man zunächst im P'ei wên yün fu nachsehen, ob es so etwas gibt: Hier beweist schon der Kommentar (正 = 軍正) das Gegenteil; denn wenn 罪正 zusammengehörte und nicht durch die Cäsur getrennt wäre, so würde der Kommentar eben 罪正 erklären und nicht nur 正.

S. 118. 侍中 wird von de Groot ebenso übersetzt wie 郎中令; es muß aber mit Garde — oder vielleicht mit Kammerherr — übersetzt werden.

S. 137 u. 140. 登臨翰海 von Bergen aus (die er erstieg) sah er die Gobi, oder: über Berge gelangte er bis an die Gobi.

De Groot: „Er ist Han-hai hinauf- und herabgestiegen!“

S. 151. 貳師將軍, de Groot: „Dsi-su-General“. Dsi-su im Titel des Generals Li Kuang-li wird bei de Groot nicht erklärt; erst aus Giles' Biogr. Dict. Nr. 1161 erfahren wir, daß es Name einer wegen

ihrer Pferde berühmten Stadt in Ferghana ist: Erh-shih. Wahrscheinlich Osh in Turkestan. Chavannes allerdings identifiziert es in seiner sehr wichtigen Arbeit: *Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han chou*, T'oung Pao, Mai 1907, S. 153, mit Teratépe.

S. 161. 抵乳乃得歸 „dort sollte er Schafe hüten und nur gegen Melkzeit heimkehren dürfen“.

Im Chinesischen steht aber: wenn die Böcke Junge kriegen, dann mag er heimkehren (d. h. nie!) Vgl. hierzu Wieger, *Textes hist.*, S. 489 *qu'il serait mis en liberté, dès que ses boucs donneraient du lait*.

Auf derselben Seite heißt es, daß er niemals sein kaiserliches Diplom ablegte, und daß er die Haare seines Pelzrockes verschluckte; es handelt sich aber — wie bei Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, II, S. 129, nachzulesen ist — um einen kaiserlichen Gesandtenstab (mit Haarbüscheln, die er in seinem Hunger verzehrte).

Auch sonst sind in der Geschichte des Su Wu zahlreiche Fehler; so übersetzt de Groot den Satz 馬畜彌山 (meine Pferde und Rinder füllen die Berge) mit: „dadurch habe ich mir einen ganzen Berg (von Schätzen) angehäuft“.

S. 164. 將惡相屬邪 du schämst dich wohl, in untergeordneter Stellung zu dienen? (etwas weiter oben wurde erzählt, daß er den Troß hätte befehligen sollen). De Groot: „Welche Truppen aber ließen sich wohl noch den Deinen angliedern?“

S. 168. 軍候 „im Heere ein gewisser Hou“ (als wäre Hou sein Familienname); die Verbindung bedeutet aber: Kundschafter.

S. 170. 其素所畜積也。有國士之風。 das waren die Charaktereigenschaften, die ihn von jeher erfüllten. Er hatte die Anlage zum großen (allgemein anerkannten) Staatsmann. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, I, *Introd.*, S. CCXXX: *telles étaient les dispositions qu'il entretenait sans cesse. Pour moi, je pensais qu'il avait le génie d'un homme qui serait capable de diriger un royaume. Couvreur, Dict. class., (1904) S. 599: avoir ordinairement des provisions de réserve. (!)*

De Groot: „Was er dabei geerntet hat, ist nur Ruhm und Ehre des Reichsdieners“.

S. 171. 昌 (mao<sup>4</sup>) 白刃 „sich mit dem blanken Schwerte decken“; es bedeutet: Trotz bieten. (Chavannes, I, *Intr.*, S. 230: *ils bravaient les épées nues.*)

S. 183 letzte Zeile muß es heißen: Wir haben es hier also mit einer Leistung zu tun, von der die Worte des Yang Hsiung gelten:



Eine einzelne Kraftanstrengung usw. (vgl. Kommentar des Wenhsuan, Kap. 36, Bl. 5 verso und Biographie des Yang Hsiung in den Büchern der Handynastie).

S. 184 muß es heißen: die Inschrift, eine Strophe von fünf Versen — aber nicht: „ein Vers von fünf Strophen“.

S. 191 卽後匈奴，蓬擊烏桓 wenn er die Hunnen nicht erreichen könne, müsse er die Wu-huan schlagen. De Groot: „... und dieser zog also hinter den Hung-no her, welche die O-huan kämpfend verfolgten“.

S. 191 中郎將 ist Gardekommandant (vgl. Chavannes, Mém. hist., II, S. 516); aber nicht „Hofintendant und General“.

S. 198. 移中 i-chung ist (Orts-)Name eines Marstalles oder Gestütes. „Die Wiesengründe“ sind eine freie Erfindung de Groots.

S. 206. 中西域而立幕府 usw., de Groot: „Er bestimmte die Mitte der Westlande, errichtete dort eine Zeltresidenz und führte die Verwaltung in der Festung O-lui“. Es muß aber heißen: Inmitten der Westlande wurde ein Generalkommando errichtet und (zu diesem Zwecke) die Festung Wu-lei gebaut.

S. 218. 如蓬蒙恩復其位, wenn er infolge (蓬) dieser Gnade wieder in den Besitz seines Thrones gelangt, so . . . .

De Groot: „daß die Barbaren nacheinander herkommen (蓬), um unseres Wohlwollens (恩) teilhaftig zu werden. Gelingt es uns, ihn wieder auf seinen Thron zu setzen usw.“ (Also wieder falsche Cäsur.)

Den Beamtentitel 諸吏, Chu-li, läßt de Groot unübersetzt. Ich finde diesen Titel im P'ei wên yün fu zweimal in Verbindung mit dem Titel Kuang-lu-hsün, wo er soviel bedeutet wie: oberster Chef (sämtlicher Kammerherren des Palastes) oder Oberstkammerer. Da 楊惲, Yang Yün (vergl. Giles, Biogr. Dict., Nr. 2423) diese Stelle bekleidete und bei de Groot auf der folgenden Zeile erwähnt wird, liegt hier möglichenfalls ein Irrtum de Groots vor: nicht Chang Yen-shou war Chu-li, sondern Yang Yün. Leider besitze ich den Originaltext nicht und kann die Sache daher nicht richtig stellen.

S. 219. 以爲單于非正朔所加, er betrachte den Ch'an-yü nicht als einen Fürsten, der am 1. des ersten Monats (mit Tribut) am Hofe erscheinen müsse. De Groot: „der Tan-hu ist uns nicht direkt im Norden angegliedert“.

Was den Rest dieses Absatzes betrifft, so muß de Groot ein verderbter Text vorgelegen haben; vgl. Wieger, Textes hist., I, S. 622.

S. 227. 博士 was de Groot mit „der klassische Gelehrte“ übersetzt, ist ein Beamtentitel, etwa Professor; vgl. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, II, S. 480 und 515.

S. 231. De Groot erwähnt an verschiedenen Stellen seines Hunnenwerkes 戊巳校尉, Wu Ki Hsiao Yü (nicht wei, wie Chavannes glaubt) und übersetzt es mit „Oberhauptmann der Mitte“, z. B. S. 231, 254, 270 usw. Vgl. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1907, S. 154. Dieser Titel (besser: der inmitten der Westlande stationierte Oberkommandant) wurde im Jahre 48 v. Chr. geschaffen, wird jedoch bei de Groot unter diesem Jahre (S. 222) nicht erwähnt. Dagegen verweist er S. 254 auf S. 206, wo wir eine unrichtige Übersetzung finden. S. oben, Anm. zu S. 206.

S. 235 wird 軍候假丞 mit „Stellvertreter eines Armee-Inspizienten“ übersetzt. Es wurde schon darauf hingewiesen, daß auf S. 168 軍候 (bei de Groot unrichtig 侯) fälschlich nicht als Kundschafter, Offizier der Rekognoszierungs-Truppen, übersetzt wurde. Nun gab es in der Handynastie in jeder Funktion einen chef 長 und einen sous-chef 丞; wenn jemand nicht wirklich sous-chef war, sondern nur dessen Rang bekleidete oder als solcher in Verwendung stand, hieß er 假丞 daher muß übersetzt werden: ein Kundschafter-Offizier mit dem Range eines Unterbefehlshabers (des Kundschafter-Korps).

In der folgenden Zeile wird 簡 Gesandtenstäbe (wie bei uns die Marschälle Stäbe tragen) mit „Diplome“ übersetzt und in der Anmerkung wird 校 „kiao“ gelesen, obwohl es in der Bedeutung Heeresdivision hsiao gelesen werden muß.

S. 236. 義兵 sind die das Recht vertretenden Truppen, die Truppen der legitimen Regierung; aber nicht die „pflichttreuen Soldaten“, wie de Groot glaubt.

S. 238. 封 . . . . . 爲義成侯 bedeutet: machte ihn zum Marquis von I-ch'êng (das war ein Distrikt in 沛郡, vgl. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, II, S. 539).

賜 . . . . . 爵關內侯 bedeutet: verlieh ihm die Würde eines Marquis von Kuan-nei (d. h. Shensi).

De Groot übersetzt beides mit „verlieh ihm die Würde“, obwohl im ersten Falle eine wirkliche Belehnung stattfand.

S. 239. Die berühmte Wang Ch'iang (vgl. Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, Nr. 2148) wird bei de Groot „Tochter einer vornehmen Dame des Harems“ genannt, während es heißen muß: Haremsdame aus guter Familie (修宮其家子).



S. 244 wird 關內 (innerhalb des Han-ku-kwan-Passes, d. i. Shēnsi) mit: „innerhalb der Sperrtore der Reichshauptstadt“ übersetzt.

S. 256 wird der bekannte und bereits mehrmals übersetzte Satz des berühmten Schriftstellers Yang Hsiung: 兵家之勝貴于未戰, unter den Siegen der Strategen werden jene vor dem Kampfe am höchsten eingeschätzt (Wieger, Text. hist., 1, S. 696: d'après la stratégie classique vaincre sans combattre, est la plus belle victoire) wie folgt übersetzt: „eine Zeit nach Waffensiegen ist wertvoller als eine welche Kriegen vorangeht.“

S. 259 姑繒之壁 wird von de Groot: „die Mauer von Koko“ übersetzt. 壁 heißt aber niemals die Mauer, sondern die Wand (mur — nicht muraille) und hat eine zweite Bedeutung: Feldlager, Verschanzung. 姑繒 ist der Name eines südwestlichen Nomadenstammes, der nicht in ummauerten Städten, sondern in Feldlagern hauste. Es muß also heißen: die Feldlager der Ku Tséng (nicht Huei).

Gleich darauf wird 旬月, ein ganzer, voller Monat, mit „zehn Monaten“ übersetzt, obwohl die Stelle ganz klar ist: handelte es sich um nahe Feinde, so dauerte die Unterwerfung einen vollen Monat, bei entfernten Feinden zwei Jahreszeiten (d. i. 6 Monate).

Auf der folgenden Seite wird 未易 (auch nicht im geringsten) mit „seitdem haben sich die Zustände nicht geändert“ übersetzt, als ob 易<sup>4</sup> (verändern) gemeint wäre.

攜國歸死 = sich mit den Untertanen zusammen der Todesstrafe unterwerfen, d. h. sich bedingungslos unterwerfen. De Groot: „sich mit ihren Reichen unter den Schutz unserer Kultur stellen“.

S. 262. 居次 chü hsien (das zweite Zeichen wird hier hsien und nicht tz'ü gelesen) ist ein hunnisches Wort für Prinzessin, daher muß es heißen: Yün, Prinzessin von Hsü-pu; de Groot übersetzt 居次 (das er k'ü-ts'u liest) mit „verheiratete Tochter“ (S. 197); S. 247 übersetzt er: „Wang Chao Chün gebar ihm zwei Töchter, von denen die älteste k'ü-ts'u von Supok war“ — das kann unmöglich „verheiratete Tochter“ bedeuten. Ebensowenig S. 262, wo dieselbe Prinzessin als Hofdame nach China an den Hof der Kaiserinwitwe geschickt wird.

Tang tou, König des 去胡來-Reiches wird erwähnt und de Groot übersetzt die drei Silben dieses Namens wie folgt: „der die Hu'sche Obergewalt abgeschüttelt hatte und zu Han übergegangen war“(!).

S. 267. 將帥猶與. 莫有應者, die Anführer waren in Zweifel und niemand antwortete. De Groot: „offenbar waren der General und die Anführer derselben Ansicht, denn keiner sagte etwas dagegen“.

S. 270 wird 吏 gelesen und mit „Kanzler“ übersetzt; es steht aber 吏 und muß untergeordnete Beamte (oder Offiziere) heißen.

S. 275. „Die Beförderung von Kriegsvolk und Korn wurde fortgesetzt und das ganze Reich blieb dafür (!) in Aufregung und Bewegung.“ Es handelt sich um die Heeres-Ergänzung und -Verproviantierung, um das 轉輸 (shu) 之行 (hsing), das de Groot weiter oben mit „Wagenreihen (!) für die Versorgung der Krieger und Arbeiter“ übersetzt (eine Phraseologie, die einer Eingabe des Chu-fuYen [vgl. Ku Wen yüan chien Kap. 13.] entnommen ist. Letztere wird bei de Groot vollständig übergangen, wahrscheinlich weil sie im Tu-shu-ch'i-ch'eng, das für de Groots Textauswahl allein maßgebend war, nicht aufgenommen ist).

Das gewöhnliche Binom 海岱 das (Ost)meer und der Berg T'ai-shan wird mit „Ozean und Tai (代)“ übersetzt, obwohl wir diesen Ausdruck schon im Shu-king, Legge, III, S. 102, im Shih-chi, Chavannes, III, S. 342 usw. antreffen. 滎陽, Legge, IV, S. 283 north of the king (river), übersetzt de Groot: „südlich des Kingflusses“. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß es sich hier um einen Ortsnamen handelt, vgl. Chavannes, Mém. hist., II, S. 78, Note 3; trotzdem hätte de Groot wissen müssen, daß 陽 die Südseite eines Berges, die Nordseite des Flusses bedeutet (山南水北).

Als auffallend sei auch bemerkt, daß de Groot stets „Tso ts'uan“ schreibt, obwohl 傳 in der Bedeutung ‚Kommentar‘ chuan<sup>3</sup> und nicht ch'uan<sup>2</sup> gelesen wird.

S. 284 wird der Ortsname 長平 mit „Ewiger Friede“ übersetzt während er S. 216 in richtiger Weise unübersetzt bleibt.

Es muß heißen: Das Ufer des Ching-Flusses bei Ch'ang Ping stürzte ein, wodurch der Fluß abgedämmt wurde (südwestlich von 滎陽 在 Singanfu) . . . . Dies sei ein glückverheißendes Vorzeichen der Vernichtung der Hunnen, weil es im Ho-t'u (der Zeichnung aus dem Hwangho) heißt: ‚mit Erde wird der Fluß abgedämmt‘. Bei de Groot (der den Ort des Einsturzes unbestimmt läßt) wird es so hingestellt, als ob im Ho-t'u bereits der Hunnen Erwähnung getan würde: „weil es in 洶關, der Schrift des Huangho, heißt: ‚Wird der Fluß mit Erde abgedämmt, dann ist das ein glückverheißendes Vorzeichen der Vernichtung der Hung-no.“

Daß 冒頓 im Mandschu immer *mete*, und nicht *motun* umschrieben wird, habe ich bereits in meinen Lexicogr. Beiträgen erwähnt.

Die Transkriptionen sind wertlos, häufig geradezu falsch.



# A SURVEY OF THE PHONETICS OF ANCIENT CHINESE

By LIN YÜ-T'ANG

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## PRELIMINARY

1. The phonetic transcription used is that of "Maitre phonétique" by Passy (Viëtor, "Elemente der Phonetik"; phonetic alphabets at the end). I chose this system for practical reasons. Letters not in angular brackets [ ] may stand for various sounds, and are not to be considered as phonetic transcription.

2. In the writing of Pekinese sounds I followed the ordinary System Wade, the "improved System Wade" being inapplicable as I treat of the real Pekinese pronunciation and not of an abstract "New High-Chinese".

3. The writing of Amoy-sounds agrees with the Romanising System already accepted and spread, except in 3 points viz: *p* in the place of *o*, *p'* etc. instead of *ph* etc., and in marking the tones which, however, correspond for a large part.

4. I quote the Amoy dialect all through, not because it is my mother-tongue, but because I know it best, and because in various respects — thus in the 7 tones, in the existence of *b* and *g*, in preserving the final explosives *p*, *t*, *k* it is of importance for ACh. phonetics in general. Changchow and Ch'uanchow are closely related forms of the Amoy dialect.

5. The tones are not given where they are not necessary for the comparison of sounds; therefore words without tonal sign are not throughout words spoken in the even tone.

6. In quoting, I only give the numbers, e. g. "2: 18a" means "Book 2<sup>nd</sup>, p. 18a" "HCCC 1068: 28" means: "Huang-ch'ing-ching-chieh, Book No. 1068, page 26". There are so many books (卷) to one part (本), so many parts (本) to one volume (部). 子丑寅卯 etc. are rendered by 1, 2, 3, 4 etc. Shi-king 56: 1 = 56<sup>th</sup> song, first stanza (cf. Appendix II).

7. For quotations from the *Fang-yen*, the respective paragraphs are given by their first-word: "§ ngo" = the passage beginning with the word *ngo*, to my opinion the most practical method for the various editions.

8. From the *Shuo-wen* I quote without direct references to the respective places, they are best found in K'ang-hsi Tz-tien or CC. in which passages of the *Shuo-wen* always stand first under the "補遺".

9. The biographical dates mostly follow those in Giles' "Chinese Biographical Dictionary".

10. The dates of the dynasties correspond with those of TzY.

11. Such Chinese characters for names of places as are not given in the text, will be found in the Table of the linguistic interstate relations acc. to the Fang-yen.

12. In order to avoid confusion, the Ch'ieh-yün rime-groups in the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> tones are transcribed by the names of the respective groups in the 1<sup>st</sup> tone and with the tonal sign, *e. g.*: 東 = 戈', 紙 = 支', 御 = 虞' etc. which allowed to reduce the 206 names of rime-groups to about one fourth.



## SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACH.	= Ancient Chinese
Am.	= Amoy
B.	= Book
Bibl. No.	= Number of the Chinese Literature used
CC.	= Commentators' Concordance, Bibl. No. 51
Chang Tai-yen	= 章太炎文鈔 Bibl. No. 57
Chiang Yung	= 江永古音標準 " " 70
Ch'ien	= 錢繹方言箋疏 " " 49
ENCH.	= Early New Chinese
FY.	= Fang-yen
HCCC.	= Huang-ch'ing-ching-chieh-Collection 皇清經解
HCSP.	= " " " " -Shu-p'ien 皇清經解續篇
Hsieh Wu-liang	= 謝无量中國大文學史 Bibl. No. 53
MCh.	= Middle Chinese
NCh.	= New Chinese
PE.	= Phonetic element in a Chinese character
R.	= Rime or Rime-group of the Ch'ieh-yün about 600 A.D.
Tuan	= Tuan Yü-ts'ai in 六書音均表 Bibl. No. 38.
TYC.	= T'ang-yün-cheng 廣韻正 Bibl. No. 64
TzY.	= Tz'u-yüan 辭源 Bibl. No. 38

[ ] contain phonetic transcriptions; cf. Preliminary.

Signs like: 2:18 are explained in the Preliminary sub no. 6.

The tones are indicated as follows:

	higher	lower
Even:	no sign	Λ
Rising:	/	∟ (missing in the Am.-Pek.)
Falling:	ˋ	ˊ ( " " " Pek.)
Entering:	(missing in Pek.)	⊥ ( " " " " )

Compare also the Remarks in Preliminary.

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#### b) Chinese Literature Used.

Only such books are mentioned which are obtainable in Europe.  
\* and \*\* indicate the most used works. The order is determined by the first two strokes.

(=) 1. 元應:華嚴經音義 4B. (Dictionary to Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra. Nanjio: Catalogue No. 1606. For quotations from lost dictionaries. Written about 700 A.D.).

2. 王引之:經傳釋詞 (About Form Words) HCCC 1208 to 17; Parts 304-305.

3. 王引之:經義述聞 HCCC 1180-1207, esp. 1207 中 and 下 (Parts 290-303).

4. 王念孫:讀書什記 (incomplete in:) HCCC 677-78. (Part 185).

5. 王念孫:廣雅疏證 HCCC 667-676 (Parts 179-185).

\* 6. 班固:漢書 (Han-shu) Edition 1873.

(十) 7. 十子全書 (The 10 philosophers:) Huai-nan-tze, Hsün-tze etc. Edit. 1804.

8. 趙坦:春秋異文箋 (Parallel texts of the Tso-chuan, the Kung-yang, and the Ku-liang, with notes) HCCC 1303-1315 (Parts 331-333).

9. 戴東原:東原集 (Only a selection in) HCCC 565-66 (Part 147).

\* 10. 戴東原:方言注 Preface (1779).

11. 郝懿行:爾雅義疏 HCCC 1257-76 (Parts 318-324).

12. 苗夔:說文聲讀表 (Table of words arranged after primary and secondary PE.) HCSP 959-965. Preface 1842.

13. 薛傳均:說文答問疏證 Commentary to Ch'ien Ta-Hsing's 說文答問 Collection 咫進齋 Preface 1831.

14. 古今圖書集成 (esp. 理學彙編字學典 B. 42-46, 142-146).

15. 胡適:中國哲學史大綱卷上 (esp. Introduction) First ed. 1919.

16. 楊雄:方言 (cf. No. 10, 29, 49). Written between 10 B.C. and 18 A.D.

- (r) 17. 馬端辰:毛詩傳通釋 (Important Introductory Studies) HCSP 416—447.
- (~) \*\* 18. 孔廣森:詩聲類 (Groups of sounds in the Shi-king) HCSP 194—205.
19. 孔廣森:詩聲分例 (Rime Practice in the Shi-king) HCSP 206.
20. 阮元:羣經室集 HCCC 1068—1074 (Parts 262—64).
21. 陳壽祺:左海經辨 HCCC 1251—52 (Part 315).
22. 陳壽祺:左海文集 „ 1253—54 ( „ 316).
23. 陳蘭甫:東塾讀書記 (esp. B. 11, 小學; also found in HCSP).
24. 陳奐:詩毛氏傳疏 contains 釋毛詩音 B. 808—811, etc.) HCSP 778—807.
25. 陳啟源:毛詩稽古編 (Valuable B. 85 for Shi-king variants comp. with Erb-ya; B. 86 about sounds, characters and meaning of Shi-king words) HCCC 60—89 (Parts 19—26).
- (~) 26. 張成孫:說文諧聲譜 (Studies of PE.; B. 650—51 contain Shi-king rime-words; 652 Yih-king rime-words. With consideration of the original forms of the characters) HCSP 650 to 658. Preface 1836.
27. 司馬遷:史記 (Shi-ki). Edition of 1872.
- (+) 28. 盧文弨:鍾山札記. 龍城札記 HCCC 388—89 (P. 92).
29. 盧文弨:方言注 Collection 小學彙函 Preface 1782.
- (II) \* 30. 嚴可均:說文聲類 (PE-groups) HCSP 365—381. Preface 1802.
- (L) 31. 臧琳:經義什記 HCCC 195—204 (Parts 43—47).
- (~) 32. 慧苑:一切經音義 Dictionary to the Tripiṭaka. Important for quotations from lost dictionaries. Nanjio: Catalogue, No. 1606. Written about 649 A.D.
33. 段玉裁:毛詩故訓傳 (Critical edition of the Mao chuan) HCCC 600—629 (Parts 155—57).
34. 段玉裁:周禮漢讀考 (Sounds given by Han-commentators) HCCC 634—39 (Parts 59—60).
35. 段玉裁:儀禮漢讀考 HCCC 640 (Part 160).
36. 段玉裁:說文解字注 „ 641—655 (Parts 161—75).
- \*\* 37. 六書音均表 Valuable introduction; also amendments in the preface to 67; (cf. also chapter 53) HCCC 656—660 (Part 176). About 1777.



- \*\* 38. 辭源 Encycl. Dictionary "TzY", Commercial Press Editors, First ed. 1915.
- (J) \* 39. 朱駿聲: 說文通訓定聲 (A dictionary on almost etymological principles. Under every word are stated formation of characters (說文), original meaning, change of meaning, entirely after the author's own interpretation styled as "轉注"; used loans (假借), sounds and meanings (聲訓), changes 轉音. It closes with the author's system of ACh. time-groups 古今說準. Preface 1838.
40. 朱右曾: 詩地理徵 HCSP 1039—1045.
41. 朱彝尊: 經義考 (General Bibliography of the Classics, 300 Books. Esp. B. 18—21; Survey of text-critical views on the Shik'ing from the beginning till 1700).
42. 朱宗萊: 文字學形義篇 ("Philology: Theory of Script and Meaning", Pekinese Lectures) 3<sup>rd</sup> edition 1922.
- (JJ) \*\* 43. 周禮 (欽定周官義疏) ("Chou-li", edition of 1754).
- (J) 44. 儀禮 (Li li, Text by Couvreur, 1911)
- (H) 45. 錢塘: 泂亭述古錄 HCCC 717—18 (Part 194).
46. 錢大昕: 十駕齋養新錄 and 餘錄 HCCC 439—492 (Part. 115).
- \*\* 47. 錢大昕: 聲類 ("Classes of Sounds", de facto a compilation of interpretations drawn from commentaries, of changes of characters, based upon sound-shift or similarity of sounds) (P. I and II of the 潛研堂全書. Edition of 1840.
48. 錢大昕: 潛研堂文集 esp. B. 448; a selection only in HCCC 443—448 (Parts 116—117).
- \* 49. 錢鐸: 方言箋疏 Preface 1851. Edition of 1890 紅蝠山房.
50. 錢玄同: 文字學音篇 ("Philology: Phonetics", Pekinese Lectures) 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1920.
- (( ) \*\*\* 51. 經籍纂詁 Commentators-Concordance = CC. The statements given under every word. Literal exactitude in the quotations, e. g. distinguishing between | 者 | 也 and | | 也; or between | 讀白 | and | 讀若 | etc. Reference made to the sources. With regard to the commentation of words, this work is a concordance to the entire Classics, as 爾雅, 墨子, 國語 and to the less classical works, such as 爾雅, 山海經, 白虎通, 廣雅, 說文 etc., the very last always standing first in 補遺, compiled by about 40 philologists under 阮允. Preface 1798.
52. 紀容舒: 孫氏唐韻考 Reconstruction of the T'ang-yün by the fan-ts'ieh preserved in the 說文解字篆韻譜

written 986 by 徐鉉. Given in 四庫全書. Collection 守山閣.

- (二) 53. 謝无量: 中國大文學史 (Brings quotations and examples). 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1921.
54. 章太炎: 國故論衡 (contains his 成均圖 and studies about ACh. Phonetics) 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1912.
55. 章太炎: 小學答問. 浙江圖書館. 章氏叢書.
56. 章太炎: 新方言 ('New Fang-yen': a compilation of modern dialect words corresponding with words of ACh. texts. Ten Books. B. 11, 音表 and appendix about the Hakka dialect 嶺外三州語). From the collection 章氏叢書. Preface 1908?
- \* 57. 章太炎: 章太炎文鈔 (Complete Works, 5 parts) 上海中華圖書館.
- (三) 58. 馮登府: 三家詩異文疏證 (Notes to the three variants [*i. e.* beside Mao's] of the Shi-king). HCCC 1407—8 (Part 360).
59. 馮景: 解春集 HCCC 205—6 (Part 44).
- (四) 60. 禮記 (Li ki, Text by Couvreur, 1899).
- (五) 61. 顧棟高: 春秋大事表 (Tables of the Ch'un-ch'iu events arranged according to frontiers of the ACh. states in B. 1371; after modern hsien-names in B. 1372. Only essays in HCCC; the tables themselves in HCSP, 50 books). HCCC 1371—1380 (Parts 346—348).
62. 顧炎武: 日知錄
63. 顧炎武: 易音 (Yih-king Phonetics. Rimes given with the resp. T'ang-yin rime-groups under the rime words. (With notes) HCCC 5—7 (Part 2).
- \* 64. 顧炎武: 詩本音 (Shi-king Phonetics. Similar in arrangement to the preceding No. 63). HCCC 8—17 (Parts 2—3).
- \* 65. 顧炎武: 唐韻正 (New classifications of ACh. rimes. Notes the first appearing of a sound. 20 books = No. 17—36 of 音學五書. Rime-tables at the end 古音表十部 No. 37—38).
66. 顧炎武: 音論 HCCC 4 (Part 2).

(八) 67. 曾毅: 中國文學史 1<sup>st</sup> edition 1915.



- (?) 68. 江沅：說文解字注音韻表 (Written by order of Tuan Yü-ts'ai. Groups as with Tuan. Words arranged after their PE. In the preface important emendations by Tuan himself. Contains Tai Tung-yün's Preface to Tuan's work No. 38. 16 books). HCSP 680—696. Tuan's Preface 1809.
69. 江藩：國朝漢學師承記 (History of the philologists of the Han-School under the Ch'ing. 8 books with appendix 國朝經師經義目錄 = bibliographic introduction to the Ch'ing commentaries, arranged after the Classics. 瑞葉山房 edition 1855. Yüan Yüan's Preface 1818.
- \* 70. 江永：古韻標準 (Valuable essays after each rime-group; detailed introduction 例言. About rime-practice 詩韻舉例 in the beginning. Contained in 四庫全書). 守山閣 edition. Lo's Preface 1771.
71. 梁啟超：清代學術概論 (About science under the Ch'ing. Historical survey of philology in the Ch'ing time. Important notes about his teacher K'ang Yü-wei). 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1921.

# JAPANISCHE WISSENSCHAFTLICHE HILFSMITTEL ZUR KULTUR- UND RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE ZENTRAL- UND OSTASIENS

Von F. M. TRAUTZ

## Vorbemerkung:

1. An Abkürzungen kommen vor allem in Betracht:

„R.“ = „Rosenberg, Vocabulary, Tōkyō 1916“; s. auch S. 150.

„R. 22, c, 20: Shi. 2300.“ = „Rosenberg S. 22, Spalte c, Zeile 20: Kokushi daijiten S. 2300.“

Die weiteren Abkürzungen s. Anl. VII. —

2. Einfache Klammern schließen immer Zusatz, Einfügung, Erläuterung usw. ein vom Verfasser der vorliegenden Arbeit.

Doppelte Klammern bezeichnen stets schon im zitierten oder übersetzten Urtext in Klammern Stehendes.

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Die erste Erschließung der wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Expeditionen war in Berlin einigen wenigen genialen Forschern zu danken; sie haben, in ihrer stillen Gelehrtenarbeit unterstützt durch eine, stets nur von einem starken Deutschland gewährleistete, europäische Friedensperiode, intuitiv die Wege gefunden und die Brücken geschlagen zwischen sonst ein Menschengehirn und -leben voll ausfüllenden Einzelgebieten: der Sinologie, der Indologie und der Iranistik, den Religionen Vorder- und Zentralasiens und dem Buddhismus des Fernen Ostens, der hellenistischen Kunst und den religiösen Kunstäußerungen Zentral- und Ostasiens. Auf dem gewaltigsten



der Kontinente, dem Ursprungsgebiet der ältesten Schriftsysteme und aller Weltreligionen, sind „Orient und Occident“ wissenschaftlich in der Tat nicht mehr zu trennen. So sieht die Jetztzeit den Aufgabenkreis der zentral- und ostasiatischen Forschung ungeheuer erweitert. Überwältigend ist die Menge des Stoffes, verwirrend die Fülle der Zusammenhänge, noch lange nicht voll ausgeschöpft die Tiefe der Probleme und — verschwindend klein die Zahl der Mitarbeiter. Die neuen bedeutenden Aufgaben auf den Gebieten der Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte Asiens, insbesondere des Buddhismus, fordern dringend weitere Hilfskräfte und Hilfsmittel. Das staatlich und wirtschaftlich geschwächte Europa kann die wissenschaftliche Mitarbeit der Asiaten selbst, an ihrer Spitze der — seit Siebold und Baelz, Meckel und Mayet besonders an deutscher Wissenschaft und Methode erstarkten — *Japaner* nicht mehr entbehren.

Im ostasiatischen Kulturkreis, der ein Viertel der Menschheit umfaßt, hat heutzutage das gesicherte Inselreich Japan mit seinen modernen Hochschulen und Instituten — nicht das kontinentale, kriegszerfleischte China — wissenschaftlich allein die Führung. Heute führt auch der Weg zu den Erbwerten des alten China, von dessen heiligen und profanen Büchern viele in Japan dank jahrhundertelangem, eifrigem Sammeln und Aufspeichern noch erhalten sind, über dieses meergeschützte Museum für die gesamte alte ostasiatische Kultur.

Japan ist der älteste und erfolgreichste Chinaforscher und Sinologe der Welt; in über tausendjährigem Studium hat es die chinesische Kultur aufgenommen, sich angeeignet und weiterentwickelt. Je mehr Chinas alter Staat und alte Kultur verfällt — ein Vorgang, der im 19. Jahrhundert deutlich sichtbar wird — desto mehr wird Japan Alleinverwalter und -nutznießer des chinesischen Kulturgutes der Jahrhunderte; klug und rastlos benutzte es schließlich die Kriegsjahre, die Europa zerfleischten, um das chinesische und das eigene Erbe in Ruhe zu mehren, und hat neuerdings intensiv begonnen, es europäisch-methodisch zu sichten. So ist im letzten Jahrzehnt die japanische Sprache zu einer Wissenschafts- und Kultursprache ersten Rangs für den Fernen Osten geworden. Hochgespannter japanischer Ehrgeiz mag daran seinen Anteil haben; aber der eiserne Fleiß und die opferwillige Arbeit von japanischen Lehrern und Schülern in den letzten Jahrzehnten lassen die Tatsache der Führerschaft Japans auf dem Gesamtgebiet

der wissenschaftlichen Ostasienkunde, namentlich der buddhistischen Forschung, nicht unverdient erscheinen.<sup>1</sup>

Von dem in japanischen Bibliotheken verwahrten unvergleichlichen chinesischen Material abgesehen, bildet dem Europäer gegenüber natürlich die lebenslange Vertrautheit des japanischen Gelehrten mit Sprachen, Schrift, Literatur und Religion Ostasiens für diesen eine große Erleichterung und Überlegenheit. Aber andererseits sieht der Japaner sich von der europäischen wissenschaftlichen Fragestellung abhängig und beginnt erst im Bereich von Einzelaufgaben sich selbständig europäisch-methodisch zu bewegen — wie man aber zum Beispiel an den japanischen prähistorischen Grabungen in der Süd-Mandschurei und den ethnologischen Forschungen in Formosa sieht, mit unleugbarem Erfolg; für die meisten von der abendländischen systematischen Forschung in seinen Studiengebieten aufgestellten Aufgaben ist er bereits der einzig gegebene ausführende Bearbeiter.

Die Zeit ist also da, wo die abendländische Wissenschaft, insbesondere die Sinologie und die Indologie, an der japanischen wissenschaftlichen Arbeit im eigenen Interesse Anteil nehmen muß. Eigentlich hätte gerade die japanische Sinologie und Buddhologie mit ihrer auf 1½ Jahrtausend zurückblickenden Tradition und neuerdings ihrem verhältnismäßig schnellen Anpassen an europäische Methoden nicht von den soviel jüngeren europäischen Schwestern vernachlässigt werden dürfen. Wieviel Arbeit dem abendländischen Sinologen und Indologen durch die Benutzung japanischer Hilfsmittel erspart oder sehr erleichtert wird, haben hervorragende Sinologen, die aber eben auch dem Japanischen und (bzw. oder) dem Sanskrit ein volles Studium gewidmet haben, wiederholt ausgesprochen und nachdrücklich auf die Wichtigkeit einer Heranziehung der japanischen Mitarbeit hingewirkt und hingewiesen.<sup>2</sup> Diesen Forschern schließen sich aus voller Über-

<sup>1</sup> Nach neuesten Nachrichten aus China ist dort die Beachtung und Kenntnis der japanischen Sprache in steter Zunahme begriffen. Die japanische Literatur über alle modernen Wissenschaften, namentlich Volkswirtschaft, Politik, Pädagogik, Psychologie, aber auch Buddhismus u. a. m. wird in China jetzt eifrig studiert und findet ihren Niederschlag in chinesischen Büchern, die vielfach, wenn auch gradweise verschieden, Auszüge, bzw. Übersetzungen japanischer Werke sind.

<sup>2</sup> Siehe auch: De Groot: Sinologische Seminare, S. 26. Dem Verf. gegenüber hat De Groot mehrfach betont, daß seine Anregung einer Neubearbeitung des chinesischen Tripiṭaka (1903) nicht in China, wohl aber in Japan alsbald Gehör, Mitarbeiter und Gönner gefunden hat, sowie, daß er die Bibliothek seines Sinologischen Seminars (in Berlin)



zeugung diejenigen deutschen Gelehrten und andern Sprachkundigen an, die in Japan selbst (zum Teil in Kriegsgefangenschaft) in die Sprache und Literatur eingedrungen sind und die Bedeutung der japanischen modernen wissenschaftlichen Produktion für Sinologie, Buddhologie und Indologie, Prähistorie, Ethnologie und anderes kennen lernten; sie befürworten dringend enge Zusammenarbeit mit den japanischen Gelehrten, besonders auf deren Sondergebieten. Japan war auch längst auf die Befriedigung sinologischer und buddhologischer Bedürfnisse eingestellt, ehe es eine europäische Sinologie und Indologie gab. Während es in China äußerst schwierig ist, ältere Literaturwerke größeren Umfangs in vollständigen Exemplaren, oder bestimmte Teile literarischer Sammlungen aufzutreiben, besitzt Japan in Kyôto besondere Antiquariate, Buchhandlungen und Druckereien, die sich ausschließlich mit der Beschaffung, der (Neu-)Herausgabe und dem Vertrieb chinesischer und sinologischer Literatur befassen.

In China kann von einer chinesischen Wissenschaft auf dem Gebiet der ostasiatischen Religionsgeschichte und einer buddhistischen „theologischen Wissenschaft“ im abendländischen Sinne noch nicht gesprochen werden.<sup>1</sup> An den zahlreichen japanischen staatlichen und buddhistischen Hochschulen aber steht beides mit im Mittelpunkt des Interesses und erfreut sich regen Zuspruchs; die Professoren, die ihre Arbeitsgebiete, historisch und geographisch, längst auf das asiatische Festland, das sie meist selbst bereisten, ausgedehnt haben, sind in der Regel in England, Ceylon oder Calcutta — viele auch in Deutschland — herangebildete japanische Indologen, an ihrer Spitze der Sanskritist und Nestor der japanischen buddhistischen Theologie, Bunyiu Nanjio, in Kyôto zurzeit Rektor der Hochschule der Shin-Sekte.

Die Zunahme des Studiums der Philosophie und der Religionsgeschichte in Japan findet vielbemerkten Ausdruck in der Entsendung zahlreicher Japaner nach Britisch-Indien, der Heimat ihrer religiösen auch mit japanologischen Hilfsmitteln zu versehen wünsche; es ist dann aber nur noch zur Beschaffung des *Thesaurus japonicus* von Lange (Bd. I—III) gekommen. — Übrigens hat De Groot sich stets gefreut, auch japanischen Gelehrten sein Seminar zu zeigen; so waren auf seine bei derartiger Gelegenheit ausgesprochene Einladung hin bei einer Seminarsitzung zwei Kyôtoer Professoren als Gäste zugegen — das einzige Mal, dessen sich Verf. erinnert, daß Ostasiaten dabei auch an der Besprechung eines an die Tafel geschriebenen Textes teilnahmen.

<sup>1</sup> Auch das L. allg. philologisch, historisch und naturwissenschaftlich bedeutende neue *Ts'ö-yüan* der Commercial Press in Shanghai (2. Aufl. VII; I, 2), 1.) berücksichtigt nur kurz die buddhistische Nomenclatur.

Kultur, und nach Europa; sie kommen meistens von den Hochschulen der japanischen Sekten, studieren auf den deutschen Universitäten, sowie in London und Paris, und sind dabei bemüht, in ausgedehntem Maß die wissenschaftliche Literatur ihres Faches für sich und die Hochschulbibliothek ihrer Sekte zu sammeln.

Im folgenden sollen nun einige wenig bekannte, zum Teil ganz neue wissenschaftliche Werke aus Japan eingehend gewürdigt und durch Auszüge, Übersetzungen usw. dargestellt werden; denn die Art und Weise, wie zum Beispiel „The Eastern Buddhist“ (s. 1921, S. 91) in 6—7 Zeilen „Besprechungen“ bedeutender Veröffentlichungen zur Buddhologie bringt, vermittelt dem Leser keine Vorstellung des betreffenden Werkes, seines Zwecks und Umfangs, seiner Brauchbarkeit und fachwissenschaftlichen Bedeutung. Und gerade darüber möchte doch jeder, der unter anderem zur Frage der Anschaffung Stellung nehmen muß, sich vor allem unterrichtet sehen. Erfahrungsgemäß führt nur längeres wissenschaftliches Arbeiten in und mit einem Buche zu einem Urteil darüber. Daher sind im folgenden lediglich Werke, bei denen dies zutrifft, besprochen.

Derselbe Gesichtspunkt erklärt auch, wie es kommt, daß die aus den Werken übersetzten und beigegebenen Stücke sich in der Hauptsache auf einen Gegenstand, nämlich den buddhistischen Stüpa, beziehen, dessen Bearbeitung zur Benutzung dieser Hilfsmittel mit den Hauptanlaß geboten hatte; dabei ergibt sich weiter — als in der Natur der Sache liegend — daß die lexikalischen Hilfsmittel eine besonders ausführliche Behandlung erfuhren. Steht doch die Japanologie, insbesondere die buddhistische, wie die Sinologie, noch durchaus in einem Stadium, das durch die Forderung nach möglichst weitreichender lexikalischer Grundlage beherrscht wird.

Leicht erklärlich ist, daß eine voll befriedigende, umfassende derartige Grundlage zurzeit noch fehlt, denn es ist sehr schwierig — auch für den in Indien und Europa gebildeten japanischen Gelehrten, einerlei welcher Sekte — ein buddhistisches Lexikon von einiger Vollständigkeit und der nötigen Authentizität zu schaffen, da sich dazu japanische, chinesische, Sanskrit- (Pāli-), tibetische und mongolische, neuerdings auch uigurische, tocharische und iranische Sprach- und Sachkenntnisse vereinigen müßten. Die Bearbeitung erfordert also die zwischenfachliche, einträchtige Zusammenarbeit mehrerer; selbstlose, opferwillige Unterordnung unter das gemeinsame wissenschaftliche



Ziel ist solchen Aufgaben gegenüber genau so wichtig, wie gründliche Einzelfachkenntnis.

Das hier zuerst zu nennende *Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Terminologie (chinesisch-japanisch-Sanskrit)* von Rosenberg hat den Titel: *Introduction to the Study of Buddhism according to Material preserved in Japan and China. Part I. Vocabulary. A Survey of Buddhist Terms and Names arranged according to Radicals with Japanese Readings and Sanskrit Equivalents. Supplemented by addition of Terms and Names relating to Shintō and Japanese History*, by O. Rosenberg, Tōkyō 1916. Es ist mit der Hilfe der bedeutendsten japanischen Fachmänner zustande gekommen; Professor J. Takakusu, Dr. U. Wogihara, Dr. K. Watanabe, Dr. C. Ikeda, K. Itō (Shingon-Sekte), B. Matsubara (Jōdo-Sekte), T. Satō (Zen-Sekte), J. Makino (japanische Geschichte) werden ausdrücklich genannt. Die Herausgabe und Bearbeitung lag in den Händen des leider der Wissenschaft zu früh entrissenen, 1917 in Petersburg verstorbenen Balten O. Rosenberg, eines Schülers des Sanskritisten Professor F. H. Schtscherbatskoj.

Rosenberg ist als Japanologe bekannt durch ein Wörterbuch „Arrangement of Chinese Characters according to an Alphabetical System with Japanese Dictionary and List of Characters.“ Kobunsha, Tōkyō 1916. Darin erläutert er auch das Ordnungsprinzip, wonach in seinem buddhistischen Vocabulary die Composita gleichen Anfangszeichens untereinander geordnet sind, nachdem ihre Anfangszeichen die übliche Anordnung nach Strichzahl gefunden haben. Die zweiten Zeichen der Composita eines und desselben Anfangszeichens sind nämlich nach der sog. „optical termination“ geordnet. Hiermit bezeichnet Rosenberg den „Endstrich“ des Zeichens. Rosenberg unterscheidet 24 derartige Endstriche und ordnet sie nach den fünf Richtungen: 1. wagrecht nach rechts; 2. senkrecht nach unten; 3. von rechts oben nach links unten; 4. von links oben nach rechts unten; 5. von links unten nach rechts oben.<sup>1</sup> Das anfangs seltsam erscheinende Prinzip ist praktisch und gestattet sehr schnellen Überblick.

Jedem Zeichen folgt seine japanische Aussprache (Kanon, Goon usw.) in Umschrift, in Klammern die chinesische Aussprache (meist

<sup>1</sup> Also: 1. Richtung → (一 口 𠂇); 2. Richtung ↓ (冫 𠂇 𠂇 𠂇); 3. Richtung ↙ (ノ 𠂇 𠂇); 4. Richtung ↘ (ㄣ ㄣ ㄣ, ㄣ ㄣ ㄣ, ㄣ ㄣ ㄣ); 5. Richtung ↗ (ㄥ). (3. Rosenberg, Vorwort S. 4.)

nach Giles). Wird das Zeichen als Umschrift eines Sanskritworts oder einer Sanskritsilbe gebraucht, so folgen zunächst die Sanskrittransliterationen (unter andern nach St. Julien, S. 152, 15), sodann die japanischen Lesarten (Kana). Für die Sanskritworte ist durchweg lateinische Umschrift gewählt.

Die Composita sind auch darin zweckmäßig angeordnet, daß z. B. alle, die mit einem Zahlzeichen beginnen, unter dem betreffenden Haupt- (also nicht dem Zahl-)zeichen aufgeführt werden, mit Ausnahme natürlich derjenigen buddhistischen Umschriften, bei denen etwa das Zahlzeichen san 三 als Wortbestandteil (zum Beispiel Samādhi) dient. Jedem Compositum folgt abgekürzte Angabe derjenigen japanischen Lexika und Handbücher, die das betreffende Wort enthalten, jede mit Angabe der Seite.

Die in das Rosenbergsche Buch verarbeiteten Werke sind folgende (die in diesem Aufsatz zur Besprechung gelangenden sind mit einem Stern bezeichnet):

- \* 1. 佛教辭典. 浩々洞. 無我山房.  
Bukkyō jiten. Kōkōdō. — Tōkyō 1909. Mugasambō.
- \* 2. 佛教辭林. 藤井宣正. 明治書院.  
Būkyō jirin. Fujii Senshō. — Tōkyō 1912. Meijishoin.
- 3. 祕密辭林. 富田敦純. 加持世界社.  
Himitsu jirin. Tomita Kōjun. — Tōkyō 1911. Kajisekaisha.
- \* 4. 佛教いろは字典. 若原敬經. 名古屋. 其中堂書店.  
Bukkyō iroha jiten. Wakahara no Yukitsune. — Nagoya 1897.  
Kichūdō shoten.
- 5. 大藏法數. (一代經律論釋法數). 寂照. 鴻盟社.  
Daizō hōssū. (Ichidai kyō ritsu ron shaku hōssū.) Jakushō.  
Tōkyō 1899. Kōmeisha.
- 6. 禪林象器箋. 無著道忠. 貝葉書院.  
Zenrin shōkisen. Mujaku Dōchū. — Kyōto 1909. Baiyōshoin.
- 7. 梵語字典. 沢橋易士集. 慧晃. 哲學館大學.  
Bongō jiten. (Kikitsu ekido shū.) Eko. — Tōkyō 1905.  
Tetsugakkwan daigaku.



- \* 8. 國史大辭典. 八代國治. 早川純三郎, 井野邊茂雄, 吉川弘文館.  
Kokushi daijiten. Yashiro Kuniji, Hayakawa Junzaburō, Inobe Shigeo. — Tōkyō 1913. Yoshikawa Kōbunkwan.
9. 大日本神名辭書. 明治神社誌料編纂所.  
Dai Nihon shimmei jisho. Meijijinsha shiryō hensansho. — Tōkyō 1912. Meijijinsha shiryō hensansho.
10. 哲學大辭書. 同文館.  
Tetsugaku daijisho. Dōbunkwan. — Tōkyō 1912. Dōbunkwan.
11. 梵漢對譯佛教辭典. (翻譯名義大集). 荻原雲來. 丙午出版社.  
Bonkan taiyaku bukkyō jiten. (Hōnyaku myōgi daishū.) Wōgi-hara Unrai. — Tōkyō 1915. Heigo shuppansha.
12. Mahāvūtpatti. Ed. I. P. Minayef. Second edition, with index, ed. N. D. Mironow. (Bibliotheca Buddhica. XIII.) St. Petersburg 1911.
13. Ernest J. Eitel. Hand-book of Chinese Buddhism, being a Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary with vocabularies of Buddhist Terms. Second edition. Hongkong 1888.  
— id. — with a Chinese Index by K. Takakuwa. Tōkyō 1904. Sanshusha.
14. Sylvain Lévi. Mahāyāna-Sūtrāṃkāra. Edité et traduit. Tome I. II. Paris 1907, 1911.
15. Stanislas Julien. Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois. Paris 1861.
16. Baron A. von Stael-Holstein. Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan. 鍵推梵讚 (Gaṇḍīstotragāthā). (Bibliotheca Buddhica. XV.) St. Petersburg 1913.

Das Rosenbergsche Buch stellt sich also i. allg. als ein General-index der wichtigsten japanischen buddhistischen, philosophischen und historischen Sachlexika (1—11, 13) und einiger anderer Werke dar und wird damit zu einem „ersten Versuch, die religiöse, philosophische und historische Sprache der japanischen einschlägigen Literatur nach Klassenzeichen geordnet vorzuführen“.

Das drucktechnisch von der Verlagsbuchhandlung Shūeisha, Tōkyō geradezu vollendet ausgestattete Werk umfaßt in Kleinquart

(19×26 cm) 527 dreispaltig geteilte Seiten, ohne den alphabetischen Index, der an die in der buddhistischen Terminologie vorkommenden japanischen Aussprachen der chinesischen Zeichen anknüpft.

Besonders hervorgehoben zu werden verdient das in diesem Lexikon meines Wissens zum erstenmal befolgte — im Interesse der Handlichkeit überhaupt für derartige Lexika wohl gebotene — Prinzip, für jedes Wort nicht eine ausführliche (englische) Übersetzung oder dergleichen zu geben, sondern Hinweise, wo Näheres darüber in den führenden buddhistischen Wörter- und Handbüchern zu finden ist.

Dieser Charakter des Werkes zeigt auch den Weg und gibt die Möglichkeit, es, das mit Recht vom Verfasser als „of a pioneer nature“ bezeichnet wird, mit der Zeit vielleicht sogar zu der Grundlage auf dem Gebiet der ost- und mittelasiatischen buddhistischen Terminologie auszugestalten, die das wichtigste Desideratum vergleichender buddhologischer Studien bildet.

Manches bleibt allerdings dazu noch zu tun.

Trotz aller Reichhaltigkeit des mit bewundernswerter Sorgfalt bearbeiteten Rosenbergschen Buches ist beim Lesen von Texten sogleich zu bemerken, wo die Schwächen des Werkes liegen:

- I. — das war wohl unvermeidlich — es ist eben nicht nach Texten, sondern nach Wörterbüchern oder deren Indices, die man ja nicht zu „lesen“ pflegt, zusammengestellt;
- II. es entbehrt der Verweisungen auf die Synonyma. Solche Hinweise sind aber unentbehrlich bei der verwirrenden, stellenweise willkürlichen Mannigfaltigkeit der buddhistischen Benennungen von Tempeln, heiligen Stätten, Persönlichkeiten, Schriften usw. und bei den so verschiedenen Umschreibungen der übernommenen Sanskrit-Fachausdrücke und -namen; siehe zum Beispiel Anlage I für das Wort Stūpa 50 verschiedene Schreibweisen, die ohne Verweisungen in dem Buche (wenn überhaupt enthalten) kaum zusammenzufinden sind;
- III. es fehlt ein Index der in dem Buch enthaltenen Sanskritworte.
- IV. Der dem Buch gezogene Rahmen umfaßte mit Vorteil noch einige wenige Werke mehr von der bereits verwendeten Art; es sind dafür u. a. zu nennen:



1. Bunyiu Nanjios<sup>1</sup> Tripiṭakakatalog, d. h. alle darin vorkommenden chinesischen, japanischen und Sanskrit-Namen und Bezeichnungen in moderner Umschrift, mit Angabe der Seiten- (Spalten-)zahl, der Sūtra- usw. Nummer im Katalog und der Stelle im Kyōtoer Tripiṭaka von 1905 (nach Denison Ross, Index usw., Calcutta, 1910).
2. Der von den japanischen Gelehrten für das 1880—85 in Tōkyō erschienene Tripiṭaka (s. unten S. 212) meist gebrauchte, nach dem Gojūon geordnete, sogenannte „Fujii mokuroku“, (s. unten S. 214), d. h. alle darin aufgeführten Sūtra- usw. Bezeichnungen und deren ebenfalls aufgeführte Abkürzungen (letztere mit Verweisung auf den vollen Titel) mit Angabe der Stelle im Tōkyōer Tripiṭaka (1880—85).
3. Papinot, Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie du Japon, Yokohama 1906, wofür ein Index nach Zeichen fehlt, und sein japanisches Urbild, das von der Rekishichiri kōshū kai 歴史地理講習會 herausgegebene Nippon rekishi jiten, 日本歴史辞典, wovon 1902 die 8. Aufl. in Tōkyō erschienen ist.<sup>2</sup>
4. Die für den Anhang des Bukkyō jirin benutzten acht Werke oder der Anhang selbst (s. unten S. 198 f.).
5. Das Shakumon ichiji senkinshū, Kyōto 1884 釋門一字千金集.
6. Mochizuki Shinkō, Bukkyō dainempyō (s. unten S. 204).

Ferner kommen für spätere Auflagen des Rosenbergschen Vocabulary folgende nach seinem Erscheinen (1916) zum Teil oder ganz herausgekommenen Werke für eine Erweiterung besonders in Betracht:

7. Oda Tokunō, Bukkyō daijiten (s. unten S. 205 f.).
8. Die Encyclopaedia Japonica, worin die buddhistischen Abschnitte sorgfältig und gut bearbeitet, und mit guten Abbildungen versehen sind. Bei einer gleichzeitigen Aufnahme historischer und geographischer Stichworte daraus, wäre nicht

<sup>1</sup> Nur dieser Name wird in der eingebürgerten, unjapanischen Reihenfolge von Vor- und Zunamen zitiert.

<sup>2</sup> Befindet sich im Ostasiatischen Seminar der Universität Leipzig und wurde dem Verfasser von Herrn Dr. A. Wedemeyer in lebenswürdiger Weise zur Verfügung gestellt.

engherzig zu verfahren, weil, nachdem diese in den ersten Bänden außerordentlich groß angelegte Encyclopaedie in wesentlich eingeschränktem Maßstab vor kurzem zu Ende geführt sein soll, eine (erweiterte) Neuauflage kaum in Jahren zu erwarten sein dürfte. Namentlich für Grenzgebiete, wie buddhistische Kunst, und in Artikeln wie zum Beispiel dem über den Stüpa, über Daibutsu, über das Daizōkyō u. a. m. steckt in der Encyclopaedia Japonica eine Fülle von Material, das man sonst kaum so bequem beieinander findet.

Weitere neueste Veröffentlichungen zum japanischen Buddhismus werden sicher diese Liste noch zu erweitern erlauben, zum Beispiel das Bukkyō Daigaku Bukkyō daijii (s. unten) und das 日本佛家人名辭書 Nippon bukka jimmei jisho von 鷲尾順敬 Washiwo Junkei, aber davon liegen zurzeit Exemplare hier noch nicht vor.

Von ganz besonderer und anders gearteter Wichtigkeit als die eben erwähnte bloße Erweiterung wäre aber eine Zurückführung des Rosenbergschen Werkes auf Quellen erster Ordnung, also vor allem auf das Tripiṭaka selbst; mit der Zeit ließe sich so vielleicht eine Art Concordanz, das heißt das oben als wichtigste Aufgabe bezeichnete „Namen- und Sachregister zum Tripiṭaka“ entwickeln. (Über Tripiṭaka-Ausgaben und einen modernen Versuch eines solchen Index s. unten S. 214.)

Das Tripiṭaka selbst enthält, namentlich in seinem vierten Teil, eine ganze Reihe von Vorarbeiten zu einem umfassenden Index, die sogenannten Ongi 音義, zum Beispiel B. N. Nr. 1605 und 1606; Fujii mokuroku S. 154 verzeichnet ein Zoku issaikyō ongi (nicht im P. und K. Tr.), und die Kataloge: z. B. B. N. Nr. 1476, 1483, 1485—88, 1504, 1608—12, 1662, wozu auch der von B. N. noch nicht behandelte „Katalog der Ergänzung zum (Kyōtoer) Tripiṭaka“, Zokuzōkyō mokuroku 續藏經目錄 kommt, der schon lange nach dem Vorbilde B. Ns. eine kritische Übersetzung und Bearbeitung von japanischer Seite hatte finden sollen.

Das Daiminsanzōhossu ist bereits (s. S. 153 Nr. 5) berücksichtigt; die Angaben im R. brauchten daher nur noch durch die beizufügenden Stellenangaben aus dem Tripiṭaka und Ausfüllung eventueller Lücken ergänzt zu werden. Ebenso das wichtige (im Anhang zum Bukkyō jirin [s. S. 198] verarbeitete) Honyakumyōgishū (Fan-i mung-i chi B. N. 1640), welches leider auch nur im Tōkyōer, nicht im Kyōtoer Tripiṭaka vorhanden ist.



Bei geschickter Stoffverteilung und Namenabkürzung müßte es möglich sein, die vorstehenden Desiderata mit der Zeit in einem einigermaßen handlichen Band unterzubringen.<sup>1</sup>

Leider erscheint die Zurückführung des im Rosenberg steckenden gewaltigen Materials von den japanischen Quellen zweiter Ordnung auf die buddhistischen Originalquellen durch die heutige Drucknot in weite Ferne gerückt; beim jetzigen Stand der abendländischen Tripiṭaka-Forschung sind somit erst recht diese japanischen Hilfsmittel unentbehrlich geworden und nicht mehr zu umgehen. Unzulänglichkeiten, und manche Unzuverlässigkeiten — die überall im einzelnen nachzuweisen wesentlich schwerer ist als sie im allgemeinen zu behaupten! — ändern an der wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung dieser Literatur nichts. Schließlich sind auch die im Tripiṭaka enthaltenen, oben genannten chinesischen Vorarbeiten nichts weniger als einwandfrei<sup>2</sup>; der Satz, mit dem B. N. das Honyakumyōgishū charakterisiert („very useful though much correction is required“) ist, einerlei in welchem Lande, sicher noch auf Jahre hinaus auf die meisten Werke zur Buddhologie anwendbar!

In Anlage II sind zwei kurze Texte beigegeben, in Übersetzung aus dem Kyōtoer Tripiṭaka, mit Anmerkungen versehen. Das R.sche Vocabulary ist hierbei, wie überhaupt bei der vorliegenden Arbeit, durchgehend in erster Linie verwendet. Um gegebenenfalls seiner Ergänzung zu dienen, ist jede Stelle, wo es versagt hat, in der Arbeit und in den Anlagen kenntlich gemacht.

Schon jetzt ist das R.sche Buch so reichhaltig, daß es jeder weiteren ostasiatisch-buddhistischen Forscherarbeit mit zugrund gelegt werden muß. Aus der ihm eigenen Art der Bearbeitung ergibt sich aber die Notwendigkeit, möglichst viele der darin enthaltenen Lexika usw. zu besitzen.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang sind ferner Arbeiten wie Hackmans, Alphabetisches Verzeichnis zum Kao seng chuan (Acta Orientalia, II (1923) S. 81 ff.), obwohl nur erst die Namen der in den Biographien behandelten Hauptpersonen gegeben sind, von Bedeutung und müssen berücksichtigt werden.

<sup>2</sup> s. De Groot, R. S. I, S. XX, letzter Absatz.

<sup>3</sup> Ein weiterer Teil folgt im nächsten Heft.

## ANLAGE I

QUELLENNACHWEIS  
DER AUFGEFÜHRTEN SCHREIBWEISEN  
DES WORTES „STÜPA“

Bem.: Die überhaupt vorkommenden Schreibweisen für „Stüpa“ dürften mit der nachstehenden Zusammenstellung nicht erschöpft sein. Alle Zusammensetzungen, auch mit schmückenden Beiworten, und Sonderbezeichnungen sind fortgeblieben.

Abkürzungen: siehe Anlage VII.

Besondere Abkürzungen:

„Ta.“ = Tahōtō, (s. Heft 212 der Zeitschrift des Ingenieurvereins Tōkyō v. 10. 10. 1899. „Der Tahōtō“ von Dr. Itō Chūta.

„Nankai“ = Nankaikikinaihōden, K. T. XXIX, 10.



Quelle (Abkürzungen)	Schreibweisen für Stōpa (sotoba, sōba, 10)				
	1	2	3	4	5
	萃堵波	萃堵婆	萃都婆	萃親波	萃堵坡
R.	359, b, 8	359, b, 11	359, b, 13	359, b, 20	
Sha.					
Shi.					
Ta.					
De Groot, Th.					
Th. J.					
Iz.					
Seigo.			634		
Kwarin.					957
Kwaten.					
Gr. Syn.					
Bizen.					
Brin.					
Ir.		II, 214			
El.	160				
Saiki.	7, 28; 8, 40; 9, 8, 13, 20, 23, 31, 40				
Nankai.				K. T. 22, 10; 107, 4. 2 Z. 1/5	
K. Tr., soweit Anl. II, I u. II.					
Oda	1088, 1, 18, 23, 30 (richtig?)			1088, 1, 18	

Quelle (Abkürzungen)	Schreibweisen für Süpa (sotoba, tōba, 18).				
	6	7	8	9	10
	素觀波	抖塔婆	卒塔婆	卒塔婆	卒觀婆
R.					
Sha.					617
Shi.				1710	
Ts.		333, 12	339, 7		
De Groot, Th.					
Th. J.					
Ir.					
Seigo.					
Kwarin.					
Kwatrn.					
Gr. Sju.					
Bien.					
Briu.					
Ir.				II, 182; II, 242 f	II, 196
El.					
Saiki.					
Nankai.					
K. Tr., soweit Anl. II, I u. II					
Oda	1088, 1, 18				



Quelle (Abkürzungen)	Schreibweisen für Stäpa (sotoha, toba, to).				
	11	12	13	14	15
	卒都婆	卒塔波	卒都姿	卒塔	卒都婆
R.					
Sha.					447
Shl.					1719
Ta.			1507		
De Groot, Th.					
Th. J.					
Iz.					
Seigō.					498
Kwarin.					
Kwatan.					
Gr. Syn.		817		827	
Bien.					
Bria.					317, 342
It.	II, 169				II, 343
El.					
Saukl.					
Nankai.					
K. Tr., soweit Anl. II, I u. II.					
Oda					

Quelle (Abkürzungen)	Schnellweisen für Stupa (sotoba, ōsaba, etc.)			
	16	17	18	19
	卒塔婆	卒塔婆	率都婆	率塔婆
R.	69, b. 17	69, b. 18		
Sua.				
Shi.	1000. (1710)			
Ta.				
De Groot, Th.				
Th. J.	I, 604	I, 604, II, 195	I, 604	I, 604
Is.	I, 604			
Seigo.				
Kwarin.				957
Kwaton.				
Gr. Syn.		827		
Bien.		510: ヲ ト 18		
Brin.	517: ヲ ト 18 702, 743	517: ヲ ト 18		508
Ir.				
Et.				
Saiiki.				
Nankai.				
K Tr., soweit Anlage II, I u. II.				
Oda			1022, 1, 18	



Quelle (Abkürzungen)	Schreibweisen für Sōpa (sotoba, iōba, iō).					
	20	21	22	23	24	25
	率視波	率者	率埒	蘇儉埒	蘇儉婆	蘇儉婆
R.		321, 6, 47	321, 2, 28		402, 5, 2	402, 5, 3
Sha.						
Shi.					4719	
Ta.						
De Groot, Th.						
Th. J.						
Iz.						
Seigo.						
Kwari.						
Kwari.	131					
Gr. Syn.						
Bien.						
Bien.					691	
Iz.					II, 169 („Izsch“)	
El.						
Saiki.						
Nankai.						
K. Tr., soweit Anlage II, 1 u. R.						
Oda				1038, 1, 13	1038, 1, 1, 23	

Quelle (Abkürzungen)	Schreibweisen für Stōpa (sotoba, tōba, tō).					
	26	27	28	29	30	31
	蘇樓波	私鐘藏	私鐘婆	私信藏	私信	輪婆
R.	109, c. 1				355, a. 1	
Sha.						
Shi.			1712			
Ta.						
De Groot, Th.						
Th. J.						
Is.						
Seigo						
Kwarin.						
Kwiten.						
Gr. Syn.						
Iten.						
Irin.						
It.				II, 218		
En.						
Saiki.						
Nankai.						
K. Tr., soweit Anlage II, 1 u. II.						
Oda		1088, 1, 20		1088, 1, 21		1088, 1, 19



Quelle (Abkürzungen)	Schreibweisen für Sūpa (sotoha, sōba, sō).					
	32	33	34	35	36	37
	藪斗婆	藪斗波	藪倭婆	兜婆	倭婆	倭波
K.	408, b, 21	408, b, 20		47, a, 48	40, c, 18	
Sha.						
Sbi.	1710					
Ta.						
De Groot, Th.						
Th. J.						
Is.						
Seigo.						
Kwatin.						
Kwatan.						
Gr. Syn.					827	
Btgn.						
Bzin.					594	
Is.		II, 169		II, 169	II, 2121 II, 169	II, 169
Ed.	100			160	100	
Saiki.						
Nankai.						
K. Tr., soweit Anlage II, 1 u. II						
Oda	1008, 1, 10	1008, 1, 10 24, 38	1008, 1, 10	1008, 1, 20, 25	1008, 1, 23, 29	

Quelle (Abkürzungen)	Schreibweisen für Stūpa (sotoba, tōba, to)						
	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
	浮圖	浮都	浮屠	佛圖	佛陀	佛屠	佛塔
R.	232, 2, 12						
Sha.							
Shi.	1710						
Ta.							
De Groot, Th.	2		2	2	2	2	
Th. J.					1, 239		1, 240
Is.							
Seigo.							
Kwatin.							59
Kwaten.							
Gr. Syn.	227, 287		227, 287				
Bien.							
Brin.	245						
Ir.	II, 242, 165	II, 169					
El.	176						
Saliki.							
Nankai.							
K. Tr., soweit Anlage II, I u. II.							
Oda	1008, 1, 20, 23						



Quelle (Abkürzungen)	Schreibweisen für Stüps (soroba, tōba, tō).					
	45	46	47	48	49	50
	弗圖	弗屠	塔波	塔婆	塔	塔
R.				100, c. 39	100, c. 13	
Sha.						
Shi.				1719	1719 f	
Ta.						
De Groot, Th.	a	a			a B	
Th. J.			I, 803	II, 109	II, 109	
Iz.				I, 803	II, 800	
Seigo.						
Kwarin.					109	
Kwaen.					109	109
Gr. Syn.					807	
Iran.				873	873	
Brin.				508, 317, 911, 504, 876, 807	517, 563, 991	
Ir.				II, 104, 241, 169	II, 169	
El.				100	171	
Sajhi.						
Nankai.						
K. Tr., soweit Anlage II, f. n. II.					XXXVI, 181, 184 a, XV 5 III, 408 b.	
Oda				1088, 1, 20, 23, 28	1088, 7, 20	

## ANLAGE II

## 1. Kyōtoer Tripiṭaka, XV, 5, Bl. 468 b.

(P. T., Ausg. v. 1598, 302, p. 11—12. Forke, Kat. 438.)

Von Buddha gesprochenes Sūtra von den Namen der acht großen wunderkräftigen Stūpas.<sup>1</sup>

B. N. 898 u. Sp. 451: Aṣṭamahāśrīcaityanāma-sūtra, S. M.

(S. Actes du dixième Congrès internat. des Orient 1894, II, S. 187 u. B. N. 1071, K. Tr. XVI, 10, 0: Verse des Königs Śīlāditya.)

(Von dem) „Sūtra-Tripiṭaka-Übersetzer aus dem Indischen“, dem „Chōsandaifu“ (Chao san ta fu)<sup>2</sup>, und „Shi-Kōrokukyō“ (Shih kuang li ch'ing)<sup>3</sup>, dem „Myōkyō Daishi“ (Ming chiao ta shih)<sup>4</sup> und (gehorsamen) Diener, Fa-hsien<sup>5</sup>, ehrerbietig auf Kaiserlichen Befehl übersetzt.

Einst sprach der Bhagavat zu den vielen Bhikṣus: Jetzt nenne und preise ich die Namen der acht großen wunderkräftigen Stūpas. Ihr (aber) hört in Ehrfurcht; Euch will ich auseinandersetzen, welches die acht Orte sind:

<sup>1</sup> Es steht hier 塔 Stūpa, nicht 支提 Cāitya, daher obige Übersetzung. Nach Fl. 171 (auch F. W. K. Müller, Zwei Pfahlschriften S. 15) ist eigentlich Cāitya gemeint.

<sup>2</sup> 朝散大夫 テウサンダイン ein Titel aus der Suizeit (589—618), der auch in der Songzeit (960—1127) im Gebrauch war; s. Ts'ü-yüan I, 辰, 74. Nicht i. R. Nicht in Mayers, Chin. Govv.

<sup>3</sup> 試光祿卿 シクワウロクキヤウ (nicht i. R. und in Mayers, Chin. Govv.). 試 in diesem Zusammenhang nicht belegt; vielleicht „geprüft“ (?). 光祿卿, ein Titel, aus der Ts'üzeit (246—206 v. Chr.) hergeleitet; s. Ts'ü-yüan I, 子 251 f.

<sup>4</sup> 明教大師 ミヤウケウダイシ als Titel nicht i. R. Nach B. N. Sp. 452 ist es der, 982 n. Chr. dem Śramaṇa T'ien-hsi-tsai 天息災 テンシクサイ (R. 123, u. 41; Bien. 941) verliehene Titel. Der (auch 982 verliehene und in B. N. erwähnte) Titel des (in Anm. 5 genannten) Fa-hsien ist 傳教大師 テンケウダイシ; Fa-hsien hat also wohl beide Titel gehabt; weitere Belegstellen fehlen noch. Verwechslung von 明 mit 傳 dürfte kaum vorliegen.

<sup>5</sup> 法賢 ホフケン R. 289, c, 7: Dharmabhadra. Fl. 44; Fa-hsien (wirkte 973—1001 n. Chr.), Übersetzer des Sūtra B. N. Sp. 202 Nr. 898; s. auch B. N. Sp. 450 Nr. 159.



Der erste ist der Lumbinī-Hain von Kapilavastu; dort ist des Buddha Geburtsstätte. Der zweite ist unter dem Bodhi-Baum am Ufer des Nairāṇajā-Flusses in Magadha; dort gelangte der Buddha zum Erlebnis der Frucht seines Pfades.<sup>1</sup> Der dritte ist die Stadt Vārāṇasī im Lande der Kāśī; dort drehte er das Rad des großen Gesetzes. Der vierte ist im Jeta-Park in Śrāvastī; dort zeigte er seine große göttliche Macht (mit der er durch alle Hindernisse dringt).<sup>2</sup> Der fünfte ist in Kanyākubja<sup>3</sup>; dort stieg er hernieder vom Trāyastriṃśa-Himmel. Der sechste ist in Rājagṛha; dort war ein Śrāvaka abgefallen. Buddha (aber) hat (ihn) wieder

<sup>1</sup> 佛證道果. s. Mitt. d. Sem. f. Or. Spr. 1911, S. 259, Anm. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 神通 テンゲウ R. 351, b, 4; Brin. 390; Ir. IV, 153; El. 3, 113. Abhijñā oder Sadabhiññā: die sechs übernatürlichen Fähigkeiten (Brin. 891), die Buddha erlangte; s. auch F. W. K. Müller, Ikaku sennin, Berlin 1896, Bastian-Festschrift; ferner: Kern, Manual of Ind. Buddhism, 6a. — Oda 1232: „Riddhividhī-jhāna“. — Nämlich:

1. 天眼 テンゲン R. 122, a, 37; Brin. 610; Ir. III, 303; El. 51. Divya-cakṣuḥ.

2. 天耳 テンニ R. 120, c, 39; Brin. 617; El. 51. Divyaśrotraṇa.

3. 神足 (力) シンゾク (リキ) R. 351, a, 13 Riddhipāda; a, 14; El. 131: „Riddhisāṅghikīya“. Der übernatürliche Wandel. (s. bes. Bten. 627.)

4. 宿命: シエクニヤウ R. 145, a, 45; El. 126: Pūrvanivāsana-sūtrijhāna. Kenntnis früherer Existenzen.

5. 他心: タシン R. 23, c, 25; (Brin. 565); Ir. II, 206; El. 115: Paracitta-jhāna. (Intuitive) Kenntnis der Gedanken anderer.

6. 漏盡: ロジン R. 299, a, 27; Brin. 895; Ir. I, 120; El. 21: Āsravakṣaya-jhāna, Vernichtung der Āsrava (s. Kern, Manual of Ind. Buddhism, 53).

Im übrigen siehe dazu auch den Nachtrag.

<sup>3</sup> 曲女城 キョクニョウ R. 241, b, 13. — Heute Kanauj. — S. Watters II, 321. 犍若鞠閼國: ferner I, 337, wo auch näheres über Bodhisas Herabsteigen vom Trāyastriṃśahimmel; ebenda die Angabe, daß die Stadt im Lande „Sankāśya“ oder „Andhura“ liege, s. R. N. Nr. 955 und 898: „Sankāśa“ oder „Kapīśha“ (Beal. Si-yu-ki, Kie-pi-tsa I, S. 202, 206, 207 f.) — „Seng-ka-she“ 僧迦舍 s. Watters I, 335, Saiki IV, 2, 31; R. 41, c, 45; 42, a, 27; El. 143.

桑迦尸, das an späterer Stelle des Sūtra vorkommt, muß wohl eine andere Schreibweise für Sāṃkāśyā (s. Böhltingk-Roth, VII, Sp. 896) sein: Sang-chia-shih, die aber in R. und anderen Werken nirgends zu finden war.

迦尸 Kāśī, s. Rapson, Hist. of India 1922, I, S. 117. — Watters I, 337, Anm. 2, zitiert das Sūtra R. N. 898 und zwar wegen Sāṃkāśyā, denn der Name Andhura (s. Saiki, X, 2, 27; Beal II, 217 f.; Watters II, 209 ff.) kommt im Sūtra nicht vor. Es ist nicht ersichtlich, warum Watters die Schreibweise 桑迦尸 nicht miternähmt; wenn ihm das Sūtra in derselben Fassung vorgelegen hat, kann sie ihm doch nicht entgangen sein.

bekehrt.\* Der siebente ist der wunderkräftige Stūpa von Vaiśālī; dort überdachte und berechnete er das Maß seines Lebens.\* Der achte ist zwischen dem Paar von Śāla-Bäumen im Park von Kuśinagara; dort ging er ins Nirvāṇa ein. Dies sind also die acht großen wunderkräftigen Stūpas.

Weiter sprach er dann die (folgenden) Strophen:†

Kapilavastu, wo König Śuddhodana residierte;

Lumbinī-Park, Geburtsstätte des Buddha;

Am Ufer des Nairañjanā-Flusses in Magadha,

Unter dem Bōdhi-Baum vollendete er das wahre Erwachen;

Stadt Vārāṇasī im Lande der Kāśī, (dort) drehte er

Das Rad des großen Gesetzes sechs Jahre lang;

Im Jeta-Park in Śrāvastī; — überall

In der Dreiwelt zeigte er seine göttliche Macht;

Kanyākubja im Lande Sāmkāśyā,

Vom Trāyastriṃśa-Himmel(-spalast) stieg er da hernieder;

Rājagṛha, große Stadt, wo bei der Abspaltung des Saṃgha der

Tathāgata, zum Guten (ihn) bekehrend, übte Liebe und Erbarmen.

Im (sic) wunderkräftigen Stūpa der großen Stadt Vaiśālī,

Dort überlegte der Tathāgata das Maß seines Lebens;

Kuśinagara, Stätte gewaltiger Kräfte† —

Eingang ins Nirvāṇa unter dem Paar Śāla-Bäumen!

\* 聲聞分別佛爲化度處. R. N. sagt Sp. 203, zu Nr. 898: „6. Rājagṛha, where Buddha taught his disciples, whose division (also took place there (7). Cunningham pp. 467—468).“

Eine Schwierigkeit liegt also nach B. N. in 分別フンベツ, R. 57, b, 33; Ir. III, 192, El. 197; Brin. 479; Ir. IV, 26. — Oda 1410, 3, 3 gibt folgende Erklärung: „6. Der Ort, wo er den abtrünnigen Mönch bekehrte. Es war in Rājagṛha. Devadatta machte Saṃghabhedo, die Gemeinde schied sich in zwei getrennte Lager, und Buddha bekehrte ihn wieder und veranlaßte alle, zur Eintracht zurückzukehren.“

\* 思念壽量 dieser Ausdruck (nicht i. R.) kehrt noch zweimal wieder in den folgenden Versen und in Santōhōan II, Bl. 211. Ferner s. K. T. IX, 1: B. N. 126, II (Bl. 2s) und B. N. 127, II (Bl. 45h), wo die (思) „Gedanken“ und (念) „Überlegungen“ und „Berechnungen“ Buddhas über die „zwei Nidānas“ (1. nicht töten, 2. Speise usw. spenden) berührt werden, durch deren Befolgung man sein Leben (壽命) verlängern könne; s. Brin. 459 (471).

† R. 505, c, 7; Brin. 687; Brin. 441 = Gāthā; El. 58 gibt für Gāthā nur Komposita (調續 usw.).

\* 大力地ダイリキヂ, nicht i. R.



Dies sind also die acht großen wunderkräftigen Stūpas. Wenn es Brāhmanas gibt und gute Männer und Frauen, die großen Glauben haben, Stūpas und Caityas errichten und Verehrung (Gottesdienst) erweisen<sup>1</sup> und Opfer darbringen, diese Menschen erlangen großen (religiösen) Gewinn und die Belohnung großer Frucht<sup>2</sup> und erwirken großes Lob und Preis. Ihr Ruhm ist überall in der Welt, weit in die Tiefe, Breite und Größe; sogar alle Bhikṣus müssen hinfort daran lernen.

Und dann wiederum, Ihr vielen Bhikṣus, wenn es reingläubige Männer und gute Frauen gibt, die können an diesen acht großen wunderkräftigen Stūpas Opfer höchster Wahrhaftigkeit darbringen, trotzdem sie in diesem Leben stehen; und dieser Menschen Leben endet mit sofortiger Wiedergeburt in der Götterwelt.

Dann sprach wiederum der Bhagavat zu den vielen Bhikṣus: Höret in Ehrfurcht; ich werde jetzt predigen von meinen Reisen und meinem Verweilen in Ländern und Städten und in der bewohnten Welt; und er sprach die (folgenden) Strophen:  
Neunundzwanzig Jahre war ich im Palaste des Königs:

Sechs Jahre übte ich die Askese in den Schneebergen.  
Fünf Jahre war ich in Rājagṛha, bekehrend tätig.<sup>3</sup>

Vier Jahre lebte ich im 毗沙 Wald.<sup>4</sup>  
Zwei Jahre verbrachte ich die Ruhezeit<sup>5</sup> in 惹里巖.<sup>6</sup>

Dreißig Jahre verblieb ich in Śrāvastī,  
Vaiśālī und dem Hirschpark,

<sup>1</sup> 承事供養 ジヨウジクヤウ. R. 209, c. 21; Him. 597 und R. 35, a, 16; Brin. 165; It. III, 50; Him. 199.—Pūjā: El. 124. Gottesverehrung mit Weihrauch, Blumen usw., Opfer für alle Tathāgatas und Bodhisattvas.

<sup>2</sup> Saṃtōhosa I, Bl. 10 u. II, Bl. 111.

<sup>3</sup> 化度 ケド R. 67, l. 25; Brin. 317; Brin. 300; It. III, 128. Wandlung und Hinföhrföhrung, das heißt „Bekehrung“.

<sup>4</sup> Nicht L. R. u. Ods. Der \*Viśā[na]-Wald. Viśāpa R. 275, c. 43; El. 197: „毗沙拏 oder 角 Horn ist eine Bezeichnung für jeden Pratyakabuddha, da er einsam wie das einhörnige Rhinoceros lebt.“ (S. auch p. 168, Anm. 2; Ikkuu semin, p. 16.)

<sup>5</sup> 安居 アノゾ R. 138, c. 13; Brin. 22; It. III, 327; Shi. 97. Die Ruhezeit des Bodhisitten. S. De Groot, Mahāyāna, 201f., Julien, Ex. prat. S. 170 ff. Watters I, 144—146, 337; II, 138—139. Nach Shi. 97 dauert das „ango“ vom 15. 4. Monats bis 15. 7. Monats (90 Tage).

<sup>6</sup> Nicht L. R. u. Ods.

摩拘梨<sup>1</sup> mit dem Trayastrīṃśa,  
尸輪那<sup>2</sup> und Kauśāmbī<sup>3</sup>  
Auf dem Gipfel des Stūpaberges<sup>4</sup> und in 大野<sup>5</sup>  
Im Dorfe 尾努<sup>6</sup> und in 吠蘭帝<sup>7</sup> und in  
Suddhodanas Hauptstadt Kapilavastu.  
Diese alle sind heilige Orte, an jedem ein Jahr  
Verweilte der Śākyatathāgata. —  
So lebte er achtzig Jahre<sup>8</sup> auf der Welt,  
Und danach ging der Muni ein ins Nirvāṇa.

## II. Kyōtoer Tripiṭaka, XXXVI, 2, Bl. 184.

(B. N. 1621 u. Sp. 468 Nr. 99.)

„Stūpas zu errichten, hat sechsfachen Sinn.“

Auszug aus 大方廣佛華嚴經疏タイハククワフダ  
ケゲンキヤクシヨ, einem „Kommentar (B. N. 1589, K. Tr.  
XXXIII, 10 u. XXXIV, 1—3) zum Buddhāvataṃśaka-mahāvaiṣṭya-  
sūtra“ (B. N. No. 88). Nach B. N. Sp. 350 ist der Kommentar ver-  
fertigt von Ch'eng-kwan,  $\frac{1}{2}$  zwischen 806 und 820 n. Chr.; s. Sp. 463  
No. 37.

(Stūpas zu errichten, hat folgenden Sinn):

1. Die Unübertrefflichkeit eines Mannes kundzutun; das  
heißt, weil der Tathāgata der von der Dreiwelt Höchstverehrte,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 摩拘梨, nicht i. R. u. Oda.

<sup>2</sup> 尸輪那, nicht i. R. u. Oda.

<sup>3</sup> 憍曠彌, nicht i. R. Jedoch 憍賞彌 Kao (Kiao)-shang-mi; R. 201, b. 13:  
ケウシヤウミ Kamāmbī. S. Saiki, V, 1, 27, wo als weitere Schreibart  
拘曠弥 angegeben ist. Watters I, 365: „Kōśāmbī (Kamāmbī, Kosāmbī)“. Beal, Si-  
yu-ki, I, LXVIII, 235f. II, 21, 322. — Oda 377, 2: クウゼンミ und 298:  
クセンミ.

<sup>4</sup> 寶塔山ハウタフサン, nicht i. R. u. Oda.

<sup>5</sup> 大野 R. gibt III, a, 40 nur die hier nicht in Betracht kommenden ja-  
panischen Lesarten an; nicht i. Oda.

<sup>6</sup> 尾努, nicht i. R. u. Oda.

<sup>7</sup> 吠蘭帝, nicht i. R. u. Oda.

<sup>8</sup> Die 80 Jahre ergeben sich genau:  $29+6+5+4+2+23+11=80$ .

<sup>9</sup> R. 389, c, 32: 至尊 Bhasāraka.



Unübertreffliche,<sup>1</sup> Unvergleichliche<sup>2</sup> ist, errichtet man Stūpas und veranlaßt mit diesen Zeichen<sup>3</sup> die Menschen dazu, ihre Blicke zu erheben, anzubeten und ihre Zuflucht zu nehmen (zu Buddha usw.).

Trailokya (Dreiwelt) ist Kāma-, Rūpa- und Arūpadhātu.

2. Die Lebewesen zum reinen Glauben zu veranlassen: das heißt, Buddha-Stūpas bauen veranlaßt alle Wesen, ihre Blicke nach oben zu richten, anzubeten und hervorzubringen ein Gemüt von echtem Glauben, voll Ehrfurcht und Ernst;<sup>4</sup>

3. Das Vorhandensein eines Wahrzeichens<sup>5</sup> für die Herzen zu bewirken<sup>6</sup>; das heißt, Buddha-Stūpas errichten läßt die Herzen aller Lebewesen etwas haben, dem sie sich zuwenden, das sie verehren und lieben, und wozu sie ihre Zuflucht nehmen.

4. Zum Opfern zu veranlassen, um (dadurch) Segen hervorzubringen: das heißt, Buddha-Stūpas errichten veranlaßt alle Lebewesen, aus vollstem Herzen ehrfürchtig zu opfern und befähigt sie dann dazu, allen Segen und (religiösen) Gewinn hervorzubringen.

5. Zu krönen die Werke zur Vergeltung der Wohltaten: das heißt, Buddha-Stūpas bauen bewirkt nicht nur (religiösen) Gewinn für das eigene Ich, sondern vergilt auch die vier Gnaden und krönt die endlosen Werk-Gelübde.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. 242, c. 24: 最勝サイシヨウ: Brin. 266; Jins El. 53; Vijaya El. 197.

<sup>2</sup> R. 313, a. 4: 無比ムヒ: Brin. 821; Asita El. 19 f.

<sup>3</sup> 表ヘウ hyō = 表章ヘウシヤウ hyōshō = 標章 = 標 3/4 ン. Gr. Syn. 747, 3.

<sup>4</sup> 崇重正信之心; als Ganzes nicht i. R. 崇 (jap. agameru) aufhlicken an, ehrfürchtig anbeten, 重 (jap. omonazu) großes Gewicht legen auf; etwas sehr ernst nehmen.

<sup>5</sup> Japanisch gelesen: hyōshin wo ahito aru arashimaru. 有在 bedeutet ein verstärktes Dasein.

<sup>6</sup> 行願ギヤウグワン R. 415, b. 27: Bten. 220, 525. Bten. 220: das Tatgelübde, das Gelöbniß, daß man eine Sache (Tat, Werk) ausführen wird. Bten. 525: die vier Arten Tatgelübde. Die alle Lebewesen betreffenden vierfachen Tatgelübde (bei dem Jōdōmon) sind: 1. Das „Tor“ (die Abteilung) der (demütigen) Verehrung und der Hohe (禮儀門): Buddha (demütig) verehrend, Körper und Seele reinigen. 2. Das „Tor“ der „Zehn“ (Bten. 589; Brin. 372) Anrufungen (十念門): den (heiligen) Namen mit Lob und Preis anrufend das Samenkorn der „Hin-geburt“ (nach dem „Reinen Land“) pflanzen. 3. Das „Tor“ der weiterleitenden Tätigkeit (R. 372, a. 46: Bten. 123: 因フ資助スル) — (繫縁門): sein Inneres (darauf) konzentrierend, die Keime

Die vier Wohltäter sind: der Landesfürst, Vater und Mutter, Lehrer und Freunde, die Dānapatis (= „Gaben-Herren“).<sup>1</sup>

6. Segen hervorzubringen und die Sünde zu vernichten: das heißt, Buddha-Stūpas errichten bewirkt, daß nicht nur das eigene Glück hervorgebracht wird und die eigene Sünde vernichtet, sondern daß alle Lebewesen, wenn sie emporblicken und anbeten, alle ihr volles Glück (dadurch) erlangen und die gesamte Sünde vernichten.

des Guten dauernd „erpflegen“. 4. Das „Tor“ der Glückseligkeit aller (衆福門): „mittels der Glückmachendg aller den Keimen des Guten zur Vervollkommenng verhelfen“. — Zu „Jodomon“, s. Oda 1343, 2 s. v. Ni-mon. —

Zu dem Wort „Hin-gebur“ s. Tannishe 歎異抄, Kyoto 1920.

1 R. 265, b, 23: 檀越ダシクワ: Bien. 874, Brin. 573, Ir. II, 194, Shl. 1723; Dānapati El. 40. Die Transkription „dan(w)ōten“ für Dānapati hat zu der falschen Etymologie geführt: El. S. 40: „by charity crossing (the sea of misery)“. 施主セシユ ist die Übersetzung von Dānapati, s. R. 230, b, 5: Bien. 758; Brin. 481; Ir. IV, 313; El. 40. An der zuletzt genannten Stelle (El. 40) muß es außerdem statt „sovereign“ und „patrons“ heißen „lord“ und „patrons“. S. auch De Groot, Th. S. 68 und 85.

## NACHTRAG.

Herrn Dr. Weller — Leipzig — auch an dieser Stelle verbindlichen Dank für wertvolle Bemerkungen zu vorstehenden Übertragungen aus dem Chinesischen auszusprechen, möchte ich nicht unterlassen. Leider war mir seine Ausgabe des Dharmasaṃgraha nicht zugänglich.

Herr Dr. Weller gibt auch zu einigen buddhologisch-technischen Ausdrücken noch folgende weitere Literatur an:

Zu S. 168, Anm. 2, 6) Āsava: cfr. Mrs. Rhys Davids. A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics (= Dhammasaṅgāṇī, übers. in Orient. Transl. Fund. N. S. XII) S. 291; Franke, Dīghanikāya S. 83, Anm. 1 und Z. D. M. G. 69, 479 (auch W. Z. K. M. 27, 204); Walleser, Die Streitlosigkeit des Subhūti, S. 32; Hardy, Buddhismus, 2. Aufl. 107.

Zu S. 168, Anm. 3 Kāśī: cfr. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India 438, 435.

Zu S. 169 Śāla-Bäume: cfr. Sumahgalavilāsinī zu D. XVI, 5. 1 (ed. P. T. S.); = siam. Ausgabe Bd. II, 228, ferner: Franke, Dīghanikāya 231. A. 1.



## BÜCHERBESPRECHUNGEN — REVIEWS OF BOOKS

KRAUSE, F. E. A.: Cingis Han. Die Geschichte seines Lebens nach den chinesischen Reichsannalen. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Verlag, 1922. (112 z. T. autographische Seiten, zwei Tafeln.) 4°. Heidelberger Akten der von Porthcim-Stiftung. 2.

Gz. 10. —, c. Schlz.

Unter den dynastischen Geschichten Chinas ist keine so dürftig und unklar wie jene der Yuan-Dynastie und innerhalb dieser ist wieder die Geschichte Dschengis-Khans, ihres Begründers, höchst unkritisch und fragmentarisch. Es war daher keine dankbare Aufgabe, welche der Verfasser sich gestellt hat, indem er das erste Kapitel des Yuan-schü übersetzte und der Biographie des großen Eroberers zugrunde legte.

An der Übersetzung ist kaum etwas auszusetzen, aber es ist die Frage, ob der Text die darauf verwendete Mühe gelohnt hat. Für die Darstellung des Aufstieges der Mongolen, welche sich hauptsächlich unter Dschengis-Khan vollzog, ist meines Erachtens keiner der vorhandenen Texte ausreichend. Eine solche Darstellung kann nur aus vielen Bausteinen zusammengefügt werden, welche aus den verschiedensten Quellen entnommen sind.

Das Yuan-schü ist Ende 1369 begonnen und in zehn Monaten fertiggestellt worden, also eine höchst illichtige Arbeit. Zur Zeit seiner Abfassung existierten zwei größere Vorarbeiten: das Yuan Schéngwu tsch'in-tschéng lu und das Yuan-tsch'ao mi-schü. Das erstere ist, wie schon aus dem Titel zu entnehmen, erst nach dem Regierungsantritt Schü-tsus (Kublai Khans) verfaßt worden, denn Schéngwu ist ein posthumer Titel, welcher Dschengis-Khan erst im Jahre 1266 verliehen wurde.

Das Tsch'in-tschéng lu ist ein anonymes Werk; es beginnt mit Yesugai, dem Vater Dschengis-Khans, und endet mit dem Tode T'ai-tsungs (Ogdais, Ügeteis) im Jahre 1237. Es hat den Kompilatoren des Yuan-schü sichtlich als Unterlage gedient und alle Fehler und chronologischen Umstellungen sind aus diesem Werke in die offizielle Geschichte übergegangen.

Ein ungleich wichtigeres Quellenwerk ist das Yuan-tsch'ao mi-sch'i. Es wurde im Jahre 1228, also ein Jahr nach dem Tode Dschengis-Khans niedergeschrieben. Obgleich sein Verfasser nicht genannt ist, so war dieser jedenfalls ein Zeitgenosse des grossen Kaisers und seine Geschichte ist daher so glaubwürdig wie eine Geschichte es nur eben sein kann. Es ist der Wahrscheinlichkeitsbeweis dafür erbracht worden, daß das Mi-sch'i den in den Annalen der Yuan-Dynastie mehrfach erwähnten Topitsch'ien zum Verfasser hat. Es war in mongolischer Sprache verfaßt und in uigurischen Lettern aufgezeichnet. Das Werk war zur Zeit der Herausgabe des Yuan-sch'i im Jahre 1370 noch nicht ins Chinesische übersetzt und ist deshalb von Sung Lien und Wang Hui nicht benutzt worden. Die später erfolgte Übertragung hatte erst den Titel Schêngwu K'ai-t'ien lu, war aber besser bekannt unter dem generellen Namen mi-sch'i, die Geheimgeschichte.

Beginnend mit dem mythischen Ursprung des späteren Kaisergeschlechtes aus der Paarung eines Wolfes mit einer Hirschkuh, welcher an die Stammsage der Türken erinnert, führt das Mi-sch'i die Ahnenreihe um 11 Generationen weiter zurück als das Yuan-sch'i, welches mit Budantsar beginnt. Die ganze Vorgeschichte ist in vulgärer Umgangssprache breit erzählt und enthält wertvolle Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zum Yuan-sch'i, welche keine Geschichte Dschengis-Khans ignorieren darf. Wir erfahren daraus unter anderem, daß Habul, der Urgroßvater Temudschins (Anm. 40), der erste war, welcher den Khantitel annahm, und daß er bei seinem Tode die Herrschaft über seinen Stamm dem Ambagai, einem Geschwisterkinde, anvertraute. Dieser Ambagai wurde von den Tataren zwischen Kulun und Buin-nor gefangen und an den Hof der Tschin ausgeliefert, wo er den Tod fand. Seine Nachkommen herrschten über den Stamm der Taidschigod. Das Volk machte nun Hutulu, einen Sohn Habuls, zum Khan und dieser unternahm mehrere Rachezüge gegen die Tataren. Von einem dieser Raubzüge brachte Yesugai den Temudschin und andere Führer als Gefangene heim und gab seinem eben zur Welt gekommenen Sohne den Namen des Erstgenannten. Als Temudschin neun Jahre alt war, ging Yesugai mit ihm auf Brautschau und ließ ihn in einer Familie des Stammes Hongkirat (Anm. 146) zurück. Auf dem Heimwege wurde er von Tataren vergiftet. Über all diese Dinge erfahren wir aus dem Yuan-sch'i so gut wie nichts.

Als das Geburtsjahr Dschengis' darf mit Raschid Ad-din das Jahr 1155 (Anm. 48) angenommen werden. Seine „Wiege“ stand am kleinen Flusse Tengri östlich des Burkhan-Berges im Kentei-Gebirge. Im Norden dieses Gebirges entspringt der Onon, im Südwesten der Kerulen. Zwischen diesen beiden Flüssen gelegen, stieß das Gebiet der Mongolen im Westen an jenes der Kerait (südlich der Tula); darüber hinaus, am Zusammenfluß



des Orkhon und der Selenga saßen die drei Stämme der Merged. Nördlich des Onon wohnten die Taidschigod. Im Osten, am Arghun-Flusse, zwischen Kulun und Buin-nor, lag das Gebiet der Tatar, noch weiter östlich das des Dschamuga. Südöstlich lebten die kleinen Stämme der Hongkirat, Ikiras, Horlas, Dürben, Hatakin und Sardschut (im Quellgebiet des Khalka-Flusses). Im Westen lag das große Reich der Naiman, im Nordwesten die kleinen Gebiete der Oirat und Dschadscherat, in halber Abhängigkeit von den Naiman. Das Land der letztgenannten war in zwei Teile geteilt: nördlich des heutigen Kobdo herrschte Tayan-Khan, südlich Buyuruk. Im Südwesten schlossen sich Hsi Hsia, die Uiguren und Hsi Liao (Karakitai) an. Im Süden lag das Reich der Tschin (Jutschén), im Südosten waren die Weideplätze der Ongut.

Im Jahre 1167 starb Yesugai. Temudschin war erst dreizehn Jahre alt und die Mehrzahl seines Stammes schloß sich den Taidschigod an. Späterhin, als Temudschin heranwuchs, fürchteten die Taidschigod, daß er ihnen gefährlich werden könnte, nahmen ihn gefangen und wollten ihn töten. Er entkam durch die Flucht und wurde von Torgan schara, dem Vater des Dschilagon (Anm. 135), aufgenommen. Von hier kehrte er erst zu seiner Mutter und seinen Brüdern zurück und holte sich dann seine Braut vom Stamme der Hongkirat. Mit dieser und seinen Brüdern suchte er Wang-Khan (Ong-Khan. Anm. 100), das Oberhaupt der Kerait auf und erneuerte den Freundschaftsbund, der diesen mit seinem Vater verbunden hatte. Im Jahre 1177 überfiel eine Horde der Merged das Lager Temudschins am Fuße des Barkhan-Berges und raubte dessen jugendliche Gattin. Er selbst entkam in die Berge. Er rief die Hilfe Wang-Khans an, welcher sich mit Dschamuga, dem Chef der Dschuirat (Anm. 60), verband, die Merged überfiel und Temudschin seine Frau zurückgab. Dschamuga war ein entfernter Verwandter und Jugendfreund (anda. Anm. 107) Temudschins, der jetzt durch mehr als ein Jahr sein Lager teilte, bis er dessen Mißtrauen gewahr werdend eines Nachts entwich. Viele Stammesgenossen verließen Dschamuga und gingen zu Temudschin über, dessen Gefolgschaft immer mehr zunahm.

Das Yuan-schü übergeht diese Ereignisse, die das Weitere erst verständlich machen, und führt uns unvermittelt in den Konflikt zwischen Temudschin und Dschamuga ein. Kurz vorher war Wang-Khan von den Naiman besiegt worden und zu den Karakitai geflohen. Als er von der zunehmenden Macht Temudschins hörte, kam er zurück und gewann mit dessen Hilfe seine Unabhängigkeit wieder. Dschamuga, welchen der Abfall seiner Leute aufgebracht hatte, suchte Streit mit Temudschin und dieser zog sich aus dem Kampfe sehr geschwächt an die Ufer des Onon zurück. Dies ist die Episode, über welche das Yuan-schü unmittelbar nach

dem Tode Yesugais berichtet (fol. 4a). Im Jahre 1196, als Tschin gegen die Tataren Krieg führte, unterstützte Temudschin im Vereine mit Wang-Khan den Kaiser gegen diese seine Erbfeinde und brachte ihnen eine Niederlage bei. Damit gewann er wieder an Macht und Ansehen und erregte die Eifersucht Dschamugas. Dieser brachte eine Koalition der südöstlichen Stämme zusammen, welche ihn zum Gur-Khan erheben wollten und verband sich mit den Naiman, den Merged, den Oirat, den Taidschigod und den Saldschigod, um Temudschin und Wang-Khan anzugreifen (1201). Die letzteren, von dem Plane unterrichtet, stellten sich ihren Feinden gemeinsam entgegen und schlugen sie am Buin-See. Hierauf verfolgte Temudschin die Taidschigod nach Norden bis zum Onon, während Wang-Khan den Dschamuga nach Osten bis zum Arghun zurückdrängte und zur Unterwerfung zwang. Dieser Sieg wird im Yuan-schi (fol. 7b und 8a) in zwei Siege ausgesponnen, wofür jeder Anhalt fehlt.

Wang-Khan hatte durch diesen Erfolg einen weit größeren Machtzuwachs erfahren als Temudschin; doch ihre Freundschaft blieb bestehen und als Wang-Khan im Jahre 1202 einen Revanchekrieg gegen die Naiman führte, mußte Temudschin seinem Verbündeten Gefolgschaft leisten. Buyurak, welcher über den Süden des Reiches herrschte, wurde über das Altai-Gebirge getrieben und bis zum Bordo-See verfolgt. Auf dem Rückmarsche stellten sich den Siegern Hilfstruppen des Tayan-Khan entgegen. Wang-Khan suchte sich dem Kampfe zu entziehen, wurde aber vom Feinde hart bedrängt und schließlich nur durch den Beistand Temudschins befreit. In die Heimat zurückgekehrt feierten die beiden Waffengefährten ein Fest der Verbrüderung. Jetzt waren die mächtigsten Gegner im Osten und Westen überwunden. Nur die Merged waren nicht unterworfen, waren aber schwach und bildeten keine Gefahr. Temudschin benutzte die Gelegenheit um vier Stämme der Tataren unter seine Botmäßigkeit zu bringen. Wang-Khan unternahm auf eigene Faust einen Raubzug gegen die Merged und eroberte reiche Beute. Es konnte nicht ausbleiben, daß zwischen den beiden Rivalen ein Kampf um die Suprematie entbrannte. Dschamuga, der sich im Gefolge Wang-Khans befand, gewann Einfluß auf Sangk'un (Singun 120), den Sohn Wang-Khans, und bewog diesen zu einem Überfall auf Temudschin. Dieser unterlag und konnte nach der Schlacht nur etwa 4000 Reiter um sich sammeln. Ein Aussöhnungsversuch mißlang. Stets in Gefahr, von seinem mächtigen Nachbar überrumpelt zu werden, zog Temudschin weit fort nach Norden und ließ sich im heutigen Gebiete der Burjaten in der Nähe des Baikal-Sees nieder. Wang-Khan hatte jetzt die ganze nördliche Mongolei zu einem Reiche vereinigt und keinen ebenbürtigen Gegner. Es war ein tollkühnes Unternehmen, daß Temudschin nach Süden aufbrach um an ihm Rache zu nehmen. Es mußte mit Lisi



angefangen werden. Er sandte Boten voraus, die mit demüthigen Worten das Mitleid Wang-Khans erwecken und seinen Verdacht einschläfern sollten. Durch diese erfuhr er, daß im feindlichen Lager ein großes Trinkgelage stattfand und niemand daran dachte zu den Waffen greifen zu müssen. Temudschin kam in Eilmärschen herbei, überfiel das Lager und machte sich zum Herrn über das Gebiet und Volk des Wang-Khan (1203). Im folgenden Jahre sah sich Temudschin abermals einer starken Koalition gegenüber. Unter der Führung Tayan-Khans verbanden sich die Naiman, die Oirat, die Saldschigod, die Merged und die kleinen Stämme des Südostens gegen ihn. Er kam ihrem Angriffe zuvor, ging nach Westen und schlug die Gegner in der Region des Kangai-Gebirges. Tayan wurde gefangen, fast alle Stämme unterwarfen sich; nur die Merged mußten im Herbst noch einmal bezwungen werden. Mit der Eroberung dieser „Hochburg“ war die Herrschaft Temudschins über die ganze Mongolei hergestellt. Er konnte sich jetzt nach auswärts wenden und begann 1205 mit einem Raubzuge gegen Hsi Hsia, das Reich der Tanguten. Im Jahre 1206 hieß er an den Quellen des Onon die große Fürstenversammlung ab, bei welcher er zum Khan aller Khane (dies ist angeblich die Bedeutung von Dschengis-Khan) ausgerufen wurde.

- Von hier wird das Yuan-schi verlässlicher, die Chronologie geordneter:
- 1207 wurde der zweite Feldzug gegen Hsi Hsia unternommen und Wulianghai, der Wohnsitz der Kirgisen, unterworfen.
  - 1208 wurden die Reste der Merged und Naiman besiegt; Toto, das Haupt der ersteren, fiel im Kampfe, Kütschlik (264), der Chef der Naiman, floh zu den Uiguren und den Karlik (302), wurde überall abgewiesen und fand schließlich ein Asyl beim Gur-Khan der Karakitai.
  - 1209 die Uiguren unterstellen sich der Oberhoheit des Großkhan; ein dritter Feldzug gegen Hsi Hsia endet mit der Einnahme der Hauptstadt Hsingtsch'ing (Ninghsia) und der Gewährung eines Friedens.
  - 1210 erster Zusammenstoß mit Tschin; Einnahme der Feste Wuscha-pao.
  - 1211 Unterwerfung der Karlik; zweiter Feldzug gegen Tschin; die Mongolen dringen bis Tschüyung-Kuan und Peking (314) vor. Kütschlik bemächtigt sich der Herrschaft in Karakitai.
  - 1212 Fortsetzung des Kampfes mit Tschin; Peking wird eingeschlossen, Tat'ung (die westliche Hauptstadt) angegriffen. Dschengis-Khan wird verwundet und zieht sich zurück. Im Herbst wird Liaoyang (die östliche Hauptstadt) genommen.
  - 1213 nach einem Siege über Tschin werden sämtliche Städte von Ho-pai und Hotung (nördlich des gelben Flusses) in Besitz genommen.
  - 1214 Friede mit Tschin. Dieses verlegt die Hauptstadt nach Pien (K'ai-feng). Muhuli zieht auf die Eroberung von Liaotung aus.

- 1215 Peking belagert, ein Entsatzheer der Tschin geschlagen, die Stadt genommen. Eine Expedition rückt von Hsi Hsia gegen Kuantschung (Schänsi) vor.
- 1216 Dschengis kehrt nach dem Norden der Mongolei zurück.
- 1217 Muhull, zum Oberbefehlshaber im Süden ernannt, erobert fast alle Distrikte in Ho-pej, Schantung und Schänsi. Ein Aufstand der Tumed (535) und der Kirgisen wird von Dschudschi unterdrückt.
- 1218 Krieg mit Hsi Hsia; die Hauptstadt wird eingeschlossen; der König flieht nach dem westlichen Liang (546). Korea sendet eine Tributmission. Mongolische Truppen verfolgen Kutschuk bis über Kaschgar hinaus und töten ihn in den Bergen des Tsungling (Pamir).
- 1219 In Hwärezm (301) werden Abgesandte des Großkhans ermordet. Es wird eine große Expedition beschlossen und der Plan hierfür entworfen, doch das Unternehmen wegen Futtermangel verschoben.
- 1220 Dschengis-Khan verbringt den Sommer am Irtisch und sammelt Streitkräfte für den Kriegszug im Westen. Die Chiefs der Uiguren und der Karlik und der König von Almalik stellen Kontingente. Im Herbst nimmt der Kaiser Otrar (das Yuan-schi bringt die Eroberung dieser Stadt fälschlich zweimal: im Jahre 1219 unter dem Namen Etala, 1220 unter dem Namen Wofolor); dann übersetzt er den Syr-Fluß, durchquert die Wüste und erobert nacheinander Buhârâ und Samarkand (die Eroberung dieser beiden Städte ist im Yuan-schi ebenfalls zweimal — im Jahre 1220 und wieder 1221 — eingetragen). Tschebe wird zur Verfolgung des Sultans von Hwärezm, Dschalal ad-din (621), nach dem Westen entsandt.
- 1221 Dschebe treibt den Dschalal bis zum Kaspi-See zurück und gibt dann die Verfolgung auf. Dschudschi greift die alte Hauptstadt von Hwärezm, Urgendsch (595), an und bringt sie nach hartnäckigem Widerstande zu Fall. Der Kaiser lagert am „Eisernen Tor“ (581) und läßt durch Tului erst alle Orte nördlich des Amu-daria besetzen und dann nach Horâsân vorstoßen, dessen Städte nacheinander in seine Hände fallen.
- 1222 Dschalal ad-din hat inzwischen neue Kräfte gesammelt und sich in Ghazna festgesetzt. Gegen ihn zieht Dschengis-Khan im Frühjahr aus, übersetzt den Amu, nimmt Balch (594) und steigt zum Schneegebirge (Hindukusch) auf, wo er in der Feste Talikan haltmacht. Die Vorhut trifft mit Dschalal zusammen und erleidet eine Schlappe. Der Kaiser eilt herbei; es kommt am Westufer des Indus zum Kampfe. Dschalal flieht tiefer nach Indien hinein und Bela wird zu seiner Verfolgung entsandt. Der Kaiser verbringt den Sommer in Beruan (632), zieht seine Truppen aus den Schneebergen zurück und geht im Herbst



Über den Amu und Syr zurück nach Khokand. In diesem Jahre hatte Dschebe den Kaukasus überschritten und das Gebiet von Kiptschak erobert.

- 1223 Das Reich Hwärezm war nunmehr fast ganz unterworfen und allenthalben wurden darugatschi (Gouverneure 633) eingesetzt, welche Ordnung hielten. Dschebe hatte inzwischen einen Sieg über die Russen errungen, zwei ihrer Fürsten gefangen genommen und kehrte nach Plünderung vieler Städte über die Wolga (*i. e.* nördlich des Kaspischen Meeres) nach dem Osten zurück.
- 1224 In diesem Jahre stellt der 70-jährige Dschengis-Khan den Kriegszug im Westen ein und kehrt in seine Heimat zurück, wo er erst im folgenden Jahre anlangt und seine Truppen reichlich belohnt.
- 1226 wird der Krieg gegen Hsi Hsia wieder aufgenommen und die Feste Heischui (Yenting 645) erobert. Der Kaiser nimmt Sommerquartier am Berge Tsch'uhun (im Gebiete des heutigen Alaschan, westlich von Ninghsia). Das westliche Liang (die heutigen Distrikte Kan-tschou, Liang-tschou und So-tschou umfassend) wird genommen. Gegen Ende des Jahres geht der Kaiser gegen Lin-tschou (einen stark befestigten Platz südöstlich der Hauptstadt Ninghsia) vor und schlägt die zum Entsatz herbeikommenden Truppen. Gleichzeitig wird die südliche Hauptstadt der Tschin (K'ai-feng) von den Mongolen eingeschlossen.
- 1227 Der Kaiser läßt ein Heer zur Belagerung von Ninghsia zurück, setzt über den gelben Fluß und nimmt die Städte Lin'ao und Hsining. Dann begibt er sich zur Sommerfrische nach dem Liup'an-Berge. Hier erreicht ihn die Nachricht von der Unterwerfung der Hsi Hsia. Im achten Monat stirbt der Kaiser in seinem Reisequartier südöstlich von Ho'ao. Zufällig war der Herrscher von Hsi Hsia dahin gekommen um ihm zu huldigen. Er wurde hingerichtet und dann erst das Ableben des Kaisers bekannt gegeben, dessen Leichnam nach den Ufern des Kerulen-Flusses gebracht wurde.

Dies ist der durch Kollationierung der verschiedenen Quellen gewonnene Rahmen, in welchen sich alle Details einfügen müssen. Die an dem Yuan-schi geübte Kritik trifft keineswegs den Übersetzer. Dieser hat sich vielmehr die größte Mühe gegeben durch Beigabe von mehr als 1000 Anmerkungen den an sich ungenießbaren Text zu beleben und nutzbar zu machen. Die geographischen Erläuterungen sind allerdings ungenügend; eine gründlichere Durcharbeitung der Geographie der Mongolenzeit, für welche genügend Material vorhanden ist, hätte sich gelohnt, lag aber wohl nicht in der Absicht des Verfassers. Hierauf näher einzugehen fehlt hier

der Raum. Auch das Literatur-Verzeichnis ist unvollständig. Es ist erfreulich zu erfahren, daß wir bald der Veröffentlichung einer umfassenden Darstellung der Geschichte der Mongolen „von berufenster Seite“ entgegensehen dürfen. Angesichts der Mangelhaftigkeit der chinesischen Geschichte wäre eine kritische Bearbeitung gerade dieser Periode unter Heranziehung aller Quellen des Ostens und Westens eine sehr verdienstvolle Arbeit. Nachdem eine solche in Aussicht steht, können weitere Ausführungen flüchtig bis zu ihrem Erscheinen verschoben werden.

A. von Rosthorn.

MÊ TI: des Sozialethikers und seiner Schüler philosophische Werke. Zum ersten Male vollständig übersetzt, mit ausführlicher Einleitung, erläuternden und textkritischen Erklärungen versehen von Professor Alfred Forke. Berlin 1922. Kommissionsverlag der Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger (Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen . . . zu Berlin, Beiband zum Jahrgang XXIII/XXV) Seiten XIV, 638. Preis: Gz. 15.— mal Schlüsselzahl.

Professor Forke has in this book accomplished a gigantic task. Certainly no Chinese philosopher has ever been handled in Europe with a more laborious and unremitting zeal. For years MÊ Tse<sup>1</sup> had loomed like a mysterious island planted across the fairway of the Chinese Classics, unexplored save for a few summaries and extracts,—a kingdom into which we might not enter till China herself had unbarred the gates. Our long ignorance of MÊ Tse is indeed a singular testimony to the dependence of European scholarship upon Chinese. The Assyriologist, the Egyptologist stands on his own legs; the sinologue rides upon the back of native commentators and scholiasts, lexicographers and encyclopaedists.

The name of Sun I-jang 孫詒讓 pervades Professor Forke's book and, but for the labours of Sun and the group of friends who worked with him at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the task of preparing this German edition would have been a hundred times more difficult.

The long neglect of MÊ Tse in China is obviously due to the fact that no sect required his services as a patriarch. The magical Taoist Church of the Middle Ages took possession of Lao Tzû and Chuang Tzû; the semi-Buddhicized philosophers of Sung retained Confucius as a somewhat inappropriate sponsor for speculation which he would not have under-

<sup>1</sup> For convenience I retain Professor Forke's vocalization, though in other proper names I shall use the Wade system.



stood. Only Mè Tse went begging, there was no room for another prophet of the *terre-à-terre*.

To some extent the European "discovery" of Mè Tse antedates the Chinese. The attention paid to him during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was almost entirely due to a strange misconception. Faber, in 1877, discovered that Mè Tse was a "socialist". The term at that date inspired deep horror, mixed with the inevitable accompaniment of fascination. Faber was obsessed by the newly-invented bogey and it would, clearly, have figured in any book that he might have written at the time. It would not be worth while to show here that Mè Tse's teaching has nothing in common with socialism in any known acceptation of the word.

Another misconception has helped to popularize Mè Tse, but chiefly in China itself. It has been supposed that the third section of the book contained (in fragments) both a reasoned theory of perception and a scheme of syllogistic logic. Chang Ping-lin 章炳麟 in his *Kuo Ku Lun Heng* 國故論衡<sup>1</sup> has even gone so far as to suggest that Mè Tse's 大故 and 小故 correspond to our Major and Minor Premise.

A third aspect of Mè Tse's teaching has recommended him to many young Chinese in recent years. He has been hailed as a pacifist,—for example, by Mr. Z. L. Yih in the last number of this journal. It may be remarked in passing that the distinction which Mè Tse draws between offensive and defensive warfare has furnished the excuse for almost every important war in history. Invariably each side claims that it has been wantonly attacked, and the truth is extremely difficult to ascertain. Only in extreme examples (z. g. the British Conquest of Burma, and even this unprovoked assault was represented as the deliverance of an oppressed people) is it quite clear to all concerned that a war is aggressive. Mè Tse does not face this difficulty.

In judging the works of a philosopher some people tend to ask whether the teaching is true; others it is useful. The Chinese have always tended to use the second of these two standards. In attacking Buddhism, for example, the orthodox have always sought to show rather that its doctrines were conducive to bad government than that they were untrue. And with regard to Mè Tse we must certainly agree (even if we cannot believe in all his doctrines) that the world would have been a much happier place if he had succeeded in converting it to his opinions. Even the cult of the Supernatural and the absence of music would be a small price to pay for universal peace and goodwill.

<sup>1</sup> fol. 135 recto, in 章氏叢書

But Mè Tse does not only recommend his doctrines to us on the ground of their utility. He is constantly trying to prove the truth of his views; in fact, he makes a parade of logical method. This is the unsatisfactory side of his book, for his arguments are almost without exception hopelessly weak. Moreover, his whole method of expression is commonplace and nerveless. His sayings seldom ring afterwards on one's head as those of Confucius are wont to do. "We do not understand life; how can we hope to understand death?"<sup>1</sup>—sayings such as this have a majesty that Mè Tse never achieved.

But were he a far worse philosopher than he is, the rarity of ancient Chinese books would still make his task a precious storehouse of information,—religious, philological, historical. It is particularly regrettable that only one chapter of the section 明鬼 ("Klarheit über die Geister") survives, for in many ways this is the most interesting part of the book. Is it quite certain that "Klarheit über die Geister" was the original meaning of the title? The section is elsewhere quoted as 右鬼 "The Paying of Honour to the Dead". If this is a paraphrase of 明鬼 it seems probable that 明 is a verb and that the title means "Giving Light to the Dead". I suggest that just as 明器 are the utensils used to "give light" (i. e. life) to the dead, so 明鬼 is to perform those ceremonies which give "light to the darkness" of the dead beyond the grave. The rendering "Klarheit über die Geister" is of course usual and may have been influenced by the sentence 不可以不明察 which occurs later on (p. 344 of the translation). Here 明 obviously means "klar werden", but the text only gives sense when an additional negative has been supplied and is therefore to some extent uncertain.

I have hitherto spoken of "Mè Tse" as if he were one person. It is, however, generally agreed that whereas most of the book has some connection with Mè Tse's own teaching, other parts (such as the "Dialectic" and "Treatise on War") were produced by members of this school long after the master's death. The latter, which is technical, need not here concern us. But it is of immense importance to enquire whether the former does indeed (as asserted by recent Chinese writers) contain logical and epistemological enquiries and if so, to what point they are pushed. That certain logical problems had occurred to Mè Tse<sup>2</sup> is evident. He had noticed that the term "horse" was of wider application than the term "white horse" and that it might be true of an object to say both that it was "white" and that it was "hard". I do not see that any system

<sup>1</sup> 未知生，焉知死。

<sup>2</sup> I here mean the writer of the chapters in question.



matic effort to solve these problems is evident in these chapters. Still less do I see in them any "theory of perception". Hu Shih<sup>1</sup> seems to me to have built up the theory by combining stray sentences widely scattered about the text and taking no account of what lies between. This may be the only way to make sense of the text, but it does not follow that the Mehist writer originally meant anything like what his interpreter makes him mean. It must be admitted that here (as frequently) Mr. Hu is much better reading than the text which he expounds.

Professor Forke would, I am sure, be the first to acknowledge that the *Dialektik* is the least successful part of his book, just as the corresponding chapters are the least successful of Sun I-jang's. I gather that Hu Shih's work was not familiar to him at the time when these chapters were translated, I doubt whether the perusal of them would have lead him to a very different interpretation.

A. Waley

J. PERCY BRUCE: *CHU HSI AND HIS MASTERS, An Introduction to Chu Hsi and the Sung School of Chinese Philosophy*, Probsthain & Co., London 1923.

do. *THE PHILOSOPHY OF HUMAN NATURE BY CHU HSI*, translated from the Chinese with Notes, Probsthain & Co., London 1922.

Diese beiden Bände gehören ohne Zweifel zu den bedeutendsten Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiet der sinologischen Forschung der letzten Jahre. Der Verfasser hat dadurch die Gedankenwelt eines der scharfsinnigsten chinesischen Philosophen, welcher unverdienterweise bis jetzt allzu sehr vernachlässigt ist, nicht nur seinen engeren Fachgenossen, sondern auch weiteren Kreisen, welche an der Kultur und Philosophie Chinas und des Fernen Ostens Interesse nehmen, näher gebracht und sich dadurch eine angesehene Stellung unter den Chinaforschern gesichert. Chu Hsi, der erste Philosoph der Sung Zeit und wohl der größte Denker, den die moderne chinesische Philosophie aufzuweisen hat, hinterließ bei seinem Tode im Jahre 1100 n. Chr. Tausende von Anhängern und sein System hat bis auf den heutigen Tag den chinesischen Geist beherrscht. Seine Weltanschauung ist die der meisten gebildeten Chinesen und es verlohnt sich daher wohl, sie etwas gründlicher kennen zu lernen. Bruce rühmt an Chu Hsi seine große dialektische Gewandtheit, seinen durchdringenden Geist, die Schärfe seiner Methode und die Klarheit seines Stils. Es ist nicht zutreffend, wenn Grube und andere annehmen, daß Chu Hsis Hauptbedeutung

in seinen Kommentaren zu den Konfuzianischen Schriften liege. Chu Hsi ist nicht nur der beste Kommentator, den China besitzt, und ein eminenter Gelehrter, sondern auch ein Philosoph allerersten Ranges, der den Konfuzius weit überragt und noch viel mehr hätte leisten können, wenn er sich frei entfaltet hätte, und nicht als Chinese an die für heilig erachteten Klassiker gekettet gewesen wäre, mit denen er sein System wohl oder übel in Einklang bringen mußte. Er gleicht darin den Scholastikern, welche auch in ihrem philosophischen Fluge stets durch die heilige Kirche zurückgehalten wurden. Das vorliegende Werk wird mit dazu beitragen, Chu Hsi die ihm gebührende Stelle in der Geschichte der Philosophie und in der Weltliteratur zu verschaffen.

Chu Hsis eigene Philosophie ist in seinen im Jahre 1713 n. Chr. auf Befehl des Kaisers Kang Hsi herausgegebenen Gesamtwerken, dem 御纂朱子全書 enthalten. Dieses Werk ist aus Auszügen aus zwei ältern Sammlungen entstanden, den Gesprächen des Chu Hsi und den Gesamtmekten kleinern Schriften, namentlich Briefen, welche der Philosoph mit Schülern und Gegnern gewechselt hat. Die Gespräche sind von den Schülern in verschiedenen Sammlungen aufgezeichnet und dann zu einer zusammengestellt. Aus diesem großen Werke hat der Verfasser die Bücher 42—48 zum ersten Male übersetzt. Sie enthalten vor allem die Ethik des Chu Hsi, aber auch sehr viel Metaphysisches, Naturphilosophisches und Psychologisches und führen den Titel 性理, „Philosophie der menschlichen Natur“, ein Ausdruck, der später zur Bezeichnung der gesamten Philosophie der Sung Zeit benutzt worden ist. Die Grundlagen der Metaphysik des Chu Hsi finden sich in den Büchern 49—51 mit dem Titel 理氣 Li Ch'i. Nur Buch 49 ist im Jahre 1874 vom Canon Mc Clatchie als Confucian Cosmogony übersetzt und zum Teil auch vom Pater Stanislas le Gall S. J. in seiner kleinen Schrift Le Philosophe Tchou Hi, Sa Doctrine, Son Influence, 1894. Mit diesem Teil der Philosophie des Chu Hsi beschäftigt sich Bruce sehr eingehend in dem einführenden Bande, worin er eine systematische und kritische Darstellung des ganzen Systems gibt. Er beginnt mit den „Meistern“ und Vorgängern des Philosophen, den sogenannten 五子: Chou Tun-i, Shao Yung, den beiden Ch'êng und Chang Tsai. Wir erhalten eine kurze Biographie eines jeden von ihnen nebst einer Angabe ihrer Werke, die ganz kurz skizziert werden. Auffallend ist, daß der Verfasser bei der Besprechung des T'ai-chi t'u-shuo und des T'ung-shu v. der Gabelentz' und Grubes Übersetzungen nicht zitiert, während er sonst vollständige Literaturangaben zu bringen pflegt. Versteht er kein Deutsch, oder hält er es nicht für nötig, auch die deutschen Forschungen zu berücksichtigen? Jeder Sinologe von irgendwelcher Bedeutung sollte die Weltsprachen Deutsch, Englisch, Französisch



verstehen. Gerade die Zeitschrift *Asia Major* wird den Fachgenossen klar vor Augen führen, wie intensiv gerade auf dem Gebiet der Chinaforschung auch in Deutschland gearbeitet wird.

Die Biographie des Chu Hsi ist recht ausführlich, so daß man ein anschauliches Bild dieses großen Mannes gewinnt. Bei der Angabe seiner zahlreichen Werke hätte vielleicht zwischen den Kommentaren, den Ausgaben früherer Schriftsteller und den eigenen Werken des Philosophen schärfer geschieden werden können. Das bekannte Geschichtswerk *T'ung-chien kang-mu* wird als ein Werk des Chu Hsi angeführt, während es doch nur unter seiner Leitung von seinen Schülern verfaßt sein soll.

Die Übersetzung der Werke des Chu Hsi macht weniger Schwierigkeiten als diejenige anderer philosophischer Schriften, da sie in einem sehr einfachen Stile geschrieben sind, welcher der heutigen Umgangssprache sehr nahe kommt. Schon Chu Hsi hat das Problem, welches heute wieder die Geister beschäftigt, ob die sehr schwierige und dabei sehr vieldeutige und unbestimmte Schriftsprache durch die viel einfachere, klarere und schärfer bestimmte Umgangssprache ersetzt werden kann, gelöst und gezeigt, daß auch die schwierigsten philosophischen Probleme sich in einer gehobenen und veredelten Umgangssprache sehr gut und mit vollkommener Klarheit behandeln lassen. Der Text des Chu Hsi ist meist ohne große Mühe richtig zu verstehen und Bruce hat ihn durchweg richtig übertragen. Die Schwierigkeit liegt nicht im Verstehen des Inhalts, sondern in der Terminologie. Das ist eine Klippe, an welcher Mc Clatchie vollkommen gescheitert ist, auf deren Überwindung Le Gall freiwillig verzichtet hat und an welcher Bruce nicht ganz unversehrt vorbeigekommen ist. Trotzdem Chu Hsi seine Hauptbegriffe immer wieder erklärt und sie von den verschiedensten Seiten beleuchtet, ist es doch schwer, dafür die richtigen Äquivalente in europäischen Sprachen zu finden, welche einerseits die Gedanken des Philosophen und den chinesischen Ausdruck einigermaßen wiedergeben und andererseits auch unseren mit dem Worte verknüpften Vorstellungen entsprechen. Das kommt ganz besonders bei den beiden Grundbegriffen des ganzen Systems 氣 Ch'i und 理 Li zur Geltung.

Mc Clatchies Wiedergabe durch „Luft“ und „Schicksal“ ist ganz verfehlt. Mc Clatchie mag ein guter Theologe gewesen sein, von Philosophie hatte er keine Ahnung. Le Gall erklärt Ch'i richtig als Materie. Li soll Form oder Formalprinzip bedeuten. Le Gall mag in den Fußtapfen des katholischen Philosophen Aristoteles wandeln, aber Chu Hsi war kein Aristoteliker und kannte den aristotelischen Begriff der Form nicht. In seiner Übersetzung überträgt Le Gall die beiden Begriffe Ch'i und Li gar nicht, sondern behält sie einfach als technische Ausdrücke bei. Das mag bei sinologischen Lesern nicht schaden, erschwert aber doch für

Nichtkenner des Chinesischen das Verständnis außerordentlich. Bruce besitzt, wie aus seinen sehr gründlichen Untersuchungen über die Terminologie hervorgeht, eine tüchtige philosophische Schulung, trotzdem erscheint mir auch seine Übersetzung der beiden Worte mit „Äther“ und „Gesetz“ recht anfechtbar. Er erkennt an, daß Ch'i Materie bedeutet, zieht aber doch in seiner Übersetzung den Ausdruck Äther vor. Dieser erweckt beim Leser leicht falsche Vorstellungen, indem er dabei an die hypothetische Substanz des Äthers denkt, welche viele Naturforscher annehmen, während andere sie leugnen. Diesen Begriff kannte natürlich Chu Hsi nicht, er wählte den Ausdruck, weil er sich alle Materie aus den luft- oder gasartigen Urdünsten entstanden dachte. An den meisten Stellen, wo er davon spricht, bedeutet das Wort einfach Substanz oder Materie im Gegensatz zum Geist und sollte daher auch mit Materie, nicht mit Äther übersetzt werden.

Li ist für Chu Hsi das höchste Weltprinzip, der Ausdruck Gesetz ist dafür viel zu eng. Was verstehen wir unter einem Gesetz? Ein Gesetz ist ein Begriff, ein Gedankengebilde, eine Norm, welche wir für bestimmte, stets in derselben Weise und nach denselben Regeln verlaufende Vorgänge aufstellen. Ein Staatsgesetz und ein moralisches Gesetz sind Normen, deren Beobachtung von irgend jemand verlangt wird. Ein Gesetz hat keine selbständige Existenz, es setzt stets das Vorhandensein von Dingen und von Personen, welche es unter Umständen erzwingen, voraus. Wenn keine Himmelskörper vorhanden sind, so gibt es auch kein Gravitationsgesetz, ohne chemische Substanzen keine chemischen Gesetze, ohne Organismen keine organischen Gesetze und ohne Menschen keine Strafgesetze, keine bürgerlichen und keine moralischen Gesetze. Ein Gesetz kann nicht ohne ein Objekt, auf welches es sich bezieht, frei in der Luft schweben. Ein Gesetz ist kein für sich existierendes substantielles Wesen. Das aber ist das Li des Chu Hsi. „Was man Li und Materie nennt,“ sagt er, „sind entschieden zwei Dinge“ 所謂理與氣決是二物 (Hsing-li tach'üan B. 49, S. 5, v.). Da Li dem Urprinzip T'ai-chi gleichgesetzt wird, so ist es wie dieses ein Ding von ungeheurer Ausdehnung, es erfüllt die ganze Welt und ist räumlich und zeitlich unbegrenzt; 太極是個大底物事 (B. 49, S. 13, v.) 太極是一個理字 (B. 49, S. 8, v.) Li ist ein Ding, das alles bewegt, von dem alle Bewegung in der Welt ausgeht: „Seitdem es Himmel und Erde gibt, befindet sich dieses Ding in ihnen und bewegt sie im Kreise. Der Tag hat seine tägliche, der Monat seine monatliche und das Jahr seine jährliche Bewegung [durch die Sonne, den Mond und den Jupiter]. Es ist nur dieses Ding, welches sie im Kreise dreht.“ 自有天地,便是這物事在這裡洩轉. 一日有一日之運,一月有一月之運,一歲有一歲之運,只是這個物事接將去 (B. 49 S. 10 r.) Li ist nicht selbst Bewegung und



Ruhe, aber es hat Bewegung, es ist ein Wesen, welches alle Bewegung in der Welt hervorruft, daher läßt sich Li auch nicht mit Kraft übersetzen.

Auf die Frage nach dem Wesen des Li antwortet der Philosoph: „Li ist die Substanz des Himmels“ 理者天之體 (B. 42 S. 1 r.), indem unter Himmel das höchste Wesen verstanden wird. Ein Gesetz ist ein Begriff und niemals Substanz. Die Gesamtsbstanz des Li ist eine bestimmte Größe, welche sich niemals ändert: 而理之統體未嘗有異 (B. 49 S. 8. r.) Ch'i ist die materielle, Li die immaterielle Substanz, was Chu Hsi so ausdrückt: „Li ist über alle Körperlichkeit erhaben, Ch'i ist der Körperlichkeit unterworfen . . . . . Li ist unkörperlich, Ch'i ist grob und enthält Unreinheiten“ 然理形而上者. 氣形而下者 . . . . 理無形. 氣復粗有渣滓 (B. 49 S. 1). Chu Hsi faßt Li als die höchste Form des Geistes, als reinen Geist und als geistige Potenz auf. Ch'i ist der Inbegriff der Elemente: Metall, Holz, Wasser, Feuer; Li der Inbegriff der Tugenden: Wohlwollen, Gerechtigkeit, Schicklichkeit und Wissen. Li schließt im Urzustand als T'ai-chi schon die Gefühle: Lust, Zorn, Schmerz und Freude in sich, die schon, bevor sie in die Erscheinung treten, potentiell im Li vorhanden sind: 氣則爲金木水火. 理則爲仁義禮智 (B. 49 S. 1. v.) 然中含喜怒哀樂 . . . . 四者初未著. 而其理已具. (B. 49 S. 12 v.). Wie aus folgender Stelle und aus sonstigen Äußerungen des Chu Hsi hervorgeht, ist Li nach seiner Theorie der Weltgeist oder die Weltvernunft: „Bevor Lust, Zorn, Schmerz und Freude zum Ausdruck kommen, herrscht der Zustand der Stille und Unbeweglichkeit. Das ist der Geist des Himmels und der Erde und das ist der Anfang der Welt. Die Welt hat keine zwei Anfänge. Daher gehen die Veränderungen und Umgestaltungen von Ch'ien und K'un [Himmel und Erde] und die unendliche Mannigfaltigkeit der verschiedenen Arten der Dinge daraus hervor. Jede Form und jedes Geschöpf hat die Natur des Himmels und Anfang und Ende lassen sich deswegen nicht voneinander trennen. Dadurch, daß wir diese geistige Kraft empfangen, werden wir zu Menschen und innerhalb der obigen vier Ausdrucksformen, da ruht sie in unerforschlicher Tiefe, leer und still und so, als wenn sie nicht benannt werden könnte. Tse Sse bezeichnet sie als im Gleichgewicht befindlich, da sie sich nach keiner Seite besonders hinneigt, Mencius nennt sie gut wegen ihrer vollkommenen Reinheit und der Meister [Konfuzius] bezeichnet sie als Wohlwollen, da ihr Wesen in der Hervorbringung des Lebens besteht“ 喜怒哀樂之未發. 卽寂然不動者是也. 卽此爲天地之心. 卽此爲天下之本. 天下無二本. 故乾坤變化. 萬類紛揉. 無不由是而出. 形形生. 各有天性. 此本末之所以不可分也. 得其靈而爲人. 而於四者之際. 澹然而虛靜. 若不可

以名言者. 而子思以其無所偏倚而謂之中. 孟子以其純粹而謂之善. 夫子卽其生生之體而言之以仁 (B. 46, S. 8). Hier wendet ein Schüler des Chu Hsi auf den Weltgeist fast dieselben Worte an, welche die Taoisten von Tao gebrauchen.

Li als Weltprinzip existierte schon, ehe die Welt geschaffen wurde (B. 49, S. 6, 1). Durch seine Bewegung brachte es die Materie hervor, zuerst die beiden Ursubstanzen Yin und Yang, aus denen sich dann weiter die fünf Elemente entwickelten. Ein Gesetz kann nicht ohne Objekte, ohne ein Substrat existieren, wohl aber ein geistiges Wesen, welches gesetzmäßig handelt und die Normen der zukünftigen Dinge in sich trägt: 雖未有物. 而已有物之理 (B. 49, S. 5, v.).

Bruce selbst fühlt, daß der Ausdruck Gesetz für Li viel zu eng ist, es soll im weiten Sinne verstanden werden und viel mehr als bloße Norm sein. Er schreibt ihm reale, substantielle Existenz, ja sogar Selbstbewußtsein zu. Aber ein selbstbewußtes Gesetz ist ein Unding, es ist dann eben kein Gesetz mehr, sondern ein nach festen Normen wirkender Geist. In diesem Sinne kann Chu Hsi sagen: „Li bedeutet, daß jedes Ereignis und jedes Ding seine Norm hat.“ 理則就其事物物各有其則者言之 (B. 42, S. 17.).

Was Li bedeutet, ist nach dem Gesagten vollkommen klar und darüber besteht auch bei Bruce kein Zweifel, es ist der Weltgeist oder die Weltvernunft, es fragt sich nur, wie der Begriff zu übersetzen ist. Der Ausdruck Li bedeutet im Chinesischen nicht Geist, sondern richtiges Prinzip und Vernunft. Als Vernunft haben es denn auch W. A. P. Martin und Grube aufgefaßt. Das ist sachlich richtig, paßt aber nicht für alle Wendungen, in denen Chu Hsi das Wort gebraucht. Deshalb dürfte der Ausdruck Prinzip vorzuziehen sein. Er ist ebenso umfassend und farblos wie das chinesische Li und kann sowohl ein Gesetz, eine Norm als auch ein materielles oder immaterielles Wesen, einen Begriff und eine Substanz bedeuten.

Da Chu Hsi ein materielles und ein immaterielles Prinzip annimmt, so ist man wohl berechtigt, sein System als Dualismus zu bezeichnen. Bruce glaubt, daß sich trotzdem dieser Dualismus in Monismus auflöse, weil beide Prinzipien nicht als gleichwertig behandelt würden und das materielle erst vom immateriellen hervorgebracht würde. Allein die Entstehung des einen aus dem andern ändert an dem Dualismus nichts, denn de facto wird die Welt, wie sie nun einmal ist, von zwei entgegengesetzten Prinzipien beherrscht. Descartes gilt als ein Hauptvertreter des Dualismus, weil bei ihm Körper und Geist als die Grundpfeiler der Welt betrachtet werden, obwohl auch er die Welt von Gott erschaffen läßt. Der Monismus kennt nur ein einziges wirkliches Weltprinzip an und beseitigt das andere.



Es gibt einen idealistischen und einen materialistischen Monismus. Der erstere sieht nur den Geist als Weltprinzip an und drückt die Materie zur bloßen Erscheinung, zum Schein, zur Vorstellung herab. Das tun die Taoisten und Buddhisten und unsere idealistischen Philosophen wie Berkeley, Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer. Für den Materialisten dagegen hat nur die Materie wirkliche Existenz und der Geist ist nur eine Funktion derselben. Demnach muß Chu Hsi als Dualist gelten und er ist mit Recht von W. A. P. Martin mit Descartes verglichen worden. Die naive Anschauung aller Menschen ist dualistisch, auch die des Christentums. Alle Nichtphilosophen pflegen Dualisten zu sein.

Es erhebt sich nun aber noch eine weitere Frage: ist Chu Hsi Theist und glaubt er an einen persönlichen Gott? Diese Frage wird allgemein verneint, aber von Bruce bejaht. Er stützt sich für seine Ansicht auf verschiedene Textstellen, aus denen meines Dafürhaltens gerade das Gegenteil hervorgeht und welche Bruce nicht richtig interpretiert. Bruce hat recht, wenn er behauptet, daß in den alten Klassikern die Idee eines persönlichen Gottes vorkommt, aber er irrt mit seiner Annahme, daß Chu Hsi in seinen Erklärungen von den alten Texten nicht habe abweichen wollen und demgemäß auch die Lehre vom persönlichen Gotte mitübernommen habe. Diese Lehre hat schon Konfuzius beiseite geschoben und Chu Hsi hat sie umgedeutet. Als strenggläubiger Konfuzianer wagte er natürlich nicht, von den heiligen Texten abzuweichen, obgleich seine eigene Lehre nicht immer damit übereinstimmte; er half sich eben, wie sich Theologen und Gelehrte in ähnlichen fatalen Situationen zu helfen pflegen, indem er die betreffenden Stellen weginterpretierte oder umdeutete. „Das blaue Gewölbe“, sagt Chu Hsi, „wird Himmel genannt. Was sich endlos im Kreise dreht, ist jener. Jetzt aber wird behauptet, im Himmel gäbe es jemand (eine Person), welcher über Schuld und Verbrechen urteilt. Das ist sicherlich unmöglich. Wenn man aber sagt, daß es überhaupt keinen Herrscher gäbe, so geht das auch nicht. Das müssen sich die Menschen wohl überlegen.“ 蒼蒼之謂天. 運轉周流不已. 便是那箇而今說天有箇人在那裏批判罪惡. 固不可. 說道全無主之者. 又不可. 這裏要人見得 (B. 49, S. 25, r.). Hierin soll nach Bruce zum Ausdruck kommen, daß der Himmel die Vorstellung eines persönlichen Herrschers einschließe, daß aber Chu Hsi die anthropomorphe Vorstellung eines solchen Herrschers, wie sie zu seiner Zeit üblich war, zurückweise. Mir scheint vielmehr, daß Chu Hsi die Idee eines persönlichen Gottes und himmlischen Richters abweist, aber trotzdem einen Herrscher anerkennt. Und was ist darunter zu verstehen? Der vorangehende Satz gibt die nötige Auskunft: „Gott ist das Prinzip, welches die Herrschaft ausübt“; 帝是理爲主, also Gott ist nichts anderes

als das Weltprinzip, der Weltgeist oder die Weltvernunft, welche alles beherrscht und insofern die Stelle des Herrschers einnimmt. Gott ist nicht eine Person 人, sondern etwas Unpersönliches, ein Prinzip. Derselbe Gedanke liegt den folgenden Ausführungen zugrunde: „Das ist ebenso, wie wenn man sagt, daß König Wên zur Linken und Rechten Gottes auf- und abstieg. Wenn jetzt behauptet wird, daß König Wên wirklich zur Linken und Rechten Gottes gewesen sei und daß es wirklich einen Gott gäbe, ähnlich wie die Statuen, welche man in der Welt davon modelliert, so ist das entschieden nicht richtig, aber da die Heiligen sich so geäußert haben, so verhält es sich so, daß das Prinzip vorhanden ist: 又如云. 文王陟降在帝左右. 如今若說. 文王真箇在上帝之左右. 真箇有箇上帝. 如世間所塑之像. 固不可. 然聖人如此說. 便是有此理 (Chu-Tse yü-lei III, 15, v.). Das soll heißen, in Wirklichkeit gibt es keinen persönlichen Gott und der Geist des abgeschiedenen Königs Wên kann nicht neben ihm stehen. Diese Ausdrücke sind bildlich aufzufassen, denn es gibt nur das Prinzip, den Weltgeist, von dem der Geist des Königs Wên nur ein Teil ist, der sich nach seinem Tode wieder damit vereinigt. Bruce's Übertragung des letzten Satzes: "there is a sense in which what the sacred writer says is true" (Bd. I, S. 295) ist nicht ganz korrekt. 理 ist hier im technischen Sinne des Chu Hsi gebraucht, denn kurz vorher ist von Li und Ch'i die Rede.

Am deutlichsten äußert der Philosoph seine Ansicht, wo er auf eine Frage nach dem Schicksal antwortet: „Jemand fragte: Bei der Ungleichheit des Schicksals glaube ich, daß es nicht wirklich jemand verleiht in dieser Weise, sondern daß es nur die ganz unregelmäßige Vermischung und Verbindung der beiden Fluida [Yin und Yang] ist. Indem das erfolgt, was sich gerade trifft, kommen die vielen Ungleichheiten. Da das alles durch Menschenkraft nicht zuwege gebracht werden kann, so spricht man von der himmlischen Vorsehung, nicht wahr?“ — Antwort: „Es entströmt alles der großen Quelle. Äußerlich mag es so erscheinen, aber es gibt in Wirklichkeit niemand, der das Schicksal verleihe, denn wie könnte es droben eine Person geben, die dieses anordnete? Nach den Äußerungen des Shiking und Shuking könnte es scheinen, als ob es eine Person da droben gäbe, welche so handelte wie an solchen Stellen, wo zum Beispiel vom heftigen Zorn Gottes die Rede ist. Aber auch das bedeutet nur, daß das Prinzip sich so verhält. In der Welt gibt es nichts Erhabeneres als das Prinzip, daher hat man ihm den Namen Gott beigelegt“:  
問命之不齊. 恐不是真有爲之賦予如此. 只是二氣錯綜參差. 隨其所值. 因各不齊. 皆非人力所與. 故謂之天所命否. 曰只是從大原中流出來. 模樣似恁地. 不是真有爲之賦予者. 那得箇人在上面. 分



付這個。詩書所說，便似有箇人在上憑地。如帝乃震怒之類，然這個亦只是理如此。天下莫尊於理，故以帝名之 (B. 43, S. 34—35). Chu Hsi stimmt dem Fragesteller zu, daß es im Himmel kein persönliches Wesen = 人 gibt, welches das Schicksal verleiht, sondern daß es aus der großen Quelle, dem Tai-chi oder Li, fließt. Im Shiking und Shuking tritt ein persönlicher Gott auf, welcher unter Umständen gewaltig zürnt. Nach Chu Hsi ist das bloß eine Metapher, denn nur Li, das Weltprinzip, kommt in Betracht. Wegen seiner Erhabenheit soll man ihm den Namen Gott gegeben haben, es ist aber kein persönlicher Gott. Das ist Chu Hsis Deutung, in den Klassikern, die von seinem Hauptprinzip Li nichts wissen, findet sie keine Stütze.

Chu Hsi könnte gar keinen persönlichen Gott annehmen, ohne sein ganzes System zu zertrümmern. Ein persönlicher Gott, wie der des Christentums ist extramundan und steht über der Welt. Chu Hsis Prinzip, Li, durchflutet und erfüllt die ganze Welt in pantheistischer Weise und verbindet sich mit jedem Atom der Materie, Ch'f. Es lebt in der toten und in der belebten Natur und unser Geist ist ein Teil davon. Will man Li als Gottheit bezeichnen, so sind auch wir alle Götter. Nun kann Chu Hsi natürlich nicht plötzlich die immaterielle Substanz seines Li zu einem göttlichen Wesen zusammenfassen und dieses in den Himmel versetzen. Es bleibt ihm nichts anderes übrig als die anthropomorphen Äußerungen der Klassiker bildlich zu verstehen und überall sein unpersönliches Weltprinzip dafür einzusetzen.

Die erste und wichtigste Tugend Jên, welche mit Wohlwollen, Güte oder Humanität wiedergegeben zu werden pflegt, übersetzt Bruce, ob mit Recht, sei dahingestellt, mit Liebe und macht Chu Hsi zum Philosophen der Liebe. Nicht Chu Hsi, sondern Mè Ti ist der Philosoph der Liebe. Die Übertragung der vier Qualitäten des Hexagramms Ch'ien im Yiking, welche Chu Hsi in seine Theorie mit verarbeitet hat, als Ursprung, Schönheit, Nutzen, Potentialität, weicht von der Leggeschen Übersetzung erheblich ab. Eine Untersuchung darüber, welche Übertragung die bessere ist, würde uns hier zu weit führen. Es möge deshalb genügen, auch hinter diese vier Worte ein großes Fragezeichen zu setzen.

A. Forke

ALBERT EHRENSTEIN: Pe-Lo-Thien. Berlin 1923, Ernst Rowohlt Verlag.

Preis: Gz. Pappbd. 7,50

A. Püzmaier hat es in zwei größeren Arbeiten (Der chinesische Dichter Pe-Lo-Thien, Wien 1886, und Die elegische Dichtung der Chinesen, Wien 1887, Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften) unternommen, eine

Blütenlese aus den Werken des chinesischen Dichters Po Chi-i den Fachgenossen vorzulegen. Schon der bekannte Sinologe E. v. Zach hat im II. Bande seiner lexikographischen Beiträge darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß Pfizmaier fern von China und ohne alle Hilfsmittel trotz allen Fleißes kläglich scheitern mußte. E. v. Zach hat am angegebenen Orte und im IV. Bande der erwähnten Beiträge zwei größere Dichtungen Po Chi-i's mustergültig übersetzt. Weitere Übersetzungen hat der Unterzeichnete in seiner Schrift „Aus den Gedichten Po Chi-i's“, Peking 1908, und im II. Hefte seiner „Varia Sinica“ geboten.

Man kann von A. Ehrenstein natürlich nicht Kenntnis der sinologischen Literatur verlangen. Deswegen steht es ihm aber auch nicht zu, zu eigenen Zwecken ein Fachurteil über die Leistungen Pfizmaiers abzugeben, indem er ihn nämlich als den „verlässlichsten Interpreten Pe-Lo-Thiens“ bezeichnet und seine „philologische Akribie“ betont.

Ehrensteins Nachdichtungen, eine „Veredlung“ wörtlicher Interlinearversionen nennt er sie, sind weiter nichts, als eine ohne Rücksicht auf den chinesischen Text und noch dazu in peius geänderte Umarbeitung mit ganz willkürlichen Auslassungen, bezw. ein stellenweise ungenauer Abdruck der erwähnten Arbeiten Pfizmaiers. All die beklagenswerten Mängel, Irrtümer, Unrichtigkeiten, man kann summarisch sagen, der ganze „Gallimathias“ (E. v. Zach, Lexikographische Beiträge III, S. 41) ist von Ehrenstein kritiklos übernommen worden. Unrichtig sind also schon die Angaben über den Namen des Dichters. Noch unrichtiger ist, was Ehrenstein über das Beamtenleben des Dichters erdichtet. Was mag sich Ehrenstein wohl gedacht haben, um nur ein Beispiel unter den unzähligen zu bringen, als er Sätze abschrieb, wie die folgenden:

„Der Nessel Dickicht ist des Staubes Kleid.“

„Durchzogener Hagel sind die Blumenschütze.“

Wahrscheinlich gar nichts, sonst müßte ihm doch bei der Lektüre der Pfizmaierschen Übersetzungen die schlagende Parallele mit dem berühmten Spruche: „Konkave Viehzucht muß der Numismatik weichen“ eingefallen sein und dieser Einfall ihn selbst bei nur geringem dichterischen Geschmack von seinem anderen Einfall, den Dichter in dem Gewande Pfizmaiers wiedererscheinen zu lassen, abgehalten haben. Daß aber Geschmack und Urteil leider stark im Schwinden begriffen sind, zeigt eine von einem gewissen Oskar Loerke in der Beilage zum Berliner Börsen-Courier Nr. 325 erschienene, äußerst schwülstige Besprechung des literarischen Wertes des Ehrensteinschen Buches. Ähnliche Besprechungen rühren von Max Herrmann (Prager Presse vom 27. Juli 1923), Paul Hatvani (Der Tag vom 28. August 1923) und Max Brod (Wiener Morgenzeitung vom 16. August 1923) her. Letzterer steht sogar nicht an, das Buch als ein „Meisterwerk“



zu bezeichnen. Es ist aber fürwahr nicht der wahre Po Chü-i, den Ehrenstein uns zeigt und Loerke und die nach ihm erwähnten Kritiker uns weismachen wollen, sondern nichts als eine geradezu klägliche Karikatur des großen chinesischen Dichters und Staatsmannes. Po Chü-i wurde von Pfizmaier schon übel genug zugerichtet. Dem Pfizmaier aber wurde von Ehrenstein noch übler mitgespielt. Denn, als ob es nicht genug wäre des Pfizmaierschen Gallimathias, so kleidet ihn Ehrenstein in seinem Buche in ein Deutsch, das Pfizmaier selbst nie und nimmer geschrieben hätte. Ich will nur erwähnen: „In verwesten Jahren hauste hier Räuber-gehind.“ „Der Vorgesetzte stüft die Zeit.“ „Viele Zimmer wimmeln darin.“ Die Beispiele ließen sich beliebig vermehren. Aber man müßte da ja das Buch fast gänzlich abschreiben. Auf die ganz willkürlichen Auslassungen soll gar nicht eingegangen, sondern nur hingewiesen werden. Pfizmaier hat sich bemüht, die chinesische Strophengliederung, so gut wie er sie verstand, beizubehalten. Ehrenstein stößt aber auch diese, wo es ihm paßt, nach Willkür um.

Die Wiederherausgabe der Pfizmaierschen Akademieschriften, welche besser verschollen geblieben wären und mit denen schon die Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien wenig Freude hatte, kann nur als ein äußerst unglücklicher Mißgriff bezeichnet werden. Zu bedauern ist das deutsche Publikum, das aus einem solchen Machwerk, um etwas anderes handelt es sich hier gar nicht, die Ideen eines chinesischen Geistesgroßen kennen lernen soll. Leider ist es, seitdem der Gang der Ideen so vielfach nach dem Osten gerichtet ist, Mode geworden, daß Leute, denen ersichtlich jede Berechtigung und jedes Verständnis auf dem Gebiet der Sinologie und was damit zusammenhängt fehlt, sich der sinologischen Arbeiten anderer bemächtigen und sie rein nur zu Geschäftszwecken ausbeuten. Das vorliegende Buch ist der schlagendste Beweis hiefür.

L. Woitsch

We intend to publish in future as a supplement volume of the *"Asia Major"*:

### "Islamica"

"A Journal devoted to the Study of the Languages, Arts and Civilisations of the Islamic Peoples".

We hope thus to furnish a welcome addition to similar German journals such as "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft", "Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete", "Der Islam", "Die Welt des Islams", "Der Neue Orient" etc.

These journals are quite insufficient for the great number of valuable scientific manuscripts waiting for publication, and their object is more or less different from that which the *"Islamica"* has in view. That this is the case with the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft", "Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete", "Die Welt des Islams" and "Der Neue Orient" is clear. But even the "Islam" is different in that it has mostly refused to publish purely linguistic manuscripts, whereas our publication *"Islamica"* will have room for both language and culture.

The *"Islamica"* will publish firstly good articles and secondly reviews of books by experts and annual reports. At the end of each number special columns "Notes and Que-

Wir gedenken künftig als Bei-band zur *"Asia Major"* zu veröffentlichen:

### „Islamica“

„Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen und Kulturen der islamischen Völker“.

Wir hoffen damit zu den vorhandenen deutschen Zeitschriften verwandter Richtung — „Der Islam“, „Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft“, „Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete“, „Die Welt des Islams“, „Der Neue Orient“ usw. — eine Ergänzung zu liefern, die weiten Kreisen hoch willkommen sein wird. Diese Zeitschriften genügen nämlich, wie sich jeden Tag fühlbarer herausstellt, in keiner Weise für das auf den einschlägigen Gebieten zurzeit sehr starke Angebot an wertvollen wissenschaftlichen Manuskripten, und außerdem unterscheiden sich ihre Aufgaben mehr oder minder stark von denen, die die *„Islamica“* erfüllen sollen. Bei den letzten vier der genannten fünf Zeitschriften springt dieser Unterschied ohne weiteres in die Augen. Was aber den „Islam“ anlangt, so hat sich dieser — im Gegensatz zu dem von uns geplanten Verfahren — immer gegen die Aufnahme rein sprachlicher Beiträge gesperrt.

Die *„Islamica“* sollen in erster Linie gediegene Aufsätze und in



ries" will be formed for short scientific notes.

In order to secure readers and friends for our new publication beyond the borders of Germany, especially in India and Egypt, we shall follow the line of the "Asia Major" and divide the space between German and English articles.

The journal will be published this year in the form of two double numbers each containing 256 pages. The first of these will appear together with a double number of the "Asia Major" on May 15<sup>th</sup>. Later on it will appear quarterly, together with the "Asia Major".

We are sure the "Islamica" will have the good wishes of all those interested in Islamic matters, and beg the Orientalists to support it by writing for it and the Publishers by sending it their publications for review.

Manuscripts and copies for review as well as letters concerning the management of the journal should be addressed to the editor Professor A. FISCHER, PH. D., 40 Grassistr., Leipzig, purely business communications to the *Asia Publishing Company*, 5 Inselstr., Leipzig.

The Asia Publishing Co.

BRUNO SCHINDLER and FR. WELLER,  
Editors of the "Asia Major".

A. FISCHER,  
Editor of the "Islamica".

zweiter sachkundige Bücherbesprechungen und Jahresberichte bringen. Um unsrer Neugründung auch außerhalb Deutschlands, insbesondere auch in Ländern wie Indien und Ägypten, Leser und Freunde zu sichern, werden ihre Artikel, wie die der "Asia Major", immer etwa zur Hälfte in englischer Sprache abgefaßt sein.

Die Zeitschrift soll in diesem Jahre 32 Bogen stark erscheinen, und zwar in zwei Doppelheften von je 16 Bogen, von denen das erste, zusammen mit einem Doppelhefte der "Asia Major", am 15. Mai zur Ausgabe gelangen soll. Später soll sie alljährlich in vier einzelnen Heften an die Öffentlichkeit treten.

Die Herren Orientalisten ersuchen wir, die "Islamica" durch fleißige Mitarbeit, die Herren Verleger, sie durch Zusendung ihrer einschlägigen Verlagswerke unterstützen zu wollen. Manuskripte, Rezensionsexemplare und die Schriftleitung betreffende Briefe und Postkarten sind an den unterzeichneten Herausgeber Professor DR. A. FISCHER, Leipzig, Grassistr. 40, zu richten, rein geschäftliche Mitteilungen an den Asia-Verlag, Leipzig, Inselstraße 5.

Asia-Verlag.

BRUNO SCHINDLER u. FR. WELLER,  
Herausgeber der "Asia Major".

A. FISCHER,  
Herausgeber der "Islamica".

The Asia Publishing Co. will  
issue in the early summer

## Shawahid Indices

Compiled by

A. FISCHER, PH. D.,

Professor of Oriental Languages at the Uni-  
versity of Leipzig

and E. BRÄUNLICH, PH. D.,

of the University of Greifswald  
about 160 pages in 4°.

This book will contain (1) an alphabetical index of the rhymes and (2) an alphabetical index of the poets of all the Šawāhid, i. e., poetical quotations which have been discussed, fully explained or translated in the following works:

Sibawaih, *al-Kitāb*, aš-Šantamarī, *Šarḥ šawāhid Kitāb Sibawaih*, az-Zamahšari, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, Ibn Ya'īs, *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, al-Baṭalyōsī, *al-Iqtidāb fi šarḥ Adab al-kuttāb*, al-'Ainī, *Šarḥ aš-šawāhid al-kubrā*, as-Suyūṭī, *Šarḥ šawāhid al-Muḡnī*, 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Umar, *Iḥṣānat al-adab*, Muḥammad Bāqir aš-Šarīf, *Gamī' aš-šawāhid*, 'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-'Abbāsī, *Ma'ahid at-tanṣiṣ*, Aḥmad b. al-Amin aš-Šinqīṭī, *ad-Durar al-lawāmī 'alā Hamī al-hawāmī*, Muḥibb ad-Dīn Efendi, *Šarḥ šawāhid al-Kaššaf*, 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ġarġāwī, *Šarḥ šawāhid Ibn 'Aqīl 'alā Alfīyat Ibn Malik*, Qitta (Qutṭa) al-'Adawī, *Šarḥ šawāhid Ibn 'Aqīl*, 'Alī b. 'Uṭmān al-Aqšahri, *Šarḥ abyat al-Kaṣfiya wa-l-Gamī*, Mu-

Der Asia-Verlag wird im  
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lichen:

## Schawahid-Indices

Zusammengestellt von Professor  
Dr. A. Fischer, Leipzig, und  
Privatdozent Dr. E. Bräunlich,  
Greifswald, etwa 26 Bogen 4°.

Das Buch wird (1) einen alpha-  
betischen Reim- und (2) einen  
alphabetischen Dichter-Index zu  
allen Šawāhid d. h. dichterischen  
Belegstellen enthalten, die in fol-  
genden Werken glossiert, kommen-  
tiert oder übersetzt sind:

Sibawaih, *al-Kitāb*, aš-Šantamarī, *Šarḥ šawāhid Kitāb Sibawaih*, az-Zamahšari, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, Ibn Ya'īs, *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, al-Baṭalyōsī, *al-Iqtidāb fi šarḥ Adab al-kuttāb*, al-'Ainī, *Šarḥ aš-šawāhid al-kubrā*, as-Suyūṭī, *Šarḥ šawāhid al-Muḡnī*, 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Umar, *Iḥṣānat al-adab*, Muḥammad Bāqir aš-Šarīf, *Gamī' aš-šawāhid*, 'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-'Abbāsī, *Ma'ahid at-tanṣiṣ*, Aḥmad b. al-Amin aš-Šinqīṭī, *ad-Durar al-lawāmī 'alā Hamī al-hawāmī*, Muḥibb ad-Dīn Efendi, *Šarḥ šawāhid al-Kaššaf*, 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ġarġāwī, *Šarḥ šawāhid Ibn 'Aqīl 'alā Alfīyat Ibn Malik*, Qitta (Qutṭa) al-'Adawī, *Šarḥ šawāhid Ibn 'Aqīl*, 'Alī b. 'Uṭmān al-Aqšahri, *Šarḥ abyat al-Kaṣfiya wa-l-Gamī*, Muḥammad 'Alī al-Faiyūmī, *Šarḥ šawāhid Suḥūr ad-duḥab*, al-Ḥaṭīb



ḥammād 'Alī al-Fayyūmī, *Ṣarḥ ṣawāhid Ṣudūr ad-djahāḥ*, al-Ḥaṭīb aṣ-Širbīnī, *Ṣawāhid al-Qaṭr*, Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, und Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*.

It will therefore open up a way to extremely important poetical material which at present it is very difficult to use, and will be a most valuable help in understanding the vocabulary, grammar, metric, aesthetics and history of the classical Arabic poetry.

A specimen page with subscription price will be sent to all those interested in Arabic matters.

aṣ-Širbīnī, *Ṣawāhid al-Qaṭr*, Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, und Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*.

Es wird also den Zugang zu überaus wichtigem, zurzeit aber nur sehr schwer benutzbarem poetischen Material wesentlich erleichtern und wird auf diese Weise ein wertvolles Hilfsmittel zum Verständnis des Wortschatzes, der Grammatik, der Metrik, der Ästhetik und der Geschichte der klassischen arabischen Dichtkunst bilden.

Eine Probeseite mit Subskriptionspreis wird demnächst an die Interessenten versandt werden.

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*H. Conratz.*

Q·F·F·B·S·

VIRO ILLUSTRISSIMO

AUGUSTO CONRADY

*PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTORI*

*LINGUAE SINENSIS PROFESSORI*

TERTIUM DECIMUM LUSTRUM AUSPICANTI

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## JAPANISCHE WISSENSCHAFTLICHE HILFSMITTEL ZUR KULTUR- UND RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE ZENTRAL- UND OSTASIENS

VON F. M. TRAUTZ.

Fortsetzung.

Im einzelnen kann zu diesen und einigen anderen Werken, die oben zum Teil schon genannt sind, nun etwa folgendes gesagt werden:

1. Das Bukkyō jiten (s. oben S. 151, 1) 佛教辭典 ist 1909 erschienen, ein kleiner Band (15×11 cm) von 1365 Seiten. Es wurde auf Anregung der Buchhandlung Mugasambō 無我山房, Tōkyō, von fünf japanischen buddhistischen Geistlichen verfaßt, die an der damals noch in Tōkyō befindlichen Hochschule der Shinshū 眞宗 studierten; 1911 wurde diese Hochschule nach Kyōto zurückverlegt. Nur wenig mehr als ein Jahr sollen die fleißigen jungen Theologen zur Vollendung des überaus reichhaltigen, kurzgefaßten Hilfsmittels gebraucht haben; ihr Werk macht ihnen alle Ehre. Die — in dem Buche nicht genannten — Verfasser sind:

Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善, jetzt Professor an der Shinshū-daigaku und Erzieher des Sohnes des (erblichen) Oberbischofs des Higashi Hongwanji;

Yamabe Shūgaku 山邊習學, der frühere Sekretär der obersten Behörde der Shinshū in Kyōto; beide sind auf Ceylon im Pali ausgebildet und haben eine Zeit in England studiert;

Kashiwabara Yūgi 柏原祐義, zurzeit Prediger in Ōmi;

Katō Chigaku 加藤智學, zurzeit Prediger in Tōkyō; außerdem der verstorbene Kumabe Jimyō 隈部慈明. — Alle gehören der Shinshū an.

Das kleine Werk führt eine Menge buddhistischer Ausdrücke und besonders Personennamen auf, die in den anderen Lexika fehlen. Es



gibt — darin ist es einzig unter den buddhistischen Lexika — Lebensdaten in der abendländischen Zeitrechnung, ein Vorzug, der, wenn er in Japan allgemein Nachfolge fände, viel dazu beitrüge, den japanischen Hilfsmitteln weitere Verbreitung zu sichern.

Das Lexikon ist nach dem Gojūon geordnet und verfügt über einen Index der chinesischen Zeichen (nach Strichzahl); es hat von 1909—1922 neun Auflagen erlebt. Außer einigen kleinen Holzschnitten (Gorintō, Shibuniten) enthält das Buch keine Abbildungen, Sanskrit- und Pali-Namen in lateinischer Schrift, im ganzen laut Vorwort ca. 20000 buddhistische Fach- und Laienausdrücke, Personen-, Tempel-, Schriften- und Ortsnamen.

In Anlage III sind die Abschnitte sotoba, tōba, tō als Beispiele übersetzt; jedoch enthält das Lexikon noch zahlreiche andere Stichworte zum Stūpa, zum Beispiel rantō(ba), gorintō(ba), tahōtō, usw.

2. Das Bukkyō jirin (s. oben S. 151, 2) 佛教辭林 des um 1903 in Indien verstorbenen japanischen Sanskritisten Fujii Senshō 藤井宣正 ist aus seinem Nachlaß 1912 herausgegeben. Bunyū Nanjio hat die Durchsicht besorgt. Der starke Band (15,5×23 cm; 916 + 64 Index- und 102 Anhangseiten) von ganz europäischem Aussehen enthält eine Reihe farbiger und schwarzer ganz- und doppelseitiger Tafeln (wovon etwa ein Drittel nach europäischen Autoren) und viele Textabbildungen, Sanskrit- und Pali-Worte in lateinischer Umschrift und ist unter Zuhilfenahme der hervorragendsten abendländischen, namentlich deutscher und englischer Literatur bearbeitet, wovon ein Verzeichnis beigegeben ist. Genauere Stellenangaben bei Zitaten, praktische Zusammenfassung zusammengehöriger Zeichen und die Abbildungen stellen das Lexikon sachlich und technisch sehr hoch; einige kleine Unstimmigkeiten (zum Beispiel im Abschnitt „Daizōkyō“) wurden festgestellt. Im allgemeinen aber macht außerordentliche Brauchbarkeit, Reichhaltigkeit und Klarheit in Anordnung und Erklärungen es zu einem Hilfsmittel ersten Ranges.

Von besonderem Interesse ist ein Anhang, welcher nach dem Gojūon geordnet auf 102 Seiten etwa 7550 buddhistische Namen und Ausdrücke aus acht grundlegenden Erklärungsschriften zusammenfaßt und in chinesischen Zeichen (Aussprache in Kana) nebst Angabe der Stelle wiedergibt. Er ist bei der Bearbeitung des Werkes mitentstanden und dazu bestimmt, dem Benutzer Vergleichsstellen an die Hand zu geben und dem Buddhologen bei seinen Forschungen zu dienen.

Die Bedeutung dieses Butten hasshu sakuin 佛典<sup>1</sup> 八種索引. Sachregister acht verschiedener buddhistischer heiliger Bücher, genannten Index geht aus den dazu benutzten Werken hervor; sie sind mit kurzen Erläuterungen etwa in folgender Weise im Vorwort des Bukkyō jirin aufgezählt:

- I. Das Daichidoron 大智度論 (B. N. 1169), Kommentar von Nāgārjuna zum Hannyagyō 般若經 (B. N. I (b), 2—4; K. T. XIX, 9, c u. 10; XX, 1, 2, 3, 4) 100 kwan.
- II. Das Hokkekyō shinchū 法華經新註 (nicht i. R.), Kommentar zu Kumārajīvas Übersetzungen (B. N. 134 u. 137) des die Grundlehren der Tendai-Sekte enthaltenden Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra. Der umfassende Kommentar erklärt die in dem Sūtra vorkommenden buddhistischen Fachausdrücke; die benutzte Ausgabe zählt acht kwan.
- III. Das Honyakumyōgishū 翻譯名義集 (nicht i. R.; B. N. 1640; nicht i. K. T.; P. T. 175) von Fā-yün. (法雲 R. 289, c, 48; ホツツン). Das Werk ordnet die buddhistischen Ausdrücke in 48 Kategorien; die benutzte Ausgabe zählt sieben kwan.
- IV. Das Shakushiyōran 釋氏要覽 (nicht i. R.), zusammengestellt zur Sung-Zeit (nach der Kyōtoer Ausgabe von 1875, im Jahre 1019 n. Chr.) von Tao ch'eng (jap. Dōjō) 道誠 aus Ch'ien tang 錢塘 (s. Tzū-yüan, II 戎, S. 38). Das Werk ordnet die buddhistischen Ausdrücke der Praxis in 27 Kategorien, bringt erläuternde Übersetzungen und ist dem unter III. genannten nachgebildet; es zählt drei kwan.
- V. Das Shichijōkemmon 七帖見聞 (nicht i. R. und Oda) oder vollständig: Tendaimyōmokunishūshō 天台名目類聚鈔 (nicht i. R.). In der Ōeiperiode (1394—1427) von Jōshun 貞舜 (R. 437, b, 40; ギヤツシユン Bten. 911. 1334—1422) vom West-Stūpa(-tempel) des Hieizan verfaßt, behandelt das Werk ausführlich und im Zusammenhang die in Japan gebräuchlichen buddhistischen Wörter, nebst den besonderen Fachausdrücken des Hieizan.
- VI. Das Hasshūkōyōkeimōroku 八宗綱要啓蒙錄 (nicht i. R. und Oda), verfaßt von Gyōnen Daitoku 凝然大徳 (1240—1321 n. Chr.; R. 54, b, 39; Brin. 142. — Oda 273, 2) vom Kaidanin 戒壇院 im Tōdaiji in Nara. Das Werk behandelt

<sup>1</sup> R. 52, 2, 23; Bten. 1144.



die Entstehung der Lehre und der Riten der acht Sekten Kushi, Jōjitsu, Ritsu, Hossō, Sanron, Kegon, Tendai und Shingon, den Buddhismus der Nara- und Heian-Zeit und die im Gempei- und Kamakura-Zeitalter aufkommende Zen- und Jōdo-Sekte und kann als ein Kompendium aller buddhistischen Sekten in Japan gelten. Der Bearbeiter der benutzten Ausgabe in zwei kwan (Kyōto, Hōzōkwan 法藏館 1896) ist der Shinshū Ōtaniha no gakushō<sup>1</sup>, der „Geistliche Lehrer“ des Otanizweiges der Shinshū, Kusunoki Senryū Shi 眞宗大谷派學匠楠潜龍師<sup>2</sup> (1834—1896; R. 300, b. 30; Bten. 788).

- VII. Das Sangokubuppōdenzūengitenkyo 三國佛法傳通緣起典據 (nicht i. R.; Oda 617, 1) Geschichte der Entwicklung der buddhistischen Überlieferung in den drei Ländern (Indien, China, Japan). Verfasser wie zu VI. Das Werk umfaßt den indischen, chinesischen und japanischen Buddhismus. Die benutzte Bearbeitung ist 1873 in vier kwan in Kyōto, Shūbundō 繡文堂 erschienen; Bearbeiter ist der Shinshū Ōtaniha no gakushō Hosokawa Sengan Shi 細川千巖師.

- VIII. Das Shinshūhōyōtenkyo 眞宗法要典據 (nicht i. R.), nach der Benennung der Nishi-Hongwanji-Sekte, oder Shinshūkana-shōgyō 眞宗假名聖教 (nicht i. R.), nach der Benennung der Higashi-Hongwanji-Sekte, ist eine Sammlung der kanonisierten Schriften der Shinshū 眞宗 von Shinran († 1263) ab. Das Werk in drei kwan umfaßt die Schriften von Shinran-Shōnin 親鸞聖人<sup>3</sup>, Kakunyo-Shōnin 覺如上人 (1270—1351), dessen Sohn Zonkaku-Shōnin 存覺上人 (1290—1373) und von Renryo-Shōnin 蓮如上人 (1415—1499). Der Bearbeiter der benutzten Ausgabe ist der Shinshū Hongwanjiha no gakushō Jitsujōin Gōsei Shi 眞宗本願寺派學匠實成院仰誓師 vom Nishi-Hongwanji (1721—1793).

Der aus vorstehenden Werken zusammengestellte Index verdiente vor allem eine Bearbeitung.

<sup>1</sup> S. Shi. 557. — In manchen Fällen gleich 講師 Kōshi („Rector“), ein Rang, den zum Beispiel Bunyū Nanjō in Kyōto an der Shinshūdaigaku bekleidet.

<sup>2</sup> Ir. IV, 85. — Jetzt allgemeine Anrede für Geistliche (in der Shinshū), wie ... 氏 shi für Laien.

<sup>3</sup> Mit Shōnin 聖人 werden nur die Sektenbegründer (auch 祖師 soshi genannt) bezeichnet, etwa „Heilige Patriarchen“. — 上人 shōnin sind Heilige der zweithöchsten Rangstufe in der Sekte, etwa „Patriarchen“ (s. auch Anm. 3 S. 206).

Die acht genannten Werke und das Bukkyō jirin selbst gehören zum Grundstock jeder ostasiatischen buddhistischen Bibliothek.

3. Das Bukkyō iroha jiten; 1897 zuerst, noch in ganz japanischem Gewand erschienen, hat das vierbändige Werk bis zu der 1907 erschienenen 7. Auflage eine wichtige Vermehrung um zwei ausführliche Indexbände und ganz europäische äußere Umgestaltung erfahren (sechs Bände in drei gebunden).

Der Verfasser Wakahara no Yukitsune 若原敬經 ist dem, dem Lexikon beigelegten Bilde nach eigentlich wohl Shintō-Priester (Ryōbushintō) gewesen; seinem Werk sind zwei Schriftproben vorgeheftet von Shōtoku Taishi und von Kōbō Daishi. Nach den vier Zeichen der ersteren, 佛法興隆 („Buddhas Gesetz, es werde erhöht und blühe“) heißen die vier Bände des in Nagoya erschienenen Werkes. Der Verlag hat es Bunyiu Nanjio gewidmet und dessen Antwort auf die Widmung und acht Seiten Besprechung „zweifelhafter Punkte“ nebst Berichtigungen in den ersten Band aufgenommen.

Das Lexikon ist das älteste der im R. verarbeiteten und läßt als solches die in den letzten 25 Jahren in Japan auf diesem Gebiet gemachten Fortschritte deutlich erkennen; gleichwohl ist es an sich eine bedeutende Leistung. Es ist sehr reichhaltig, für eine Reihe von Ausdrücken sogar einzig, wie manche älteren Wörterbücher der in den letzten Jahren so viel geänderten und durch moderne Ausdrücke „bereicherten“ ostasiatischen Sprachen.

Leider sind — nach klassischem chinesischem Muster<sup>1</sup> — die zahlreichen Zitate durchweg ohne Angabe der Stelle in dem betr. Sūtra usw.; manche sind anscheinend auch nicht unmittelbar den besten Quellen entnommen oder ungenau wiedergegeben; praktisch ist die Beifügung begleitender Kana. Trotz der erwähnten Einschränkung ist das Bukkyō iroha jiten aber ein sehr wertvolles Hilfsmittel. In Anlage V sind einige Stücke aus dem Bukkyō iroha jiten in Übersetzung beigegeben, die den Charakter dieses Fachwörterbuchs, das Bestreben auf gute Quellen zurückzugreifen, und doch kurz zu sein, zum Ausdruck bringen, aber auch die Schwierigkeiten der Benutzung erkennen lassen, und die Notwendigkeit kritischer Nachprüfung.

Bis 1900 und vielleicht noch einige Jahre darüber hinaus war dies Lexikon das einzige Nachschlagewerk seiner Art und weit verbreitet. Es wurde vielfach auch von Außenstehenden zu Rat gezogen. So

<sup>1</sup> u. De Groot, Rel. Syst. I, p. XX, letzter Absatz.



zitiert z. B. der bekannte japanische Stüpa-Forscher, Architekt und Erbauer der Tōkyōer Stadtbahn Dr. Itō Chūta in extenso den hier beigegebenen Abschnitt über den Stüpa gelegentlich eines seiner grundlegenden Vorträge zur Stüpakunde, s. Jahrgang 1899, S. 548 der japanischen „Zeitschrift des Vereins der Architekten“ („Der Tahōtō“).

Nach diesem ausführlichen Eingehen auf drei im Rōsenberg mit verarbeitete allgemein buddhistische Lexika, sei nun aus der Reihe der übrigen, zum Teil nach Sekten genannten, zum Teil philosophischen Wörterbücher nur noch das durch seine Eigenart als historisches Namen- und Sachwörterbuch zur japanischen Landes-, Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte hervorragende Kokushidaijiten, (s. oben S. 152, Nr. 8) herausgegriffen.

Das 1908 in Großlexikonoktav, einem Text- und einem Bilderband erschienene, 2380 Seiten und 4 Seiten Nachtrag und 6 Seiten Index zählende Werk, mit Plänen, Karten und zahlreichen bunten Tafeln in besonderem Bilderband, sowie einer umfassenden synchronistischen Tabelle zur japanisch-chinesisch-koreanischen Geschichte, ist bis jetzt meines Wissens in Japan noch nicht überholt. Es war ein glücklicher Griff von Rosenberg, auch dieses Buch seinem Vocabulary einzuverleiben.

Bei dem Verflochtensein der buddhistischen in die gesamte japanische Landesgeschichte enthält das Buch wirklich eine Fülle von Material. Das bekannte Papinot'sche Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie du Japon verschwindet beinahe dagegen, zumal es doch auch Géographie mit umfaßt, die, auch dem Titel nach, im Kokushidaijiten nicht mit behandelt ist. So wird es sehr oft beim Lesen japanischer buddhistischer Schriften notwendig, neben dem Kokushidaijiten noch eines der führenden geographischen Wörterbücher heranzuziehen, wie das Dainihon chimei jishō 大日本地名辭書 von Yoshida Tōgo 吉田 東 伍, Tōkyō, Fūsambō 1907 oder das neuere Teikoku chimei jiten 帝國地名辭典 von Ōta Tamesaburō 太田 爲 三 郎, Tōkyō, Sanseidō 1912. Die Namen der historischen und der Kultstätten und Kloster sind in beiden geographischen Werken ausführlich und möglichst vollständig angegeben, so daß beide Lexika neben ihrer geographischen eine ausgesprochene buddhologische Bedeutung besitzen, und man nur wünschen kann, es möchten auch für China bald so umfassende und praktische Hilfsmittel erscheinen, mit modernen In-

dices und in der europäisch-methodischen Anordnung, die diese japanischen, leider viel zu wenig bekannten und benutzten Hilfsmittel aufweisen.

Das Kokushidaijiten ist nach dem Gojūon geordnet, verfügt über zahlreiche Textabbildungen, gibt auch für die einzelnen Abschnitte in der Regel die benutzten Quellen an, hat aber keinen genügenden Index nach chinesischen Zeichen. Diesem Mangel ist nun durch das Rosenberg'sche Buch abgeholfen, welches seinerseits, wie man fast auf jeder Seite bemerken kann, durch die Aufnahme der Stichworte des Kokushidaijiten eine beträchtliche Bereicherung erfahren hat. Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, daß von verschiedenen Verfassern bearbeitete Bücher wie dieses, manche Ungleichmäßigkeiten aufweisen; jedoch tritt dies beim Kokushidaijiten verhältnismäßig wenig hervor. Zu wünschen wäre, daß auch die synchronistische Tabelle des Anhangs mit ihren Namen von Personen und Örtlichkeiten im Rosenberg neben den Seitenzahlen des Lexikontextes Aufnahme gefunden hätte.

Als Vorarbeit für eine „Encyclopädie des ostasiatischen Buddhismus“ wäre eine deutsche, wenn auch stellenweise gekürzte Bearbeitung des Kokushidaijiten, unter Beifügung des aus Rosenberg auszuziehenden Index sehr geeignet und könnte grundlegende Bedeutung für historische japanologische Studien gewinnen, weil meines Wissens alle bisherigen japanischen Geschichtswerke das Sachregister vermissen lassen, so Ariga's 有賀, Dainihon Rekishi 大日本歴史, Tōkyō, Hakubunkwan, 1909, das von der japanischen Historisch-Geographischen Gesellschaft herausgegebene Kamakura Bummeishiron 鎌倉文明史論, Tōkyō, Sanseidō 三省堂, 1909, und selbst das mit guten historischen Karten ausgestattete Nihon rekishikōgi 日本歴史講義, Vorlesungen über japanische Geschichte von Dr. Honda Asajirō 本多淺治郎, das nur einen dürftigen Iroha-Index besitzt.

Im Textband des Kokushidaijiten ist der einzige mit ganzseitigen Bildern ausgestattete Artikel der über den Stūpa. Jedoch nimmt der Verfasser dieses Abschnittes auf die Bilder in seinem Text zu wenig Bezug und ist auch in der Disposition des letzteren nicht glücklich. Nachdem für die andern Lexika aus dem Gebiet des Stūpa einige Beispiele angeführt worden waren, sind aus dem Kokushidaijiten in Anlage VI zwei andere, aber ebenfalls buddhistische Abschnitte als Beispiele beigegeben (s. S. 235 f.).



Aus der Verarbeitung dieses historischen Lexikons in den R. ergab sich der Wunsch, nicht nur die historischen, sondern auch zum Beispiel die geographischen Namen der zahllosen Kultstätten im R. vorzufinden; aus dem oben geäußerten Desideratum einer Aufnahme der synchronistischen Tabelle des historischen Lexikons in den R. folgt ebenso die weitere Forderung nach Aufnahme des 1909 erschienenen Bukkyō dainempyō 佛教大年表 von Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨. Der genannte Gelehrte, Rektor der Jōdoshūdaigaku in Tōkyō, hatte 1910 ein Bukkyō daijiten begonnen. Jedoch überschritt der große Plan sehr bald die Kräfte eines einzelnen und war wohl schließlich für ihn und seine Hilfskräfte neben den Arbeiten der Schule nicht weiter zu leisten. So blieb nur ein „nach Jahreszahlen geordneter historischer Überblick des gesamten Buddhismus“ übrig, ein Buch in Großlexikonformat von 18 + 120 + 536 + 41 Seiten. Das Werk ist auch so noch verdienstvoll genug. Eine gewaltige Literatur ist darin verarbeitet: 24 dreispaltige Seiten fast nur chinesische und japanische, über acht Seiten europäische gut ausgewählte Bücher. Es folgen dann japanisch-chinesisch-koreanische Regententafeln, die indischen Dynastien; Ceylon und Kashmir fehlen nicht. Dann folgt ein Überblick über die gesamten japanischen Sekten mit der Folge ihrer Patriarchen; Tendai- und Zen-Sekte haben daran den Löwenanteil.

Die synchronistischen Tafeln selbst sind in drei wagerechten Spalten angeordnet: nämlich Japan, China, Indien und die übrige Welt. Im Kopf der Spalte „Japan“ ist der Name des Kaisers, darunter die Jahrzahlung von Jimmu Tennō und die zyklischen Zeichen und darunter nengo und Zahl des betr. Jahres.

In der Spalte „China“ steht zu oberst der Name des Kaisers, dann nengo und Zahl des betr. Jahres.

In der Spalte „Indien und übrige Länder“ steht in der obersten Zeile die Jahreszahl vor bzw. nach Buddhas Tod. In der nächsten Zeile die Jahreszahl der christlichen Ära, beide in arabischen Ziffern. Die Tafeln beginnen mit dem Jahre 565 v. Chr. oder dem Jahre 80 vor Buddhas Hinscheiden. Danach wird also Buddhas Tod in das Jahr 486 v. Chr. verlegt; s. dazu Winternitz Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Band II, S. 2. (1920.)

Die Übersicht reicht bis zum Jahre 1909 und bildet drucktechnisch schon eine ungewöhnliche Leistung.

Im Anhang ist zunächst auf etwa fünf Seiten eine Übersicht gegeben über die Aussprache der Zeichen, die am Anfang der in den Tafeln genannten Bücher- und Personennamen vorkommen; dazu eine Übersicht der Laute des Sanskrit; anschließend die nengo von Japan und China nach Strichzahlen geordnet und schließlich ein Index nach dem Gojūon sämtlicher in dem Buch vorkommenden Personennamen, mit Angabe der Zeit nach japanischer Zeitrechnung.

Es wäre eine überaus verdienstvolle Arbeit, dieses Buch einer eingehenden kritischen Durchsicht zu unterziehen und zu übersetzen; das führte zum mindesten zu genauer Präzisierung einer ganzen Reihe von Fragen und damit dem ersten Schritt zu ihrer Beantwortung.

In den seit dem Erscheinen des R.'schen Vocabulary verflossenen sieben Jahren hat nun die japanische buddhistisch-lexikalische Arbeit nicht geruht. Neue von R. noch nicht benutzte — aber zum Teil ihn benutzende — Werke sind erschienen. Das wichtigste ist das 1917 erschienene Bukkyō daijiten 佛教大辭典, aus dem Nachlaß des verstorbenen Shinshū-Priesters Oda Tokunō 織田得能 herausgegeben (Tōkyō, Ōkura 1920, fünfte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage).

Das Bukkyō daijiten in Lexikon-Oktav, mit zwei farbigen und 30 größtenteils doppelseitigen schwarzen Bildertafeln, sowie einer Menge von Textabbildungen ist unter praktischer Zusammenfassung zu einander gehöriger Begriffe nach dem Gojūon geordnet, 1874 Seiten stark mit drei Indices (nach Gojūon, nach chinesischen Zeichen in Strichzahlordnung und Sanskrit-Index). Es enthält auch die Abkürzungen der Sūtratitel, die in Bunyiu Nanjios Katalog ohne weiteres nicht zu finden sind, und die Sūtra- usw. Nrn. in B. N.

An dem Werke sind die besten Kräfte, die Japan auf dem Gebiet der buddhistischen Wissenschaft besitzt, beteiligt. Die Durchsicht vor der Drucklegung besorgten Professor Haga Yaichi 芳賀矢一 von der Universität in Tōkyō (klassische japanische Sprache); Professor Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, Sanskritist an derselben Universität, der bekannte Übersetzer von I-tsing, Verfasser u. a. eines sehr bekannten Pali-Lesebuchs; Professor Bunyiu Nanjio (南條文雄), der jetzt 77jährige Rektor der Shinshūdaigaku in Kyōto, Verfasser des mehrfach genannten Tripiṭaka-Katalogs und Professor Ueda Mannen 上田萬年, zurzeit Dekan der Literarischen Fakultät der Universität Tōkyō.



Den von Oda hinterlassenen Text ergänzten drei andere japanische Gelehrte, die Oberlehrer Osaragi<sup>1</sup> Mamoru 大佛衛, Wada Tetsujō 和田徹城 und Miyasaka Tesshū 宮坂詰宗<sup>2</sup>.

Ōtani Kōen 大谷光演 Guhō 愚峰<sup>3</sup> hat ein handschriftliches Zitat (?) beigezeichnet.

Vorreden auf Japanisch schrieben: Setsurei Ujin 聖嶺迂人, Bungakuhakushi, Schriftsteller und Chefredakteur der Zeitschrift Nihon oyobi Nihonjin, angeblich guter Kenner der chinesischen Philosophie und für die Zensekte interessiert.

Inouye Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎, der älteste Professor der (abendländischen) Philosophie an der Kaiserlichen Universität in Tōkyō, Schüler von Kuno Fischer und Verfasser unter anderem der Abhandlung über japanische Philosophie in dem Sammelwerk Kultur der Gegenwart (I, 5).

Bunyu Nanjio, der allein in Kango schreibt; er ist wegen seines klaren chinesischen Stiles von seinen Landsleuten ebenso geschätzt, wie als Kanzelredner.

Takakusu Junjirō, der das R.'sche Buch erwähnt.

Haga Yaichi und Ueda Mannen (s. oben).

Am Schluß der Vorreden und am Anfang der erwähnten sehr gut ausgeführten Bildertafeln ist eine in Indien aufgenommene Photographie von Oda Tokunō eingefügt und ein Lebenslauf des Mannes, dessen ehrgeizige Bitterkeit nur in der Arbeit an diesem Lexikon Linderung gefunden haben soll; sein Manuskript verließ ihn selbst beim mehrmaligen Übersiedeln ins Krankenhaus und wieder in seine Wohnung nicht. Der Lebenslauf zeigt die Vielseitigkeit der Studien Odas und wirft Streiflichter auf seine eigenartige Persönlichkeit; er lautet in Übersetzung:

„Kurze Lebensgeschichte des Gikō 擬講, Sōzu 僧都<sup>4</sup>, Oda Tokunō Shī 織田得能師.

<sup>1</sup> Diese Lesart s. Pap. 377.

<sup>2</sup> 詰一哲ヲテtsu, Kwato 178. (s. Abkürzgn. Anl. VII, S. 239, z. 6.)

<sup>3</sup> Ōtani ist Familienname (Pap. 381); Kōen entspricht dem „Vornamen“ (名 na). Guhō ist der Name des Kirchenfürsten als Kalligraph. Als Hokku-Dichter heißt er 句佛 Kubutsu. Als Oberhaupt seines Tempels und Sektenzweigs (法主ホフツシユ hōshū) heißt er 彰如上人シヤウニヨシヤウニシ Shūnyōshōnin (s. auch „The Eastern Buddhist“, Kyōto 1921, S. 253 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Die Reihenfolge dieser Titel in der Shinshū ist zurzeit (nach Mitteilung eines Professors an der Hochschule der Sekte in Kyōto) folgende (s. auch S. 210, Anm. 3—5):

Sein Kindername war Sada 貞. — Sein (chinesischer) Dichtername Unkei 雲溪. — Er wurde geboren am 3. Oktober 1860 als einer der drei Söhne von Ikuta Ekai 生田恵海, Oberverwalter des Gwankōji 観香寺 von der Shinshū Ōtaniha im (Ōaza) Namiyose 波寄 im Dorfe Uzura 鵜村 im Sakaigun 坂井郡, Echizen. 1870 trat er, elfjährig, in die Klosterschule des Fukui betsuin 福井別院 (in Fukui, wo sich von jedem der beiden Zweige der Shinshū ein Tempel befindet) ein. 1871, im März, empfing er im Honzan (= Higashi-Hongwanji) die Weihen und wurde in die Liste der (Priester der) Sekte aufgenommen. 1877 trat er in das Lehrerseminar des Fukuiken (in Fukui) ein. 1879 nach Abschluß dieser Schule erhielt er (im September) einen Lehrauftrag als Hilfslehrer am Lehrerseminar und an der Fukui-Chūgakkō; daneben trieb er unter Tomita Kōseki 富田厚積<sup>1</sup> und Shiga Arisaku 滋賀有作<sup>1</sup> die chinesischen (klassischen) Wissenschaften. 1882 gab er wegen Meinungsverschiedenheiten mit dem Schulvorstand seinen Lehrerposten an der Chūgakkō auf, ging nach Kyōto und trat dort in das Takakura-Priesterseminar (jetzt, wenn auch in geänderter Form, die Shinshūdaigaku) ein. 1883 studierte er bei Ikehara Gajū 池原雅壽<sup>1</sup>, der in Uwozu 魚津 in Etchū (Toyamaken) lebt, die beiden Śāstras Yuishiki 唯識 (B. N. 1239 Mahāyāna vidyāmātra śāstra) und Kusha 俱舍 (B. N. 1267 Abhidharma kośa śāstra). 1885 trat er in den Tempel Kōkiji 高貴寺<sup>2</sup>

1. Der oberste Rang ist Kōshi 講師 カウシ; diesen Rang, entsprechend dem ursprünglichen Sinu „Vorleser“ (der heiligen Schriften), bekleidet stets ein Geistlicher und Gelehrter, zurzeit der Rektor, Banyū Nanjō.

2. Der zweithöchste Rang ist shikōshi 副講師 シカウシ, der „stellvertretende Vorleser“. Diesen Rang bekleidet zurzeit Sasaki Gassho 佐々本月樵, der verdiente Biograph Shinran Shōnin und Hauptherausgeber der Monatsschrift „The Eastern Buddhist“.

3. Der dritthöchste Rang ist gikō 擬講師 ギカウ, der „Ersatz- (oder Vize-) Vorleser“.

Es sind dies alles reine Titel geworden, nicht mehr Amtsbezeichnungen. — Rangbezeichnungen und Titel haben während der Lebenszeit Ōda Tokunōs mehr als eine Umbildung und Neuordnung erfahren; es würde im Rahmen eines Lebenslaufs zu weit führen, darauf im einzelnen einzugehen, würde auch zu weiteren hier gar nicht zu erörternden Fragen führen.

<sup>1</sup> Nicht i. R. oder Jimmeijishō. — Nach den Namen zu schließen, dürfte Ikehara Priester, Shiga und Tomita wahrscheinlich Kangakusha gewesen sein; näheres war nicht zu ermitteln.

<sup>2</sup> Tempel der Shingonrisschū; der Tempelname soll auf Kōbō Daishi zurückgehen; Jian (s. unten) hat auch dort gelebt.



im Katsuragisan 葛城山<sup>1</sup> in Kawachi ein, studierte Shūbun- (B. N. 1117 Caturvarga-vinayapīṭaka) und Daijōritsu (B. N. 1082—1106 Vinaya des Mahāyāna) und durchforschte die nachgelassenen Schriften von Jūn 慈雲<sup>2</sup> (1718—1804, von der Shingon-Sekte). Juni 1885 studierte er wieder bei Gajū; auf einer Reise nach Tōkyō aber blieb er, der Aufforderung eines alten Freundes, eines gewissen Shimizu, folgend, in Ise und trat in die Kaiteisha 階梯舎 (nicht i. R. u. Oda — eine Schule? in Ise) ein. 1887, Januar, kam er nach Tōkyō und sah sich freundschaftlich aufgenommen von Shimaji Mokurō 島地默雷 (mit Ōsu Tetsunen 大淵鐵然 und Akamatsu Renjō 赤松連城) einem der damals führenden Geister im japanischen Buddhismus); er wohnte bei ihm und stellte mit ihm zusammen ein Manuskript „Kurze Geschichte des Buddhismus in den drei Ländern“ fertig. 1889, Februar, wurde er zum Kengakugotōgakushi 兼學五等學師<sup>3</sup> ernannt und begleitete in demselben Jahre den siamesischen Bevollmächtigten Botschafter Phāyabasuvongsā (?), der nach Siam zurückkehrte; in Siam reiste er dann herum und lernte Lage und Verhältnisse des südlichen Buddhismus kennen. 1890, Juni, als Prinz Phanū-rāngsī (?) nach Japan reiste, kehrte er in dessen Gefolge nach Hause zurück. Bei dieser Gelegenheit brachte er über 60 Bände des Baiyō kyōten 貝葉經典 (Palmblatt-Kanon, der sich jetzt im Kōkiji, siehe oben, befindet und nächst den nepalesischen MSS. als ältester existierender Kanon gilt), mehrere Buddhastatuen und heilige Stūpas mit nach Japan. 1891, am 4. Januar, erhielt er den Titel Gonchū-jōkyō 權中助教<sup>4</sup> und trat am 19. Februar in den Ryūgesan-

<sup>1</sup> Katsuragisan (Pap. 304): 665 n. Chr. soll En no Shōkaku sich für 30 Jahre dahin zurückgezogen haben.

<sup>2</sup> Bedeutender Kenner des Sanskrit. Sein Lexikon Bongakushinryō 梵學津梁 Wegweiser der Sanskritwissenschaft in 1000 kwan ist bekannt. — Das Sangoku Bakkyō ryakushi (s. unten) ist erwähnt in H. Haas, Annalen des japanischen Buddhismus, Mitt. d. d. Ges. f. N. u. V. O. Asiens, Bd. XI, p. 282; Oda wird dort allerdings (nur in Umschrift) „Ikoma Tokumō“ genannt.

<sup>3</sup> „Professor der 5. Klasse der vereinigten Wissenschaften“ (Th. J. I, 432), das heißt der acht buddhistischen Sekten. Bis in das Heian-Zeltalter waren in Nara der Kōfukūji (jetzt Hossō), der Tōdaiji (jetzt Kegon) und der Hōryūji (früher Sanron, jetzt Hossō) „Hashū kengaku no tera“. Später bezeichnete man noch einige Zeit lang einzelne gelehrte Geistliche an diesen und auch anderen Orten als „Hashūkengaku no hōin“.

<sup>4</sup> „Vorläufiger mittlerer Hilfslehrer“; ein bloßer Titel.

Eine ungefähre Übersicht der in der Meiji-Zeit zur Anwendung kommenden Ge-

Sōonji (Shūonji?) 立花山宗恩寺<sup>1</sup> ein im Matsukiyo-松清 Viertel in Asakusa. Er wurde Oberverwalter des Tempels und änderte seinen Namen in Oda. Im April wurde er unter die Dozenten der Tetsugakkwan („Schule der Philosophie“) 哲學館 (in Koishikawa, jetzige Tōyōdaigaku 東洋大學, die von Inouye Enryō 井上圓了 eingerichtete allgemeine buddhistische Hochschule) aufgenommen und erhielt im Dezember den Titel eines Gakushi vierter Klasse. 1894, April, wurde er vom Honzan mit der Durchforschung des geschichtlichen Materials der Amtszeit (lebenslanglich) des früheren Sektenoberhaupts beauftragt. Im Juli wurde er Gakushi und erhielt gleichzeitig den Titel Chūjokyō 中助教. 1897, Juli, wurde ihm das Amt eines サンシエ 贊衆<sup>2</sup> sanshu übertragen. 1898, November, hatte er über die Frage des Geistlichen des Sugamo-Gefängnisses 巢鴨監獄 (Tōkyō) gelegentlich mit Ishikawa Shuntai 石川舜台 (vom Hongwanji-Kapitel) und anderen einige Meinungsverschiedenheiten, gab daher den Gaku-Grad und sein Amt in der Sekte auf. Vom April 1899 ab arbeitete er an der Zusammenstellung des Bukkyō daijiten. 1900, im März, reiste er nach China und machte von da mit dem inzwischen verstorbenen Okakura Kakuzō 岡倉覺三<sup>3</sup> eine Studienreise nach Indien; am 10. April 1901 kehrte er nach Japan zurück. Hier erhielt er erneut die Ernennung

lehrtengrade, die sich natürlich kaum übersetzen lassen, ist folgende (nach Dr. R. Koya, Yokohama):

得業	權	正	權	正	權	正	權	正	權	正	權	正	權	正	勸
小	小	中	中	大	大	小	小	中	中	大	大	小	小	中	學
補	補	補	補	補	補	助	助	助	助	助	助	司	司	司	(etwa 博士)
教	教	教	教	教	教	教	教	教	教	教	教	教	教	教	hakushi)
gon	shō shō	gon	shō chū	gon	shō	gon	shō shō	gon	shō chū	gon	shō	gon	shō	gon	höchster
„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	Gelehrten-
„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	grad in der
„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	Shinshū.
															kyō

Diese (theoretischen) Stufen wurden meist nicht regelmäßig eingehalten; die 中 oder 小 Stufen auf andere fielen zeitweise fort oder wurden übergangen bei Beförderungen. — S. auch R. 41, c. 24; Bten. 789 bezw. 791; Brin. 503; Ir. II, 244; Shi. 1576.

<sup>1</sup> Wahrscheinlich einer der Tempel im Gelände des der Shinshū gehörigen Higashi Hongwanji-betsuin in Tōkyō; (nicht I. R. u. Oda).

<sup>2</sup> Nicht I. R. u. Oda. — Nach mündlichen japanischen Angaben „ein Amt“.

J. n. Japan Yearbook 1912, 107 f.



zum Gakushi und gleichzeitig den Titel Rissshi 律師<sup>1</sup>; d. 25. April wurde er wieder durch Erlaß des Hosshū zum Oberverwalter des Sōonji bestellt. 1905, September, wurde er Gonsōzu 権僧都<sup>2</sup>. 1906, Juni, kam er mit Mittelohrentzündung ins Kanasugi-Krankenhaus in Surugadai, Kanda (Tōkyō) in chirurgische Behandlung des Chefarzts und konnte Mitte September aus dem Krankenhaus entlassen werden. 1907, Februar, erhielt er den Titel Gikō (s. oben S. 207); im Sommer kam er wegen Gehirn- und Rückenmarksentzündung in das Sugamo-Gehirnkrankenhaus; zuerst trat Besserung ein, weil die Krankheit aber schließlich nicht geheilt werden konnte, starb er am 18. August. Sein irdisches Dasein hat nur 52 Jahre erreicht. Als die Nachricht von der Bedenklichkeit seines Zustandes im Honzan eintraf, wurde er von Sr. Eminenz dem Hosshū am Abend des 18. August besonders zum Sōzu 僧都<sup>3</sup> erhoben.<sup>4</sup>

Dies sind die Daten aus dem kurzen Leben desjenigen Japaners, dem die buddhistische Lexikographie wohl die gewaltigste moderne Arbeitsleistung eines einzelnen verdankt. Oda stand in seinem Bestreben, für Japan auch auf dem lexikalischen Gebiet im Buddhismus die führende Rolle zu gewinnen, nicht allein — ohne mit anderen etwa zusammenzuarbeiten. Aber er hat sich mit seinem 1899 begonnenen und 1917 (wenn auch erst aus dem Nachlaß und von anderen erweitert) herausgegebenen Werk, wie in einer der Vorreden seines Werkes auch hervorgehoben wird, an die Spitze der mit ihm gleiches Erstrebenden geschwungen — „wie in einem Schwarm von Wildgänsen“, in der bekannten dreieckigen Flugformation dieser Vögel, „sich einer mit kräftigen Flügelschlägen an die Spitze setzt“.

In der Bearbeitungsweise weicht Oda nicht von seinen Vorgängern wesentlich ab; er zitiert aber genauer und gibt die Herkunft seiner Zitate an (Tōkyōer Tripiṭaka 1883—85). Sein Hauptvorzug ist die größte bisher erreichte Vollständigkeit und Wissenschaftlichkeit, die auch in den drei sehr brauchbaren Indices zum Ausdruck kommt.

Geweckt durch ein lebhaftes Bedürfnis nach einem umfassenden buddhistischen Lexikon in den Kreisen des japanischen Buddhismus lag der Gedanke daran in Japan in der Luft, und während die vor-

<sup>1</sup> Eigentlich „Vinaya-Lehrer“. R. 178, 2, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Vorstufe zum Sōzu (s. unten). S. dazu Ben 791. mter ソウガウ僧綱.

<sup>3</sup> Hier ein reiner Titel; ursprünglich (H. Sh. 1579 u. 1580) eine auf die Kaiserin Suiko (593—628) zurückgehende hohe geistliche Amtsbezeichnung. S. auch Haas, Ann. d. J. Buddh. I. Mitt. d. d. Ges. f. N. u. V. O. 1908, S. 300 u. Florenz. Shinbō S. 331.

genannten Werke ihrer Vollendung entgegengingen, wurde auch in Kyôto vom Nishi-Hongwanji ein „*Bukkyô daijû*“ in der *Bukkyô Daigaku* bearbeitet. Der Werdegang dieses Werkes soll folgender gewesen sein: Am 28. November 1911, nach japanischer Rechnung dem 650. Todestag von Shinran-Shônin, dem Begründer der Shin-Sekte, beschloß der damalige Hosshû des Nishi-Hongwanji, Ôtani Kôzui 大谷光瑞, zu Ehren dieses Tages einen Entwurf für das größte und vollkommenste buddhistische Lexikon der Verwirklichung zuzuführen. Band I des auf drei Bände berechneten Werkes muß verhältnismäßig schnell fertiggestellt worden sein; er ist angeblich schon 1913 erschienen. Der zweite und dritte Band sollen 1923 fertig vorliegen. Durch den Rücktritt des mit dem Entwurf in Verbindung stehenden Hosshû hatte die Arbeit an dem Werk eine Unterbrechung erlitten; die Vollendung des monumentalen Unternehmens soll aber gesichert sein. Der Titel lautet „*Bukkyô Daigaku Bukkyô daijû*“; ein genauer Index in besonderem Band soll noch folgen. Das Werk will in gewissem Gegensatz zu der strengen Wissenschaftlichkeit des Ôda'schen Buches mehr populär sein (s. *The Eastern Buddhist* I, S. 91).

Die Lexika von Oda und vom Nishi-Hongwanji benutzen natürlich alle Vorarbeiten, unter anderen auch das Werk von R.: sie werden es wohl auch in mancher Hinsicht übertreffen, aber überflüssig machen werden sie es nicht. Die in ihrer Anordnung nach Klassenzeichen für den abendländischen Gelehrten am schnellsten benutzbare R.'sche Arbeit behält darin ihre selbständige Bedeutung, zum mindesten vor Oda, der für die chinesischen Zeichen leider auch nur über einen Index in der unbequemen Strichzahlordnung verfügt. Es wäre sehr zu wünschen, daß das dreibändige Werk des Nishi-Hongwanji auch einen Index in der R.'schen Form, also nach Klassenzeichen, bekäme.

Alle vorstehend genannten Werke können ohne weiteres in den von R. für sein Werk gezogenen Rahmen mitaufgenommen werden; ohne Schwierigkeiten ließe sich ihr Gesamtinhalt in das R.'sche Buch übertragen. Auch würde die Aufnahme jedes einzelnen Werkes ein in sich abgeschlossenes Ganzes für die Ergänzung bedeuten.

Wie zu Anfang gesagt, und wie von allen bisherigen Lexika schon angestrebt, namentlich auch im Oda durch eine ungeheuere Anzahl von Zitaten dargetan, bleibt die größte Aufgabe die Zurückführung auf die Quelle des chinesischen Tripitaka. Seine Erschließung ist die Hauptaufgabe der ostasiatischen Buddhologie. Bunyiu Nanjio



hat in seinem Katalog eine erste Hauptarbeit dafür geleistet; in der Einleitung hat er die wichtigsten Angaben über die verschiedenen, auch die in Japan vorhandenen Tripiṭaka-Ausgaben zusammengestellt.

Der letzte von Bunyio Nanjio erwähnte Tripiṭaka-Druck, der 1880—85 aus einer Vergleichung der in Japan vorhandenen chinesischen Urausgaben unter Mitarbeit der damals ersten Fachgelehrten Japans, darunter auch Shimada Bankon's, (1828—1909) hervorging, ist in 40 Sammelbänden, 418 Büchern, 1916 Teilen in 8534 kwan vom Gukyōshoin 弘教書院 (Kyōto) hergestellt und herausgegeben. Die Ausgabe zeigt bei einem Format von 228 × 150 mm eine Zeichengröße von 3 × 3 mm, Interpunktion, keine Kaciten, Lesarten über dem Text in besonderer Spalte; sie heißt in Japan Shukusatsuzōkyō 縮刷藏經; die Textanordnung ist nicht die des Kataloges von Bunyio Nanjio, man hat vielmehr eine chronologische Reihenfolge versucht;<sup>1</sup> in der Ausgabe ist das Zokuzōkyō (auch Manjizōkyō genannt, 1902—5 in Kyōto vom Zōkyōshoin gedruckt) nicht enthalten. Diese Ausgabe ist in Berlin nicht vorhanden. In Japan, wo die Ausgabe sehr bald vergriffen war, ist sie wegen ihrer Handlichkeit bei den japanischen Geistlichen und Gelehrten fast ausschließlich im Gebrauch, die danach (zum Beispiel auch Oda) zu zitieren pflegen; erwähnt ist sie in Haas, „Der Buddhismus der Japaner“ in der „Kultur der Gegenwart“ 1913, I, III, 1, 234.

Wie aus der Einleitung zu Bunyio Nanjio's Katalog hervorgeht, werden in den japanischen großen Tempeln noch Teile von manchen anderen chinesischen Ausgaben aufbewahrt. Das Bukkyō jirin gibt bei S. 530 auf einer besonderen Tafel sechs Photographien je einer Seite der folgenden sechs in Japan vorhandenen (wenn auch nicht durchweg vollständigen) Tripiṭaka-Ausgaben, die in B. N. auch genannt sind:

Kōrai- (高麗) Sō- (宋), Gen- (元), Min- (明), Tenkai- (天海) und Ōbakuhandai-zōkyō 黃檗版大藏經. Die zuletzt genannte ist die von Tetsugen 鐵眼 (B. N., XXV), dessen Lebensaufgabe und seit seiner Jugend gehegter Wunsch sie war. Er scheint auch mit besonderer Umsicht zu Werk gegangen zu sein: die Holzböcke seiner Ausgabe (die auch Tetsugenban 鐵眼版 genannt wird) hat er an einem der trockensten Orte in dem sonst so feuchten Japan, im Ōbakusan,

<sup>1</sup> Die Chikyoku, 智旭, 1635—94 bearbeitet und vorgeschlagen hat; s. B. N., XXVI, Abs. 4.

bei Uji in Yamashiro niedergelegt; sie sollen infolge davon so gut erhalten sein, daß man noch heute und zwar auf Bestellung im Mam-pukuji 萬福寺 Abdrucke davon erhalten könne.

Die einzige in Berlin — aber in 3 Exemplaren — vorhandene Tripitaka-Ausgabe ist die 1905 in Kyōto erschienene mit dem Zoku-zōkyō; sie ist mit einer nach der Ming-Type verbesserten, nach japanischer Benennung in der vierten Zeichengröße geschnittenen Letter gedruckt. Die Interpunktion der weiter oben genannten Ausgabe ist — da sie weniger dem wissenschaftlichen als dem religiösen Bedürfnis dienen soll — fortgelassen, ebenso die Lesarten. Dagegen sind Kaeriten beigelegt; mit Beziehung auf diese wird das Tripitaka in dieser Ausgabe auch Kuntendaizōkyō 訓點大藏經 genannt. Der volle Titel Dainihon daizōkyō 大日本大藏經 wird auch geändert und gekürzt in Shimpan zōkyō 新版藏經 oder Shinzō 新藏 als Bezeichnung gebraucht. Auch diese Ausgabe ist in Japan vollkommen vergriffen.

Ein Vergleich der Tripitaka-Ausgabe von 1905 mit der Bunyū Nanjio's Katalog zugrunde liegenden Ming-Ausgabe (1681) ergibt in ersterer ein Fehlen folgender Nummern B. N. 173, 450, 1387, 1423, 1424, 1534, 1536, 1539, 1619 und 1622—1662.

In dem Index von Denison Ross (Calcutta 1910) zu B. N. und K. T. 1905 fehlen B. N. 837 und B. N. 1568. Dagegen enthält die Kyōto-Ausgabe drei Sūtras, die nicht im B. N. Katalog enthalten sind, nämlich: VI, 10, c, das zwischen B. N. 72 und 73, XI, 2, c, das zwischen B. N. 366 und 367, und XII, 5 cc, das zwischen B. N. 483 und 484 fehlt.

Oben ist schon erwähnt worden, daß die von B. N. für den Kanon geleistete Arbeit auch für das Zokuzōkyō zu leisten eine dringende Aufgabe der Tripitaka-Forschung darstellt.

Die Tripitaka-Herausgabe hat nun aber auch während des Krieges nicht geruht. Angeblich 1918 begann das *Kokuyakudaisōkyō* 國譯大藏經 mit monatlich einem Bande zu erscheinen. Es ist in Kanamajiri geschrieben mit dem photographierten Text der ersten Meiji-Ausgabe (s. S. 212) im Anhang zum Vergleich. Es will noch ausgesprochener als das K. T. 1905 nicht wissenschaftlichen Zwecken, sondern dem religiösen Bedürfnis dienen; daher sind auch kurzgefaßte Erklärungen schwieriger Ausdrücke, Namen usw. gelegentlich beigelegt. Vom Kyōbu 經部 sollen schon alle 12 Bände, der auf 15 Bände



geschätzte Ronbu 論部 fast ganz erschienen sein. Der Herausgeber ist die Kokushokankōkai 國書刊行會 Tokyō, Kanda, Ogawamachi 1.

Wie bekannt, fehlt in Bunyiu Nanjio's Tripitaka-Katalog ein Index der zahlreichen chinesischen Namen, Sūtra-Titel usw. in chinesischen Zeichen. Dieses viel vermißte Stichwortverzeichnis ist in Japan schon vor über 25 Jahren von dem verdienstvollen Bearbeiter des Bukkyō jirin, Fujii Sentshō, verfaßt und aus dem Nachlaß dieses Gelehrten dann herausgegeben worden: 現存日本大藏經冠字目錄 Genson Nihon daizōkyō kwanji mokuroku; Baiyōshoin, Kyōto, 1898. Geordnet nach den Kopfzeichen der Titel 冠字, wird dieser Index kurz „Fujii Mokuroku“ genannt. Da das Zokuzōkyō, wie in Bunyiu Nanjio's Katalog, auch in diesem Index keine Aufnahme gefunden hat, so wäre um so mehr zu wünschen gewesen, daß R. in seinem Buch wenigstens die Titel der einzelnen Schriften noch mitverarbeitet hätte; wertvolle Aufschließungsarbeit wäre damit geleistet worden.

Ein vollständiger Gesamtindex von Namen und Stichworten zum Tripitaka, ein Daizōkyōsakuin 大藏經索引 mit genauer Stellenangabe — das große Desideratum jedes Buddhologen — existiert anscheinend noch nicht. Jedoch wird aus Japan berichtet, daß ein buddhistischer Geistlicher, Kawakami Kozan 川上孤山 im Shunkōin 春光院 im Myōshinji 妙心寺 in Kyōto (Rinzai-Zweig der Zen-Sekte) diese gewaltige Arbeit in der Handschrift beendet habe und nur noch einen Verleger suche, der die auch in Japan gestiegenen Druckkosten und das Risiko der Herausgabe trägt. Es wäre zu wünschen, daß dieses Werk, das für die abendländische Tripitaka-Forschung von einzigartiger Wichtigkeit sein kann, einer sachverständigen Prüfung durch eine europäische wissenschaftliche Akademie unterzogen und lohnendenfalls die Drucklegung angeregt und womöglich unterstützt wurde; es liegt auf der Hand, daß ein solcher Tripitaka-Index als Schlüssel zu dem sonst so mühsam zugänglichen gewaltigen Kanon von außerordentlicher Bedeutung ist, wenn er nur alle erforderlichen Stichworte nach brauchbaren Kategorien geordnet und zweckmäßig bearbeitet aufweist.

Weiteres bleibt daher abzuwarten. Dagegen sind als Vorarbeiten irgendwelcher Art in Betracht kommende buddhistische Veröffentlichungen wohl im Auge zu behalten.

In diesem Zusammenhang sind eine Reihe reichhaltiger, in der

gottesdienstlichen Praxis der einzelnen Sekten viel gebrauchter *Handbücher des Tōkyōer Verlages Mugasambo* zu nennen

das *Shinshūseiten* 眞宗聖典 von Kōkōdō 浩々洞,<sup>1</sup>

das *Jōdoshūseiten* 淨土宗聖典 von Mochizuki Shinkō,

das *Nichirenshūseiten* 日蓮宗聖典 von Shibata Ichinō 柴田一能 und Yamada Ichiei 山田一英.

das *Zenshūseiten* 禪宗聖典 von Kuruma Takudō 來馬琢道 und

das *Shingonshūseiten* 眞言宗聖典, von Nagamatsu Shunkyō 長松俊恭.

Diese Bücher in kleinem, handlichem Format, etwa 1000 bis 1300 Seiten stark, geben jeweils zuerst die für die betr. Sekte kanonisierten Sūtras (chinesisch), die rituellen Vorschriften und Werke der Sektenpatriarchen (chinesisch oder japanisch), dann Erläuterungsschriften zum Verständnis der Lehre, in erster Linie japanische Übersetzungen der chinesischen Sūtras und zutreffendenfalls die meist in Kango abgefaßten Werke der Patriarchen (Briefe, Gespräche), philosophische Darstellungen der Lehre und anderes, Gebete, Messtexte; Ergänzungen, zum Beispiel in späteren Auflagen aus den Werken der Patriarchen, bilden den Schlußteil; überall begleitende Kana. Auf den besten Quellen beruhende, sorgfältige Bearbeitung, vergleichsweise große Vollständigkeit und praktische Handlichkeit werden den erschienenen Bänden besonders nachgerühmt. Leider fehlt den Bänden ein Index, den das nur für den japanischen Theologen berechnete Inhaltsverzeichnis nicht ersetzen kann.

Ein eingehendes Durchgehen der Inhaltsverzeichnisse dieser Sektenhandbücher an der Hand des Katalogs von Bunyiu Nanjio ist aber auch schon lohnend, gewährt einen Einblick in die historische und theologische Bedeutung einzelner Sūtras oder Śāstras und hebt sie mit gewissermaßen persönlichen Zügen aus der Masse des Kanons heraus. Darin liegt ihre Bedeutung als Studienmaterial, — nicht nur für den ostasiatischen, sondern auch für den indischen Buddhologen.

Sehr zu bedauern ist, daß nach dem Eingehen des von berufenen Japanern herausgegebenen (englisch geschriebenen) Hanseizasshi keine derartig vielseitige Sammel-Zeitschrift mehr den an ostasiatischem Kulturleben interessierten Orientalisten — einerlei ob Indien, Zentral-

<sup>1</sup> Hinter diesem Namen verbergen sich dieselben Verfasser wie beim Bakkyō jiten (s. S. 197).



oder Ostasien sein Arbeitsgebiet ist —, auf dem laufenden hält. Ob der mehrfach zitierte „The Eastern Buddhist“, eine englisch geschriebene Zweimonatsschrift<sup>1</sup> für Mahāyāna-Buddhismus (Kyōto, 1921, 1. Jahrg. — jährlich 6 V.) dafür in Betracht kommt, muß abgewartet werden. Die Zeitschrift versucht auch auf buddhistische Neuerscheinungen aufmerksam zu machen und sollte ihre „Book Reviews“ vielmehr ausbauen; sie leistete damit ihrer Heimat Japan einen großen Dienst, deren wissenschaftliches Eigenleben in Europa viel zu wenig bekannt ist. Denn schon aus den bisherigen Bücheranzeigen und Besprechungen der neuesten japanischen Veröffentlichungen ergibt sich deren einzigartige Bedeutung für die gesamte Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte Ost- und Zentralasiens.

Aus der Gesamtheit der vorstehenden Darlegungen geht aber vor allem hervor, daß, wer an den bedeutungsvollen Problemen des ostasiatischen Buddhismus mitarbeiten will, sich der Tatsache der japanischen wissenschaftlichen Führung auf diesen Gebieten nicht verschließen kann und im Interesse seiner eigenen Arbeit die japanische Mitarbeit und ihre neuen wissenschaftlichen Hilfsmittel berücksichtigen muß.

<sup>1</sup> Vom Herbst 1923 ab als Vierteljahrszeitschrift angekündigt.

## ANLAGE III

Bukkyō jiten, Tōkyō, 1909 (Abkürzung Bten.).

1. S. 810: „卒堵婆ソトバ sotoba. Sanskrit スト | バ Stūpa S. 塔タン tō.“

2. S. 873: „塔婆 tōba. S. 塔タン tō.“

3. S. 872: „Das 塔 tō oder 卒都婆ソトバ sotoba, 卒視婆ソトバ sotoba, 塔婆 tōba, 兜婆トウバ tōba, 偷婆トウバ tōba, 蘇偷婆ソトウバ sotōba, 鼓斗婆スダバ (oder シュトウバ) sotoba, 脂帝シテイ shitei, 浮都フト futo, 支提シテイ shitei usw. dargestellte Sanskritwort wird mit 方墳ハツフン hōfun, 廟ベウ byō, 大聚ダイジュ daiju, 聚相ジュサウ jusō, 高顯カウケン kōken usw. übersetzt.

Stūpa werden erbaut um Shari<sup>1</sup> darin zu bewahren, zu Opferzwecken, zur Vergeltung der empfangenen Wohltaten, zur Bezeichnung von Orten „göttlicher Wirkung“.<sup>2</sup> In den 長阿含經 Jōagongyō<sup>3</sup> (R. 478, a, 8; Bten. 906, Brin. 587, Dīrghāgama Ei. 5, B. N. 545) steht, daß man Buddha, Pratyekabuddha, den Śrāvaka und Cakravartirāja, diesen vier, Stūpas errichten soll. Nach des heiligen Buddha Eingang ins Nirvāṇa wurden die Shari in acht Teile geteilt und ihnen acht Stūpas errichtet. Späterhin wurde das Opfer der Stūpa-Errichtung in weitem Umfang geübt; Aśoka ließ in seinem Reich 84000 Stūpas errichten, so berichtet die Überlieferung. Dann gelangte der Stūpa über China nach Japan; er nahm dabei alle möglichen Gestalten an. In Indien gibt es von einstockigen bis dreizehnstöckigen alle Arten von Stockwerk-Stūpas. In unserem Lande hat Shōtoku Taishi den Fünfstock-Stupa im Shitemōji<sup>4</sup> errichtet. Außerdem gibt es ein-, zwei-, drei-, vier-, sieben-, acht-, neun- und dreizehnstöckige Stūpas. Weiter, zur Zeit der Kōken Tennō, ließ man die Hundertmalzehntausend Stūpas anfertigen; sie waren dreistöckig, viereinhalb Zoll hoch, Basisdurchmesser dreieinhalb Zoll. Zur Heian-Zeit wurden

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit: śarīra. — Ant. VI, II, S. 236.

<sup>2</sup> s. De Groot, Thūpa, 26: „göttlicher Macht, Kraft und Wirkung“.

<sup>3</sup> Auch: Chōagongyō.

<sup>4</sup> in Osaka.



Tahōtō<sup>1</sup> ((Ost-Stūpa (-Tempel) des Kōyasan)) und Sōrintō ((Enryakuji auf dem Hieizan)) errichtet. Ferner gibt es irdene Stūpas, 泥塔 デイトウ, Mubōtō 無縫塔 ムボウタフ nahtlose Stūpas ((Rantō 卵塔 ランタフ Ei-Stūpas)), Gōrinitatōba 五輪板塔婆ゴリンイタタフバ, Hōkyōintō 寶篋印塔 ハウケフイェンタフ, ferner Kakutōba 角塔婆カクタフバ, ferner Itatōba 板塔婆イタタフバ, ferner Kasatōba 笠塔婆 und noch zahlreiche andere Arten. Heutzutage werden im Volksmund sogenannte Sotoba ソトバ oder tōba, im oberen Ende Stūpa-förmig gestaltete schmale, lange Brettchen, die mit einer Sūtrastelle beschrieben sind, auf Gräbern aufgestellt.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 多寶塔, <sup>2</sup> Anlage IV, II.

## ANLAGE IV

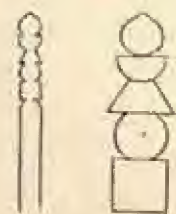
## I. Sotoba, tōba, tō.

Bukkyō jirin, Tōkyō, 1912 (Abkürzung Brin.).

1. S. 317: „卒都婆ソトバ, 卒堵婆, 卒塔婆. = tō 塔 und tōba 塔婆, wofür es die vollständige Bezeichnung ist.“

2. S. 368:

集「に『後分經』を引いていはく、『佛告阿難、佛般涅槃茶毘既訖、一切四衆收、取舍利置七寶瓶、當於拘尸那城內四衢道中、起七寶塔、高三十三層、上有輪相』と、佛滅後、諸王舍利を分ちて八分となし、塔を起して供養す。阿育王出づるに際し、八萬四千の寶塔を造り、各所の勝地にこれを設け、以て佛舍利を供養したり。我國にありては、密家に五層の塔婆を設けて、これを大日世尊の標幟なりと爲し、一般にこれを五輪の塔と呼ひ、塔を以て佛塔を示す語となすに至れり。



五輪の塔婆の圖

【塔】【塔婆】は、ともに、梵語率塔婆 (Stūpa・スツパ) の略或は偷婆ともいふ。ここに大聚・方墳・圓塚・高顯等と譯す。佛舍利を安置するところなるがゆゑに、或は佛舍利處ともいひ、また靈廟ともいふ。『翻譯名義

たふ〔塔〕  
—は〔塔婆〕

タフ塔 tō, タフバ塔婆 tōba. Tō, tōba sind beides Abkürzungen des Sanskritwortes Stūpa スツパ 率塔婆, oder 偷婆, wie man auch sagt. Hier übersetzt man es mit 大聚, große Sammlung, 方墳 Viereckgrab, 圓塚 Rundgrab, 高顯 Hohe Leuchte usw. Da es ein Ort sein kann, wo Buddha-Reliquien beigesetzt sind, nennt man sie auch busshari sho 佛舍利處, oder auch reibyō 靈廟 Seelentempel.

Im *Honyakumyōgishū*<sup>1</sup> heißt es nach dem Gobunkyō (後分經,

<sup>1</sup> (Fan-i ming-i ch'ü) B. N. 1040, VII, 3. (Auch im Anhang zu Brin.)



von B. N. 113, der letzte Teil: 大般涅槃經後分): „Buddha gebot Ananda, daß nach Buddhas Eingang ins Nirvāṇa, wenn die Verbrennung vorbei sei, alle vier Gemeinden Shari nehmen sollten und in sieben kostbare Urnen legen und in Kuśinagara mitten auf dem Vierwegekreuz einen Stūpa aus den sieben Kostbarkeiten errichten mit dreizehn Stockwerken, oben darauf einen Rinsō<sup>1</sup>.“ Nach Buddhas Hinscheiden nahmen die vier Könige die Shari, teilten sie in acht Teile, errichteten Stūpas und brachten Opfer dar. Als König Aśoka auftrat, da wurden 84000 (Schatz-)Stūpas angefertigt; überall errichtete man sie in besonders heiligen Bezirken und brachte damit den Buddha-Reliquien Opfer dar. In unserem Lande wird von (den Anhängern) der Mikkyō der Fünfstock-Stūpa errichtet und als Zeichen des Mahāvairocana angesehen, im allgemeinen aber gorin no tō (s. Bild) genannt. In dem Wort tō 塔 hat man schließlich eine Bezeichnung für den buttō 佛塔 geschaffen.“

## II. Tahōtō.

(R. 106, a, 17: Bten. 872; Brin. 366/67; Ei. 119. — Ferner Beal, Catena, S. 393, aus K. T. IX, 3, c, B. N. 134).

Brin. 366f. lautet:

„タハク多寶 tahō,

——ニヨライ多寶如來 tahōnyorai,

——ゼンシンノレイベウ多寶全身靈廟 tahō-  
zenshin no reibyō,

——タフ多寶塔 tahōtō.

*Tahō* ist eine Abkürzung von *Tahōnyorai*. Es ist Sanskrit und lautet: 鉢羅部多羅世義, Prabhūtaratna, プラフハ | タラトナ. (S. Brin. 704: ハ プ ラ フ タ ラ タ ン ナ フ als japanische Aussprache für dieselben 7 chinesischen Zeichen. — Ferner Oda 1387, 3 und Fan-i ming-i chi 1, 8.)

(Die hier im Japanischen folgende Stelle des Saddharmapundarika-Sūtra ist übersetzt bei De Groot, Thūpa S. 52, Abs. 2, Zeile 3 bis Zeile 19 einschl.).

*Tahōnyoraisenshin no reibyō*, Seelentempel des ganzen Körpers des Tahōnyorai, ist der Reliquien-Stūpa (Sharitō) des ganzen Körpers (Wesens) des Tahōnyorai. Reibyō s. unter tō 塔 (s. Anl. IV, 1). Es

<sup>1</sup> R. 448, c, 47; Bten. 1315; It. 2, 67. —

betrug nämlich der zerbröckelte Körper Śākyas acht koku, vier to; ihm wurden 84000 (Schatz-)Stūpas<sup>1</sup> errichtet und diesen Opfer dargebracht. Beim Tahōbutsu 多寶佛 wurde aber der ganze Körper nicht in Reliquien zerlegt; man brachte ihm vielmehr ein Opfer dar mit einem (Schatz-)Stūpa. Im Hokkekyō<sup>2</sup> steht, Abschnitt über das Sichtbarwerden eines (Schatz-)Stūpa: (De Groot, S. 52, Abs. 2, Z. 19f) nachdem dieser Buddha<sup>3</sup>, ((Tahōnyorai)), den Weg vollbracht hatte, zur Zeit als er ins Nirvāṇa eingehen wollte, da sprach er in einer großen Versammlung von Himmlischen und von Menschen zu den (vielen) Bhikṣus: wenn man nach meinem Eingang ins Nirvāṇa wünscht, meinem ganzen Körper (De Groot, Thūpa, S. 52f: „Vollständigen Wesen“) Opfer dazubringen, dann muß man einen Groß-Stūpa errichten.“ Ferner heißt es da: „Inmitten dieses (Schatz-)Stūpa befindet sich der ganze Körper des Nyorai“. (Diese Stelle war wörtlich nicht zu finden; s. De Groot, Thūpa, S. 55, Z. 11f.)

*Tahōtō* ist der Reliquien-Stūpa (Sharitō) des Tahōnyorai. Śākya Tathāgata hat auf dem Grdhrakūṭa (Brin, 867, El. 61; Watters, II, 151) das Hokkekyō gepredigt; als er bis zur Hälfte gekommen war, ließ er einen Stūpa aus den sieben Kostbarkeiten aus der Erde hervorsprudeln und in der Luft verweilen; in dem Stūpa war eine Stimme, die legte (vollends) Zeugnis ab für das von Buddha gepredigte Gesetz und sagte ihm Lob und Preis. . . .“

Es folgt nun wieder ein Stück von ein paar Zeilen aus dem oben schon zitierten Abschnitt des Myōhōrengekyō<sup>4</sup>, worin u. a. auch der Ausdruck 多寶佛塔 Tahōbūtō gebraucht ist; es zur Charakterisierung des Bukkyō jirin hier zu wiederholen ist unnötig; für Übersetzung und Erklärung des Hokkekyō, des großen esoterischen Lehrstücks, im Zusammenhang s. De Groot, Thūpa, S. 51–62.

### III. Nantenjiku.

Brin. 646 lautet:

ナンテン 南天 Nanten,

—— ———— ギク 南天竺 Nantenjiku.

<sup>1</sup> 寶塔 ハクタクフ hōtō (chin. pao pa) etwa „der reichgeschmückter Stūpa“ s. S. 230, Anm. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Saddharmapundarika-Sūtra; R. N. 134, = Myōhōrengekyō. (Brin, St. Bild. P. S. 58).

<sup>3</sup> „佛 (多寶如來)“ steht im Text, auch des Sūtra, s. De Groot, Thūpa, 52, Anm. 3. — „Bodhisattva“, s. Oda 1116, 3.



*Nanten* ist eine Abkürzung von *Nantenjiku*; so heißt Süd-Indien. Unter den fünf Ländern des Ostens, Westens, Südens, Nordens und der Mitte von Indien ist es das südindische Reich, woher Nāgārjuna, (B. N. Sp. 369, 3), Dharmatrāta (B. N. Sp. 375, 31), Dharmapāla (B. N. Sp. 373, 16), und alle die großen Bodhisattvas herkamen.

*Nanten no tetto* stammt aus der Überlieferung, wonach der Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna die Shingonhikyō (R. 352, a, 20: Bten. 1096: „Dainichikyō“, Soshitsujikyō<sup>1</sup> und die anderen kanonischen Schriften der Shingonhimitsu 眞言祕密. S. auch Anl. IV, iv.) der Nachwelt überliefert hat; (dazu) heißt es in Kōbō Daishi's Fuhōden<sup>2</sup> (Shi. 785 ist dies Werk nicht besonders unter denen von Kōbō Daishi genannt): Nach des Śākya Tathāgata Verschwinden und Verwandlung gab es innerhalb von 800 Jahren einen Bodhisattva namens Nāgārjuna . . . Um die Sūtras zu holen, begab er sich ins Innere des im Lande Nantenjiku befindlichen Eisenstūpas und empfing das Dainichikyō (B. N. 530) und andere heilige geheime Schriften. — Über den Eisenstūpa ist viel geschrieben worden, es ist aber schwierig, in der Frage zu einer bestimmten Entscheidung zu kommen. Man darf aber wohl annehmen, daß darunter zu verstehen ist der eine große wunderkräftige Stūpa — allgemein, eines einheitlichen Herzens aller Lebewesen, — und im besonderen, der Stūpa im Inneren des eigenen Herzens des Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna.“ Soweit Brin. S. 646.

Bei A. Lloyd, Manichaeism and Kōbō, Trasoj, XXXV, S. 207, wird der Eisenstūpa auch erwähnt. — Desgl. s. Shingonshūseiten 1501 f.

#### IV. Shingon.

Brin. 382f lautet:

„シ シ ゲン 眞言 Shingon,

—— — タラニシエウ 眞言陀羅尼宗 Shingondhā-  
raṇishū,

—— — シエウ 眞言宗 Shingonshū.

—— — ノシチソ 眞言七祖 Shingon no shichiso.

—— — シエウノジフニリウ 眞言宗ノ十二流  
Shingonshū no jūni ryū.

<sup>1</sup> B. N. 530; — 532. — S. Shingonshūseiten (s. oben S. 215) S. 1 ff. a. 272 ff. die japanischen Übersetzungen.

<sup>2</sup> 付法傳フモフデン s. Hlm. 960.

„シシゴシジヤウジヨウノヒホフ 眞言上乘ノ祕法  
Shingon jōjō no hihō.

—— — ノミチ 眞言ノ道 Shingon no michi.

—— — ヒミツ 眞言祕密 Shingon himitsu.

—— — メウテン 眞言妙典 Shingon myōten.

—— — サンブキヤウ 眞言三都經 Shingon sambu-  
kyō.

—— — ショ 眞言書 Shingonsho.

—— — ゲラニ 眞言陀羅尼 Shingon darāṇi.

—— — シクワン 眞言止觀 Shingon shikwan.

—— — ノフカキヌクハフ 眞言ノ深キ妙法 Shingon  
no fukaki myōhō.

—— — ノダイアシヤリ 眞言ノ大阿闍梨 Shingon  
no daiachari.

—— — シ 眞言師 Shingonshi.

*Shingon* ist eine Bezeichnung für wahrhaftiges Wort und (wahrhaftige) Rede. Es gehört zu den „Wortgeheimnissen 語密 gomitsu“ in den „drei Geheimnissen des Dainichinyorai 大日如來三密, d. h. es ist die von ihm selbst für seine Anhänger mit genau dem Sinn gleichen, wahren Worten gepredigte, nur von Buddha zu Buddha (verständliche) Lehre. Im Kongōchōfumbetsushōikyō<sup>1</sup> heißt es: Das Wesentliche der *Shingon-dhāraṇī* besteht in der Lehre aller Nyorai-geheimnisse und in einem Lehrweg, bezeugt und geschaffen von einer heiligen, zur wahren Erkenntnis durchgedrungenen Weisheit. Diese Shingon-Lehre hat 700 Jahre nach Buddhas Eingang ins Nirvāṇa der Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna, den südindischen Eisen-Stūpa öffnend und den Vajrasattva in Person antreffend, zuerst empfangen; dieser soll sie aber tatsächlich von Dainichinyorai erhalten haben. Von Nāgārjuna über Nāgabodhi, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, Śubhakarasiṃha (Zemmui) auf Keikwa<sup>2</sup> übergehend kam sie auf den Japaner Kōbō; dies sind die *sieben Shingon-Patriarchen*.

Die Lehre beruht auf den zwei großen Sūtras, Dainichikyō und Kongōchōkyō (B. N. 530 u. 1355) und besteht darin, mittels der

<sup>1</sup> 金剛頂分別聖位經 Nicht in B. N. Oda, Fujii mokuroku. Shingonshūzeiten (S. 215) unter dieser Bezeichnung.

<sup>2</sup> 慧東 エイクワ Eikwa (klassisch: ケイクワ Keikwa): R. 200, h. 45; Men. 111. — Fujishima, Bouddhisme Japonais, 83.



mehrenden und bewahrenden Kräfte der Geheim-Dhāraṇī einen unmittelbar körperlich zum vollkommenen Buddha werden zu lassen.

Für Japan hat Kōbō Daishi, der im 23. Jahre Enryaku (zwischen 15. 2. 804 und 2. 2. 805) nach China kam, dort von Keikwa die Lehre empfangen. Im 7. Jahre Kōnin (zwischen 2. 2. 816 und 20. 1. 817) hat er in Kii auf dem Kōyasan den Kongōbuji gegründet und so die Sekte vollendet. Kōbō Daishi hat das 十住心論 Jūjūshinron<sup>1</sup> verfaßt, darin alle Lehren kritisch verglichen und erläutert, die Geheimnisse des Kongōkai- und des Taizōkai-Mandara 金胎曼荼羅ノ奥祕 eröffnet und hat gelehrt, mit dem von Vater und Mutter geborenen Leibe unmittelbar körperlich Buddha zu werden, entsprechend dem Grade, in dem wir die „drei Geheimnisse“ (身語意) mehrten und bewahren, wenn wir unsere drei Geheimnisse und die drei Geheimnisse des Dainichinyorai in Übereinstimmung bringen. Kōbōs Kleid und Schale erbten die zehn Patriarchen; Gennin 源仁 war der zehnte von ihnen. Unter und nach Gennin lebten (noch) die zwei Patriarchen Yakushin 益信 und Shōbō 聖寶; ersterer gründete die Hirosawaryū 廣澤流, letzterer die Onoryū 小野流, dann trennte sich die erstere in sechs Zweige, und auch die letztere trieb sechs Schößlinge; dies sind die sogenannten 12 Shingouryū.

Vorstehendes sind die (äußeren) Tatsachen.

In der Geschichte der Lehre bildeten sich zwei, eine alte und eine neue Deutung heraus: die alte ist die auf dem Kōyasan, und die neue ist die von Kakuban Shōnin,<sup>2</sup> der, aus der Hirosawaryū hervorgegangen, in Kii auf dem Negoro eine eigene Lehre begründete.

Die höhere Geheimlehre des Shingon ist folgende: Weil Shingon die Lehre ist des Wissens durch das eigene innere Erleben, im eigenen Dharma-Körper, ist es unter allen Lehren das vollendetste Heilmittel und eine wundervolle Wahrheit von den Geheimnissen der vollen Buddhaschaft, welche der noch nicht Buddha gewordene (noch gebundene) Mensch gar nicht ergründen kann. Man nennt diese Lehre den Pfad des Shingon.

Von Shingon-Geheimnissen spricht man, weil das Tor dieser Lehre das Tor eines wunderbar, unsichtbar, tief geheimnisvollen Gesetzes ist,

<sup>1</sup> R. 28, a, 14: Iten. 533; Brin. 366, Hin. 447.

<sup>2</sup> 覺鑒上人 R. 422, c. 34: Brin. 110.

das die drei Geheimnisse des Dainichinyorai zu seinem wesentlichsten Inhalt macht.

Zum *Shingon myōten* 真言妙典, dem „wundervollen Kanon des Shingon“ gehören u. a.: Das Dainichikyō, das Soshitsujikyō, und das Kongōchōkyō; man nennt sie auch *Shingon sambukyō*. Das Dainichikyō ist von Subhakarā 輪波迦羅 (B. N. Sp. 444, Nr. 154) zur T'ang-Zeit übersetzt und besteht aus sieben kwan; der vollständige Name ist 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 Daibinushanajōbutsu-chimpenkajikyō (B. N. 530) oder Daihirushanakyō. Das Kongōchōkyō ist übersetzt von „Fukū Sanzō 不空三藏“ (B. N. Sp. 444, Nr. 155);<sup>1</sup> der vollständige Name ist 金剛頂一切如來真實證大乘現證大教王經 Kongōchō issaiyōrai shinjitsushōdaijō genshōdaikyō ōkyō; es gibt davon noch andere Übersetzungen (B. N. 1017). Das Soshitsujikyō ist wie das Dainichikyō übersetzt von Subhakarā und besteht aus drei Bänden, der vollständige Name ist Soshitsujika(tsu)rakyō 蘇悉地羯羅經 (B. N. 533).

Die (*heiligen*) *Schriften des Shingon* umfassen alle Sūtras und Sastras, die vom Sinne der Shingon-Lehre handeln.

*Shingon dhāraṇī*: dhāraṇī ist Sanskrit, heißt übersetzt japanisch soji 總持 (R. 373, c. 29; Bten. 798; Brin. 510; Ir. II, 244), das bedeutet, daß ein Zeichen oder Satzteil unermessliche Dhāraṇī-Lehren enthält, aufspeichert und umfaßt; diesen, den Worten des Tathāgata dem Sinne und der wahren Wirklichkeit nach vollkommen entsprechenden Sanskritsilben gibt man den Namen soji (= Dhāraṇī); und diese sind dann, als „Shingon“, (eigentlich selbst) Dhāraṇī.

Mit *Shingon shikwan* 真言止觀 bezeichnet man zusammen Shingon mikkyō 真言密教 und Tendai kenkyō 大台顯教. Shikwan heißt in der Tendai-Sekte Kwampō 觀法 クワンポ (R. 424, c. 4; Bten. 290; Him. 233; Brin. 182; Ir. 3, 67.) und besteht im Dharma des Isshin und der Sangwan.<sup>2</sup>

Mit *Shingon no fukaki myōhō* bezeichnet man die Geheimnisse der besonderen Shingon-Lehre.

Unter *Shingon no dai ajari* versteht man das Oberhaupt bei einem der magischen Geheimlehrendienste (Gottesdienst). Ein mit dem Sinn

<sup>1</sup> Amoghavajra, 705–774. — R. 5, a, 17; Bten. 1120; Brin. 728; Him. 925.

<sup>2</sup> Anscheinend ein (Druck-)Fehler für 撰

<sup>3</sup> 一心三觀ノ法 R. 185, b, 33; Bten. 53; Brin. 42. — Ferner: Bten. 943, Tendai no sangwan. — Kwampō wird vielfach Kwambō geschrieben.



der Shingon-Lehre vertrauter Eingeweihter, der die Neulinge unterweist und anleitet, heißt „ajari“; dies ist (ācārya) Sanskrit und wird mit 規範 kihan, d. h. Regler (nicht im R.) übersetzt.

*Shingonshi* heißt ein Geistlicher, der Shingon-Beschwörungsformeln vorzutragen weiß.“ Soweit Brin. 382 f.

Unter Shingonin 眞言院, (Brin. 384) wovon Shi. 1329 eine durch Plan erläuterte Beschreibung gibt, versteht man die Stelle im kaiserlichen Palast (in Kyōto), wo Shingon-Ceremonien vorgenommen wurden.

## ANLAGE V

Bukkyō iroha jiten, Nagoya 1897. (Abkürzung Ir.)

1. II, 242: „卒塔婆 ソトバ sotoba. Wird 浮圖 futo 偷婆 チラバ chuba, 私像窟 シチウバ shichūba, 塔婆 タフバ tōba genannt; ferner bildet man 卒都波 ソトバ sotoba und übersetzt es mit 圓冢 エンチヨウ enchō Rundgrab, 高顯 カウケン kōken hohe Leuchte; 聚相 ジュサウ jusō Sammlung von Lakṣaṇas, 靈廟 リョウメウ ryōmyō Seelentempel; s. to. — Im Nirvāṇa-Sūtra (B. N. 113, 114) steht: „Wer auch (nur) einen Sotoba erblickt hat, der ist auf ewig entrückt den drei Abteilungen der Hölle; ganz zu schweigen von denen, die (Stūpas) anfertigen oder errichten, die werden gewiß (wieder-)geboren im Paradies.“ (Im Wortlaut nicht aufgefunden.) — Im Hsi-yü-chi heißt es: „östlich der Stadt Hikatsuri (Nicht im R.) steht ein großer Stūpa (卒塔婆), dort ist Kṣāntirṣi (R. 188, a, 45; Ei. 75) vom König Kali verstümmelt worden.“

Bem. Vergl. dazu den entsprechenden Satz im Seiiki, Bd. 1, Teil 3, S. 2; er lautet auf Deutsch: „4—5 Li östlich von Mokatsuri steht ein Stūpa, höchste Götterkraft ist (dort) sichtbar; ihn, als ein Buddha lebend, vor Alters, erbaute Kṣāntirṣi; dort von König Kali wurden ihm Glieder und Leib verstümmelt. ((Der ‚Tʼangʼ Wortstreit ist erledigt; die alte Bezeichnung ‚ka-(哥)liʼ ist falsch)).“

Die in Bd. II, S. 30 angegebenen Varianten spielen für den Vergleich der beiden „Lesarten“ keine Rolle.

Auf Einzelheiten braucht nicht eingegangen zu werden; nur ein Name — Kṣāntirṣi — ist in beiden Büchern gleich; die Schreibart für Kali ist gerade die nicht anerkannte; auch Stūpa ist verschieden geschrieben. Nähere Quellenangabe fehlt noch (nach chinesischem Vorbild)<sup>1</sup> überall im Ir. Die Zitate waren im Wortlaut nicht zu finden sind wohl nur dem Sinne nach frei zitiert oder nach einem Kommentar. —

2. II, 182: „塔婆 タフバ ist eine Abkürzung für 卒塔婆 ソトバ sotoba; s. 塔 タフ tō, Stūpa.

<sup>1</sup> s. auch S. 201, Anm. 1.



Im *Genkoshakusho*<sup>1</sup> steht: „die Gläubigen bauten einen Stūpa; am Tag als er fertig wurde, schlug der Blitz hinein und zerstörte ihn. (Danshin tōba wo tsukuru, rakusei no hi ni itarite raiden gekiha su.)“

3. II, 169: „塔タン Stūpa, auch 塔婆 タンバ tōba, 兜婆 トバ toba, 儺波 チウバ chūba, 蘇儺婆 ソチウバ sochūba, 戯斗波 ソトバ sotoba genannt oder 脂帝 レタイ shitai oder 浮都 フト futo; 支提 ジタイ shidai oder 浮圖 フト futo; alle sind irreführend.<sup>2</sup> Richtig ist 卒視婆 ソトバ<sup>3</sup> sotoba oder 卒都婆 ソトバ<sup>4</sup> sotoba, zu sagen. Man übersetzt es mit 廟 メウ myō Seelentempel oder mit 方墳 ハウフン<sup>5</sup> hōfun Viereck-Grabhügel dem Sinne nach; oder man nennt ihn: 大聚 ダイジュ<sup>6</sup> daiju große

<sup>1</sup> R. 44, c, 33: 元享釋書 Brio. 322, Brin. 202, Shi. 973. Brio. 202: „ein Buch, woran ein Mönch des Nanzenji 南禪寺, Shiten 師鍊, über zehn Jahre lang, täglich schrieb; er war unter Kaiser Godaigo, im zweiten Jahre Genkū [1322] damit fertig, überreichte es am Hofe und man weihte es dem Gebrauch des Kaisers. Von der Zeit der Kaiserin Suiko bis in die Genkō-Zeit hinein umfaßt es einen Zeitraum von über 700 Jahren; es bezieht sich auf die Lehre Sakyas und enthält die Überlieferung von Geistlichen und ihre Beurteilung in großen Zügen, auch Schilderungen außerbuddhistischer Lehren; es soll in Aufbau und Inhalt das Ch'ün-ch'ün und Shi-ki nachahmen; insgesamt 30 Bände, enthält es hervorragendes buddhistisches Material.“

<sup>2</sup> Anscheinend ist gemeint, daß die voranstehenden Umschriften, der Aussprache nach, das Wort „Stūpa“ nicht gut wiedergeben; die einzige im modernen Sinn wissenschaftliche japanische Quelle, die Kyōtoer Ausgabe des Ta T'ang Hsi yüchi (大唐西域記 jap. Dai Tō Sūkiki; Abkz. Sūkiki) schreibt stets: 卒堵波. Die Zusammenstellung Anlage 1 zeigt, wie sehr verschieden die chinesischen Versuche, das Wort Stūpa wiederzugeben, je nach Zeit, Ort und Person tatsächlich ausgefallen sind.

<sup>3</sup> Nicht i. R. Schon das erste Zeichen, das in chinesisch-japanischen Lexika höchstens gelegentlich als Abkürzung von 卒 erwähnt wird, im allgemeinen aber wie auch im Th. J. ganz fehlt, ist i. R. nicht erwähnt. Daß auch ein Werk wie Shi. eine mit diesem Zeichen beginnende Schreibweise in erster Linie aufführt, fällt auf und zeigt, daß noch 1908 wenig philologisch-historisches Studium auf den Stūpa in Japan verwendet, sondern wohl das Bukkyō iroha jiten abgeschrieben worden ist. Das neue Bukkyō daijiten von Oda (1. Aufl. 1917) ist darin ein bedeutender Fortschritt.

<sup>4</sup> Nicht i. R.

<sup>5</sup> Brin. 751 lautet: „廟 ベウ byō ist eine Übersetzung des Sanskritwortes 卒塔婆 ソタフバ sotōba, oder 塔婆 tōba; Grabhügel. 墳墓 フンボ funbo nennt man so. 塔廟 タンベウ tobyō ist eine Zusammensetzung aus einem Sanskritwort und einer chinesischen Übersetzung (davon).“ — Zu letzterem Ausdruck s. R. 100, c, 33.

<sup>6</sup> Brio. 682 lautet: „hōfun ist eine Übersetzung von 塔婆 タンバ tōba s. タン 16.“

<sup>7</sup> s. R. 382, b, 45; Ii. I. 97: 聚沙爲塔: イサエツアツメテ タフツタクル.; und Brio. 448: シュエシヤキソツタン 聚沙爲佛塔. An letztgenannter Stelle heißt es (ähnlich der Stelle im Jr.): Im Hokkekyō,

Sammlung, 聚相 ジュサウ<sup>1</sup> *jusō*, Sammlung der Lakṣaṇas oder 高顯 カウケン *kōken*, hohe Leuchte; angeblich weil die Steine usw. hoch aufgehäuft die Lakṣaṇas bilden. Was die 支提 シタイ *shidai* angeht, sollen sie nach der Niehtaufbewahrung von Reliquien so benannt sein.

In den Āgamas (Agongyō 阿含法 アゴンギヤウ) sind Regeln für zu erbauende Stūpas angegeben. Es heißt da:

„Der Pratyekabuddha versteht die Nidānas des Dharma und dringt tief in den Dharmākara ein; er kann daher gut für die Menschen und die Himmlischen zu einem Segensspender werden; daher muß man (ihm) elf Stockwerke errichten. Der Arhat, der die Abteilungen der Existenz schon erschöpft hat, wird gut für die Welt ein Segensspender, daher man ihm vier Stockwerke errichten muß. Der Cakravartirāja verwandelt mittels der zehn guten (Gelübde) die Dinge, daher muß man (ihm) einen Stūpa zwar errichten, aber noch hat er nicht alle Āryaklassen der Dreiwelt erlöst, daher bekommt er kein Stockwerk. Der Stūpa des Tathāgata muß dreizehn Stockwerke haben. Für einen Cakravartirāja soll er aus den sieben Kleinodien (zusammen) angefertigt werden; vom Arhat bis einschl. Tathāgata sollen die Stūpas mit allen Kostbarkeiten aufs vornehmste geschmückt werden.“

In dem Jūniñngyō 十二因縁經 ジフニイシエニシギヤウ<sup>2</sup> werden acht Arten von Stūpas erklärt; es heißt da:

„Entsprechend ist die Anzahl der Tauteller:<sup>3</sup> Der Buddhastūpa hat acht, der Bodhisattvastūpa sieben, der des Pratyekabuddha sechs,

in einem Satz des Abschnitts 方便 (Stück 2 des 1. Bandes) steht: Ist auch das Tun der Menschen wenig gut, so ist doch klar, daß, wenn es eine, in einem wirklichen „Kennzeichen“ notwendig vorhandene „Kausalwirkung“ gibt, es zur Vollendung des Pfades Buddhas mitwirkt, wenn man spielend kleine Steine sammelt und aus ihnen Stūpas errichtet, worin Buddhareliquien niedergelegt werden, so klein auch das dadurch zum Ausdruck kommende stilllich Gute (in dem betreffenden Menschen) sein mag. In dem (erwähnten) Satz heißt es: „Alle, die in der Kindheit spielend Steinchen sammeln und Buddhastūpas errichten, alle diese Menschen usw. haben Buddhas Pfad (schon) vollendet.“ — S. Oda 984.

<sup>1</sup> Nicht i. R.

<sup>2</sup> Sūtra von den 12 Nidānas. — B. N. 278, 1311, 1339 scheinen nicht gemeint zu sein. — In Fujimokuroku und Zokuzōkyōmoku roku nicht unter dieser Bezeichnung aufgefunden. — S. auch Baltzer, Kult. S. 283, woraus unter anderm hervorgeht, daß B. japanische buddhistische Quellen nicht selbst benutzt hat.

<sup>3</sup> 露盤 ロハシ Tauteller, R. 499, u. 26; Brin. 895; Shi. 2467 (s. タブ). De Groot, Th. S. 17, 23, 41: 承露 „Taufanfänger“. — „Vasasthāla“ s. Foucher I, 96. Es ist hier offenbar „rin“ 輪, nicht „Tauteller“ (Baltzer, Kult. S. 287 f.) gemeint.



der des Arhat fünf, der des Anagāmin vier, der des Sakṛdāgāmin drei, der des Śrotāpanna zwei, der Cakravartirāja einen, der eines Bonzen nur Bananenblätter und Feuerperle.“

In Indien hat der Tathagata selbst für Kāśyapa einen (Schatz-) Stūpa errichtet.<sup>1</sup>

In unserem Lande<sup>2</sup> hat im 14. Jahre des Kaisers Bitatsu der Ohomi Soga no Umaka no Omi<sup>3</sup> in Yamato im Kreise Takaichi (Takechi) auf dem Hügel von Ohono einen (Schatz-)Stūpa errichtet; dieser ist als der erste der in unserem Lande errichteten Stūpas zu betrachten; seine Spuren existieren noch in Wadamura. (Nicht festzustellender Ort.)

Im *Honyakumyōgishū*<sup>4</sup> heißt es: „das *Saiiki*<sup>5</sup> sagt: futo 浮圖 フト heißt entweder 倭婆チウバ chūba oder 私倭 竊レチウバ shichūba<sup>6</sup>; beides ist irreführend. Man übersetzt es mit hōfun 方墳 ハウブン oder mit enchō 圓塚 エンチョ (ウ) oder mit kōken 高顯 カウケン, oder dem Sinne nach mit reibyō 靈廟 レイベウ. Ryūshō 劉照<sup>7</sup> sagt (in seinem Buche) Shakumyō 釋名 シヤクミヤウ: das, was man miao (Ahnentempel) nennt, ist (eigentlich) mao

<sup>1</sup> Zum Ausdruck: (Schatz-)Stūpa ist zu bemerken, daß 寶塔 einfach „kostbarer“ Stūpa heißt, oder kurzweg „Stūpa“. (Schatz-)Stūpa soll nur immer deutlich machen, daß da im Text 寶塔 steht.

<sup>2</sup> Japan. — 585 n. Chr., Florenz, Shintō 314.

<sup>3</sup> R. 387, c, 26: 臣オミ Omi, Shi. 493. — Dieser Titel ist erst unter Kaiser Temmu geschaffen (Aston Nihongi II, s. 364 f; Nihonshoki, XXIX, Bl. 34; Pap. 568) nach Braunsen, am 13. November 684; es ist also ein Anachronismus, ihn hier zu gebrauchen. Die ganze Titelangabe ist ungenau; Nihonshoki XX, Bl. 11 steht der Originalname und -Titel: 蘇我大臣馬子宿禰 (Florenz, Shintō 314) Soga no Ohomi Umako no Sukune. Der Titel „Sukune“ (R. 145, b, 12; Shi. 1481) ist also durch den späteren „Omi“ unzulässiger Weise ersetzt.

<sup>4</sup> B. N. 1640; nicht i. K. T. — S. auch S. 219, Anm. 1. Über den dafür im Anhang zu Prin. vorhandenen Index s. S. 199.

<sup>5</sup> Ohne näherer Angabe war die Stelle im *Saiiki* nicht aufzufinden.

<sup>6</sup> Nicht i. R.

<sup>7</sup> 劉照 リウセウ Ryūshō, Liu Chao = 劉照 リウキ Ryūki, Liu Hai = 劉珍 リウチン Ryūchin, Liu Chün. S. Giles, Bto. 1277. Nicht i. R. Seigo S. 1392 f. gibt an: „Ein Mann aus Nanyang, unter den Späteren Han; er liebte von klein auf zu studieren; ... von seinen Werken sei erwähnt das 諫頌連珠 シンソ 諫頌連珠 (Aufgereichte Perlen zum Lob und Preis der Toten) in sieben kwan und das 釋名 シヤクミヤウ Shakumyō (Erläuterte Bezeichnungen) in 30 Kwan ...“ Zum letztgenannten s. De Groot, Sinol. Sem. S. 7, und Ts'üan 酉, 270. Nicht i. R.

(Gesichtsform) und zwar, weil darin (im miao) sich befindet die Gestalt (hsing mao) des Ahnherrn;<sup>1</sup> es ist im Sanskrit tōba. Hatchin (?) 發軔 ハタチン<sup>2</sup> sagt: im Setsumon gibt es ursprünglich das Wort nicht; Jogen 徐鉉 ジョゲン<sup>3</sup> hat es neu beigefügt und sagt: es ist der futo 浮圖 フト der westlichen Länder, das Wort futo wird dort übersetzt jusō 聚相 ジュサウ. Im Kaidanzukyō 戒壇圖經 カイダンダキヤウ<sup>4</sup> heißt es: der Ursprung dieses Zeichens 塔 タン tō ist in den Wörterbüchern unseres Landes (Chinas); es hat nämlich (nur) den Sinn der lautlichen (Wiedergabe) dafür; es ist keine ursprünglich westländische Bezeichnung; wenn man sich an das Sanskritoriginal hält, dann heißt tōba 塔婆 タフバ ein Ort, wo Buddhagebeine begraben sind.

Im *Shakushiyōran* 釋氏要覽<sup>5</sup> heißt es: das Sanskritwort tōba 塔婆 タフバ heißt hier kōken 高顯 カウケン hohe Leuchte, jetzt sagt man abgekürzt to 塔. Was im Sanskrit sotoba heißt 蘇佉婆, nennt man hier hōtō 寶塔 ハウタフ, und Sanskrit sotōba 窣堵波 heißt hier fun (chin.) 墳 フン<sup>6</sup> was tosuba 抖擻婆<sup>7</sup> genannt wird, heißt hier sandan 讚嘆<sup>8</sup> サンタン, und das futo 浮圖 フト genannte heißt hier jusō 聚相 ジュサウ Sammlung von Lakṣaṇas. Im *Saikiiki* heißt es 立表 リフヘウ ryūhyō (jap. tateta

<sup>1</sup> Diese Stelle ist ein für ältere Kommentierung typisches Beispiel einer „Erklärung“; sie beruht ganz auf dem ähnlichen Klang von miao und mao. Über Ahnentempel in China s. Boerschmanns Bilder und Zeichnungen. Über japanische Ahnentempel ist in Baltzer, Kult., leider kein besonderes Kapitel, obwohl Beispiele erwähnt werden.

<sup>2</sup> 發軔 ハタチン Hatchin (?), Fa Chén (?), vielleicht Name eines Kommentators (?), des Setsumon 說文 Shuo wén oder mit vollem Titel: 說文解字 Shuo wén chieh tzu, jap. Setsumonkaigi von 許慎 Hsü Shén, jap. Kyo Chin (1.—2. Jahrh. n. Chr.). — Nicht L. R. und anderen zugänglichen Lexika, auch nicht in Wylie und 史姓韻編 aufgefunden.

<sup>3</sup> 徐鉉 Jogen Hsü Hsüan (Pétillon, A. L., S. 281, 1) 916—991; s. Giles Bio. No. 773; Kommentator des Shuo wén.

<sup>4</sup> 戒壇圖經 カイダンダキヤウ, Kaidanzukyō; R. 205, b, 48; Brin. 94f.; „Von Tao Hsüan, jap. Dōzen 道宣 (R. N. Sp. 461 No. 21; R. 457, b, 33; Brin. 860; Ir. II, 192) Gründer der Nanzanriashū (Fujishima p. 22—33) 596—667 n. Chr. . . .“ Nicht im K. T., vielleicht unter vollständigerem Titel im Zokuzōkyō (?) Oda 167, 2 gibt auch nicht an, wo das Sūtra zu finden ist; (ein kwan).

<sup>5</sup> s. Ausgabe Kyōto 1875, 3. Teil S. 34. S. auch Anhang zu Brin.

<sup>6</sup> Eigentlich „Erdbügel“ — 塚 ナヲウ; zum Beispiel der Daiten mōji zuka 大佛耳塚 in Kyōto mit Gortatō.

<sup>7</sup> Nicht i. R.

<sup>8</sup> R. 435, c, 47; Ir. IV, 18. — „Lob u. Preis“.



shirushi).<sup>1</sup> Im *Kikiden*<sup>2</sup> steht: man stellt einen Kūla 俱攞 (Hügel)<sup>3</sup> her, indem alle zugehauene Steine aufhäufen und ihn in der Form wie einen kleinen Stūpa machen, oben ohne Rin und Baldachine. Und: Dreifachen Zweck hat Errichtung von Stūpas: einmal, die Unübertrefflichkeit eines Mannes kundzutun, sodann, die anderen Lebewesen zum Glauben zu veranlassen und drittens, der Krönung der (die Wohltaten vergeltenden) guten Werke.<sup>4</sup> Auch gibt es Stockwerke nach Klassen: ist einer Śrōtāpanna, so sind zwei, ist einer Sakṛdagāmin, so sind zwei, ist einer Anagāmin, so sind drei, ist einer Arhat, so sind vier Stockwerke das Zeichen, daß er über die Dreiwelt hinausgeschritten ist. Beim Pratyekabuddha zeigen elf Stockwerke, daß er über die Avidya, den einen Zweig (der zwölf Nidānas), noch nicht fortgeschritten ist. Und darum hat der Buddhastūpa dreizehn Stockwerke, daß man sieht, daß (Buddha) über die zwölf Nidānas fortgeschritten ist. Darum, wenn ein einfacher Bhikṣu sich tugendhaften Wandels befleißigt, dann darf er auch einen Stūpa errichtet bekommen, aber ohne Stockwerk; im Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya<sup>5</sup> steht: wenn ein den Vinaya befolgender Bhikṣu und ein Lehrer des Dharma<sup>6</sup> und ein, ein Amt bekleidender

<sup>1</sup> „Aufgerichtetes Wahrzeichen“ — nicht i. R.

<sup>2</sup> *Kikiden* = Nan hai chi kwei nei fa chuan (B. N. 1492), jap. Nankuikikioai-hōden, jedoch ist die in Frage stehende Stelle auch mit Hilfe von Takakusu's Übersetzung nicht aufzufinden; der Index bei Takakusu ist übrigens unvollständig, so fehlt unter „Stūpa“ (S. 237) die wichtige Stelle „121“; daß sie unter „T'a“ steht, genügt nicht, — 俱攞 Kūla. Nicht i. R. Oda, 315, 1. S. Takakusu, I-tsing, S. 82 u. K. T. XXIX, 10, Bl. 102, b, 1, 2, 4—5. — Zu „Rin“ s. S. 229, Anm. 3.

<sup>3</sup> s. Anlage II, B, S. 173f.

<sup>4</sup> Im Lexikon: „zwei“ — offenbar ein Druckfehler.

<sup>5</sup> R. 42, c, 28: Bten. 794 摩訶僧祇律 (abgekürzt: 僧祇ソウギ sogi). S. B. N. 1119 und Sp. 400, K. T. XVIII, 256. Mangels näherer Angaben wurde von einem Aufsuchen der Stelle abgesehen.

<sup>6</sup> 法師モフシ (ノリノシ): R. 287, b, 41; Bten. 1186; Brin. 722; Ir. I, 261; Sh. 2164; Ei. 186 フシ Brin. 677; Bten. 1052. — Brin. 772 sagt: „Ein Mönchsrang und landläufige Bezeichnung von altersher für solche, die das Gezei Buddhas verbreitet oder allgemein gelehrt haben und so zu Vorbildern geworden sind. Geht man Autoritäten für solche Bezeichnungen nach, so findet man im 十住毘婆沙論ジブデユラビバシヤロシ (R. 27, b, 18; Bten. 583. B. N. 1180): Wer da wandelt nach den vier Dogmen, der heißt ein フシ. Die vier 法 sind: 1. mit umfassender Gelehrtheit alle Ausdrücke, Kapitel und Verse beherrschen, 2. bestimmt und genau wissen die Kennzeichen von Werden und Vergehen aller Gesetze dieser und jener Welt; 3. die Weisheit des Dhyāna besitzen und in allen Sūtras und Vorschriften gehorsam nichts bestreiten; 4. nicht mehr und nicht weniger als so, wie gepredigt wird, wandeln.“

Bhikṣu<sup>1</sup> das Ansehen der Tugendhaftigkeit genießt, so müssen diese alle Stūpas errichtet bekommen; und diese Stūpas haben Aufschriften. Aber das geschieht nicht (mehr) heutzutage. Beim Nachsehen (fand ich) im Sūtra Buddhacaritra<sup>2</sup> 佛本行集經 フツホンギヤウジンキヤウ: Kāśyapa nahm, nach Buddhas Eingang ins Nirvāṇa, im Lande Vārāṇasī, dessen König Chi-li-shih<sup>3</sup> (Shirishi) hieß, die Śārira und baute mittels der sieben Kleinodien einen Stūpa, dafür machte er eine Aufschrift und nannte ihn Taseharika<sup>4</sup>, das ist Chinesisch für die zehn Lakṣaṇas.

Im *Hokkekyō*<sup>5</sup> steht: „nach Buddhas Eingang ins Nirvāṇa, errichteten alle aus den sieben Kostbarkeiten einen Stūpa und mittels Blumen und Weihrauch opferten sie den Reliquien (darin).“ Und: „da stand vor Buddha ein Stūpa aus den sieben Kleinodien.“ Und: „nun erhob sich ein unermesslicher Stūpa.“

Im *Hizōki* 秘藏記<sup>6</sup> steht: wenn Reliquien darin sind, heißen sie Sotoba 卒都婆, wenn keine Reliquien darin sind, heißen sie seitai 制底 セイタイ oder shitei 斯底 シタイ<sup>7</sup>. Die chinesischen Gelehrten kürzen (es) ab und nennen sotoba 卒都婆 ソトバ (einfach) tō 塔. Ferner heißt es im *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra* 涅槃經<sup>8</sup>: Buddha befahl Ānanda, wenn er (Buddha) ins Nirvāṇa eingegangen sei, und seine Verbrennung zu Ende sei, dann sollten alle vier Gemeinden Śāriras nehmen und in Urnen aus den sieben Kostbarkeiten legen,

<sup>1</sup> 營事比丘. Nicht i. R. Es wird hier anscheinend an einen, sei es in der Verwaltung, sei es in sonstigem Klosterdienst beschäftigten Bruder gedacht.

<sup>2</sup> Bhaiṣajyōjakya R. 31, c. 19; Bten. 1145. R. N. 680; K. T. XIV, 8 und 9. Die Stelle s. K. Tr. XIV, 9, Bl. 229 d.

<sup>3</sup> 吉利尸 (vielleicht Kṣiṭṭi R. 77, b, 7; nicht i. Oda, Watters, Saiki usw. s. K. Tr. XIV, 9, Bl. 229, d: 瘦細 (nicht i. R.).

<sup>4</sup> 達舍婆陵迦, lt. Index zu Ir.: タセハリカ; vielleicht = dāśa (婆 für 婆 7) linga. Nicht i. R. und anderen zugänglichen Lexika; auch nicht in dem in Anm. 3 genannten Sūtra aufgefunden. Solche Einzelritate sind ohne Paralleltexte kaum völlig zu erschließen.

<sup>5</sup> s. Anl. IV, II. (B. N. 134); die hier zuerst und die als dritte zitierte Stelle scheint nicht aus dem Abschnitt II des Sūtra zu sein. Die zweite Stelle ist der erste Satz von Abschnitt II; s. De Groot, Th., S. 51, Satz 1.

<sup>6</sup> s. Oda, 1461, 2: Abkürzung für B. N. 443.

<sup>7</sup> R. 60, a, 23; Bten. 748. S. auch Shakashiyōran, Teil I, S. 20, Sp. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Nicht i. R.

<sup>9</sup> Nicht i. R.

<sup>10</sup> Nehaṅgyō B. N. 113. s. Beal, Catena, S. 160–188. R. 113, b, 35.



und in der Stadt Kusinagara auf der Mitte der vier Wege aus den sieben Kostbarkeiten einen Stūpa von dreizehn Stockwerken errichten, oben mit Rin<sup>1</sup> als Kennzeichen (Lakṣaṇa).

Im *Kongōkyōshinshū* 金剛經新註<sup>2</sup> heißt es: der Stūpa ist ein Ort zum Bewahren von Reliquien.

Im *Hokkekyōkwachū* 法華經科註<sup>3</sup> heißt es: „Sanskrit Stūpa 塔婆 wird hier mit hōfun 方墳 übersetzt, oder reibyō 靈廟 レイベウ genannt. Es heißt, er befahl, an seiner Geburtsstätte, da wo er die Buddhaschaft empfing, wo er das Rad des Gesetzes drehte, und wo er ins Nirvāṇa einging, an diesen vier Orten, Stūpas zu errichten. Die derzeitigen Hōtō sind Wahrzeichen shichō 支微 レチヨウ<sup>4</sup> früher ins Nirvāṇa eingegangener Buddhas. Das Sūtra sagt Buddhas 三種 身<sup>5</sup> seien aus diesem Sūtra entstanden; alle Buddhas saßen da auf dem Bodhimanda, und drehten da das Rad des Gesetzes und gingen da ins Nirvāṇa ein. Und: „der Stūpa begreift in sich die wahren Kennzeichen (Wahrheit selbst) und ist die Grundlage des Dharmakāya.“<sup>6</sup>

Ferner heißt es im Bukkyō iroha jiten (S. 203): „Im Saddharmapūṇḍarīka-Sūtra ist Hōkyūranrabutsu 袍休蘭羅佛<sup>7</sup> mit 大寶 Daihō wiedergegeben, das ist eine andere Übersetzung für 多寶. Der 多寶大塔 Tahōdaitō der östlichen Ratnavisuddha-Welt, 東方寶淨世界 Tōhōhōjōsekai,<sup>8</sup> ist 500 Yoyanas hoch; schließlich sprudelt er zutage auf dem Bodhimanda, als das Saddharmapūṇḍarīka gepredigt wird.“

<sup>1</sup> Die „Rin 輪“ des Kūrin wurden als „sō 相“ zum Sōrin verwendet, s. S. 220, Anm. 1 u. 229, Anm. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Der Kommentar ist so wie er angegeben ist, nicht zu finden; der Index zum Zokuzyōkyō verzeichnet auf Bl. 24, 25 und 30 verschiedene Kongōkyōchū. Das kommentierte Sūtra, s. B. N. 10, 11, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Nicht L. R. und Oda; s. Index zum Zokuzyōkyō, Bl. 18 und 19.

<sup>4</sup> R. 222, a, 48; Oda 742, 3 = シ タ イ Caitya (725, 1).

<sup>5</sup> S. El. 178: Trikāya. R. 445, c. 28; Bien. 461; I r. IV, 28.

<sup>6</sup> R. 288, b, 7; Bien. 1187; Brin. 772; Ir. I, 273; El. 45. Der erste der Trikāya, El. 178.

<sup>7</sup> ハウキウランラブツ, S. Oda 1387, 3: „ハウキウランラシ Bahularatna Prabhūtaratna.“ Nicht im R. S. auch Anl. IV, II S. 220: Tahō.

<sup>8</sup> Nicht L. R. s. aber R. 149, b, 23; El. 130: „Das fabelhafte Reich des Prabhūtaratna“, ferner; R. 253, b, 30; Bien. 627 東方淨瑠璃世界 die östliche Valjārya-Welt des Yakushijōrai. (De Groot, Th., S. 50, 58.)

## ANLAGE VI

*Kokushi daifiten*. Tōkyō 1913 (Abkürzung „Shi.“).

1. S. 1970 heißt es: 如法經供養ニヨモフギヤウクヤウ.

*Wortbedeutung:* Die Opfer des Nyohōkyō (R. 128, c, 4; Bten. 1037 Brin. 669) heißen die Opfer, die man darbringt, nachdem man eine Abschrift des Hokkekyō (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra) vollendet hat. Nyohōkyō hat zwar die Bedeutung „gesetzgerecht abschreiben“, aber späterhin nannte man (*besonders*) das Abschreiben des Hokkekyō so. Hatte man also das Abschreiben des Sūtra beendet, so opferte man nach zehnfacher Vorschrift. Dies nannte man das zehnfache Opfer; die zehn Arten (der Gaben) sind: 1. Blumen; 2. Weihrauch; 3. Mālā (Perlen-, beziehungsweise Blumenhalskränze); 4. pulverisierter Weihrauch (Gr. Syn. 287); 5. Schmierweihrauch (zum Einreiben); 6. Brennweihrauch (Stäbchen); 7. seidene Schirme (Baldachine) und Fahnen; 8. Gewänder; 9. kunstvolle Musik; 10. Zusammenlegen der Hände.

*Entstehung:* Jikaku (慈覺) Daishi (794–864 n. Chr.) hat damit den Anfang gemacht. Im Eigakuyōki 叡岳要記 (Iz. I, 212, d: „Geschichte des Hieizan von der Gründung ab; Verfasser steht nicht fest“) heißt es: „Im 6. Jahre Tenchō (829 n. Chr.) hat der 36jährige Jikaku Daishi in einer hohlen Zeder (R. 260, a, 35; Bten. 744) des Shūryōgonin (首楞嚴院シユリョウゴン井ン Tempel auf dem Hieizan, s. Oda 841, 3) sich innerhalb von drei Jahren eine Grashütte geflochten, und die Rinde bildete einen rohen gewachsenen Hof. Tag und Nacht las er drei Stunden laut das Tendai- und Hokkesempo (天台法華懺法 Oda 1598, 2, R. 287, b, 23; Bten. 1181; Brin. 767; Shi. 2158). War er erst in Meditation, so bemühte er sich eifrigst, die vier Arten der Samādhi auszuführen (R. 2, a, 17). Im achten Jahre derselben Periode (831) zu Beginn des Herbstes machte er sich mit seinen eigenen himmlischen Händen aus Gras einen Pinsel, aus Stein schuf er sich Tuschke und in der Meditation das Wasser der Erkenntnis; indem er bei jedem Schriftzeichen dreimal sich zur Anbetung neigte, schrieb er das Myōhōrengekyō ab. Am 15. Tage des neunten Monats (in) der Grashütte in der hohlen Zeder flehte er inbrünstig zum Erzabt des Tōzan (當山タクザン Hieizan s. R. 333,



a, 12: Bten. 857.) Gishin (義眞ギシン R. 377, c, 36: Bten. 203: Brin. 129: Ir. IV, 53: aus Musashi, Dolmetscher Denkyō Daishī's bei dessen Fahrt nach China; dann auf dem Hieizan, wo er 633, 53 Jahre alt, starb), dem Ācārya, und dann führte er die zehn Opferarten aus usw. Späterhin wurden häufig die Nyohō-Opfer dargebracht. . ."

2. S. (2121) 1410: 佛舍利ブツシヤリ (R. 31, a, 32: Brin. 739: Shi. 2121, Buddhaśarira. Ei. 160.) シヤリ 舍利. Wortbedeutung: göttliche (heilige) Gebeine nennt man so, und Busshari ist die Bezeichnung für Gebeine Śākyas. Shari 舍利 ist eine irrtümliche Ableitung von dem indischen Wort 設利羅セツリヲ; man schreibt auch 室利羅セツリヲ (R. 142, c, 26), 設利セツリ (R. 427, c, 5) oder 實利ジツリ (R. 147, b, 25). Shari sind das, was man 身骨シシユツ nennt. Daher übersetzt man Shari auch mit 骨身コツシン oder mit 靈骨レイユツ. Gebeine „göttlicher Wirkung“, (De Groot, Thūpa, S. 4) . . . Das was nach Buddhas Eingang ins Nirvāṇa und seiner Verbrennung übrig war, sind Shari. Die acht großen „Königreiche“ (nicht i. R. Lalita-V., 1884, S. 389: Erbauer der „acht großen Caityas“. Ei. 115, 3; Oda 813, a) verteilten diese und machten sie zum Gegenstand religiöser Verehrung. In späteren Zeiten gab es viele Shari von den jüngern des Buddhismus, die ins Nirvāṇa eingegangen und verbrannt worden waren. Im *Shakushiyōran* (Teil 3, Bl. 53, b) steht: „Diese Dinge (Shari) sind die herzbewegende Vollendung (?) des (religiösen) Verdienstes, das erworben wird durch Śīla, Dhyāna, Prajñā und Wandel in Kṣānti. (此物乃是戒定慧忍行功德重成也). Das Sanskritwort 設利羅 wird jetzt in irrtümlicher Abkürzung 舍利 gesprochen, sin.-jap.: 骨身コツシン (kotsushin=ko'shin). Wenn man diese (eigentlich chinesische) Übersetzung nicht gebraucht, so liegt der Grund in der Furcht, man könnte sie als „gewöhnliche“ Gebeine verstehen. Ferner spricht man von 駄都 datsu (R. 513, b, 33: Dhātu Ei. 48), eine Bezeichnung im Sinne von „unzerstörbar“. Es gibt zwei Arten von Shari: erstens ganze Körper, zweitens Körper in Stücken; letztere haben drei (Unterarten): 1. Knochen-Shari von weißer Farbe; 2. Fleisch-Shari von roter Farbe und 3. Haar-Shari von schwarzer Farbe; nur Buddha-Shari sind fünffarbig, besitzen Wunderkraft, sind ganz massiv und unzerstörbar. Man sagt (also) 駄都 datsu; es ist ebenfalls ein Sanskritwort; auch 達摩駄都タマダツ Daruma-datsu (R. 459, a, 44: Dharmadhātu) und Dazu

脱 閻 タツ (R. 386, C. 35), ferner Hokkai (R. 287, c. 3: 法界 も  
 フツカイ: Dharmadhātu), wobei 界 kai (Welt) den Sinn von 體  
 tai (Körper) hat, das heißt es ist ein Shari vom Körper des Welt-  
 gesetzes (法身 も フツシン Hosshin, R. 288, b. 6; Darmakāya  
 El. 45, 109, 179). Buddha-Śāriṃ heißen auch Nyoraidazu 如來 顯  
 都ニヨライダツ (nicht i. R.). Überlieferung: Ob in unserem  
 Lande Buddha-Śāriṃ auf uns gekommen sind, ist nicht klar  
 ersichtlich. Im 13. Jahre des Kaisers Bitatsu empfing *Shiba Totto*  
 司馬達等シバダツトラ. Pap. 659.) Buddha-Śāriṃ  
 während eines Fastens und bot sie dem Soga Umako (R. 409, b. 24:  
 蘇我馬子ソガウマコ; Pap. 700) an. Umako schlug zur Probe  
 mit einem eisernen Hammer darauf, aber sie zerbrachen nicht; als er sie  
 ins Wasser warf, schwammen oder versanken sie nach Wunsch.  
 Daraufhin glaubte Umako fest an Buddha. Im zweiten Monat des  
 14. Jahres (des Bitatsu Tennō, 585 n. Chr.) baute er einen Shari-Stūpa  
 auf dem Hügel von Ohono (= Ōno), und es heißt, er habe die Shari  
 im oberen Ende des Hauptpfeilers zusammen niedergelegt. Das ist  
 das erste Vorkommen von Shari und der Anfang des Shari-Stūpa.  
 Später wird noch vieles mehr überliefert; alle 勅願寺チヨクク  
 ツンジ Chokuganji (R. 64, a. 27; Bten. 924: die Tempel, wo auf  
 Befehl des Kaisers die Gebete (R. 349, b. 12; Bten. 201; Brin. 128)  
 um Frieden und Schutz des Landes (R. 476, a. 4; Bten. 903) für die  
 Sicherheit der Person des Herrschers (R. 139, c. 22; Bten. 25) usw.  
 verrichtet werden — zum Beispiel Kokubunji, Hongwanji, Kōfukuji,  
 Tōdaiji und andere mehr) usw. sammelten Shari und verfehlten nicht,  
 Stūpas zu bauen. Hoch und niedrig, vornehm und gering übten die  
 lebhafteste Verehrung und Anbetung. Schließlich sollen diese Shari  
 auch noch Kinder erzeugt und ihre Anzahl vermehrt haben; solche  
 Wundergeschichten gibt es viele. Von den Buddha-Śāriṃ des  
 Tōji (R. 253, b. 15: 東寺トウジ; Shi. 1836; Pap. 773) sagt die  
 Überlieferung, sie hätten selbst ihre Anzahl vermehrt oder vermindert.  
 In der Zeit des Nordkaisertums (R. 67, c. 45: 北朝ホクチウ:  
 Shi. 2151; Pap. 197: 1336—1392 n. Chr.) sind im ganzen Reiche  
 66 Stūpa (塔婆) errichtet worden; die Buddha-Śāriṃ des Tōji wurden  
 verteilt, aufgestellt und angebetet. Bei dieser intensiven Verehrung  
 kam es dahin, daß Leute, die mit nachgemachten Shari alle Welt  
 getauscht hätten, bestraft wurden: in der Periode Kenkyū (建久ケ  
 ンキウ R. 173, a. 25; Shi. 973; Pap. 311: 1190—1198 n. Chr.) hat



Kūtai (?) (空譚クタイ. Als Personennamen nicht in R. und Oda), ein Schüler von Jūgen (重源チヨウゲン; Iz. I, 605. Chūgen: R. 469, a, 33: チヨウゲン; Bten. 924; Brin. 598; Shi. (1776) 1773 f.), der das Heischen von Gaben für den Tōdaiji leitete, wegen falscher Shari eine Strafe erhalten, wie aus dem Gyokuyō (玉葉ギョクエフ R. 321, b, 41; Shi. 773; Pap. 114: 1147—1207 n. Chr. lebte Fujiwara no Kanezane, der Verfasser dieses Tagebuches) und dem Azumakagami (吾妻鏡アヅマカガミ; R. 79, b, 27; Shi. 63; Pap. 49: japanische Geschichte von 1180—1266) hervorgeht; das ist (nur) ein Beispiel dafür. Weiteres s. unter Stūpa.“ Soweit Shi. 1410.

Zu Shari s. ferner: Genkai 495, wo von der reiskornartigen Beschaffenheit gesprochen wird; Gr. Syn. 724, 1394 f.; Iz. I, 630; Saigo 563. Th. J. I, S. 239; Busshari. Jikugo 1055. Brin. 439. Oda 813, 2.

# ANLAGE VII

## VERZEICHNIS DER BENUTZTEN LITERATUR.

### I. Wörterbücher.

#### a) chinesische und japanische:

##### Vollständiger Titel:

##### Abkürzung:

- |  |            |
|--|------------|
| 1. Tz'ü ylian 辭源, Shanghai, 1915, Commercial Press, 2Bde.                              | Tz'ü-ylian |
| 2. Ochiai Naobumi 落合直文, Kotoba no izumi (mit 2. Bd.) Tōkyō, Ōkura, 1909.               | Iz. I, II. |
| 3. Genkai 言海, Tōkyō, Yoshikawa Kōbunkwan, 1909, 700. Aufl.                             | Genkai.    |
| 4. Nihonruigō daijiten von Shida Yoshihide und Saeki Tsunemaro, Tōkyō, Seikōkan, 1910. | Gr. Syn.   |
| 5. Kanwa daijirin, Ikubunsha, Tōkyō 1906.  | Kwarin.    |
| 6. Kanwa daijiten von Shigeno Aneki, Tōkyō, Sanseidō, 1911.                            | Kwatan.    |

#### b) chinesisch oder japanisch, in Verbindung mit einer europäischen Sprache:

- |   |          |
|---|----------|
| 1. Eitel-Genähr, Chin.-engl. Dict. (Canton. Dial.) 2. ed. 1910/11.                              |          |
| 2. Couvreur, Dict. class. de la Langue Chinoise, 3. ed. 1911.                                   | Couvr.   |
| 3. Wells Williams, Syllabic Dict. of the Chin. Language, 1903.                                  |          |
| 4. Giles, Chin.-Engl. Dict., 2. ed.   | Giles    |
| 5. Pétillon, Allusions Littéraires, Shanghai 1909.  | Pétillon |
| 6. R. Lange, Thesaurus Japonicus, Bd. I—III, 1913/20.   | Th. J.   |
| 7. Brinkley, Nanjō, Iwasaki, Jap.-Engl. Dict., Tōkyō, 1904.                                     | Brinkley |
| 8. Lemaréchal, Dict. Jap.-Franç., Tōkyō, Sansaisha, 1904.                                       | Lem.     |
| 9. Hiratsuka, Shishido, Tsukamoto, Wörterbuch d. Jap.-u. Dtsch. Sprache, 15. Aufl., Tōkyō 1905. |          |
| 10. Bourgois, Caractères Idéographiques, Tōkyō 1908.  |          |
| 11. Inouye, Jap.-Engl. Dict., Tōkyō, Sanseidō, 1909.  |          |
| 12. Wohlfarth, Odagiri, Jap.-Dtsch. Wörterbuch, Tōkyō 1912.                                     |          |



## II. Buddhistische Wörter- und Nachschlagebücher.

Vollständiger Titel:	Abkürzung:
1. O. Rosenberg, Introduction to the Study of Buddhism, part. I, Vocabulary usw., Tōkyō, 1916.	R.
2. Eitel, Hand-Book of Chinese Buddhism, Hongkong, 2. ed. 1888.	Ei.
3. Bunyiu Nanjio, A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka Oxford 1883	B. N.
4. Forke, Peking Tripitaka, Berlin, 1916.	P. T. (od. F.)
5. C. de Harlez, Vocab. bouddhique sanscrit-chinois, Leiden, 1897. (T'oung-pao VII, VIII, 1896—1897.)	
6. Shakushiyōran, Kyōto shōrin, 1874.	
7. Shakumon ichiji senkinshū, Kyōto 1884.	
8. Wakahara no Yukitsune, Bukkyō iroha jiten, Nagoya, Kichūdō Shoten.	Ir.
9. Fujii Senshō, Bukkyō jirin, Tōkyō, 1912, Meijishōin.	Brin.
10. Bukkyō jiten, Kōkōdō, Tōkyō, 1909.	Bten.
11. Oda Tokunō, Bukkyō daijiten, Tōkyō, Ōkura, 5. Aufl., 1920.	Oda.
12. Kyōtoer Tripitaka, XXXVI, B, 1—3 (B. N. 1621).	Sanzōhossu.
13. Dainihon Zokuzōkyō mokuroku.	
14. St. Julien, Méthode pour déchiffrer etc. les noms sanscrits, Paris, 1861.	

## III. Historische, geographische und andere Wörter- und Nachschlagebücher.

1. Kokushi daijiten v. Yashiro Kuniji, usw., Yoshikawa Kōbunkwan, Tōkyō, 1918.	Shi.
2. Nihonshakwaiji, Tōkyō, 1902.	Sha.
3. Kojiseigo daijiten v. Kannō Michiaki, Tōkyō, 1911, 7. Aufl.	Seigo.
4. Papinot, Dict. d'Histoire et de Géogr. du Japon, Tōkyō, 1906.	Pap.
5. F. W. Meyers, The Chinese Government, Shanghai, 1886.	
6. Mathias Tchang, Synchronismes Chinois, Shanghai, 1905.	
7. Bramsen, Japanese Chronological Tables, Tōkyō, 1880.	
8. Giles, Chinese Biographical Dict., London, 1908.	Giles, Bio.

## Vollständiger Titel

## Abkürzung:

9. Richards, Geography of the Chinese Empire, Shanghai, 1908.
10. Yoshida Tōgo, Dainihon chimei jisho, Tōkyō, Fuzambō, 1907.
11. Teikoku chimei jiten v. Ōta Tamesaburō, Tōkyō, Sansōdō, 1912, 3 Bde.
12. Dainihon bunken chinu v. Hakuaikwan, Tōkyō, 1912.
13. Chamberlain, Introduction into Japanese Writing, 1905.
14. Festschrift für Friedrich Hirth, Berlin, 1920.
15. S. Coulin, The Encyclopædia Sinica, Shanghai, 1917.

Geo.

## IV. Verschiedene Literatur.

a) *chinesisch und japanisch:*

1. Kyōtoer Tripitaka, 1905, mit Denison Ross, Catalogue (Calcutta 1910). K. T. (K. Tr.)
2. Pekinger Tripitaka, (Staatsbibl.), mit Forke, Katalog (Berlin 1916, 2. oben II, 5). P. T. (P. Tr.)
3. Dai Tō Saikiiki, hrsg. v. d. Univ. Kyōto, Tōkyō, 1911. Saiki.

b) *in europäischen Sprachen:*

1. Appert-Kinoshita, Ancien Japon, Tōkyō, 1888.
2. S. Beal, A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, London, 1871. Catena.
3. S. Beal, Romantic Legend of Sākya Buddha, London, 1875.
4. S. Beal, Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of The Western World, London, 1906.
5. P. Bigandet, Life or Legend of Gaudama, 3. Aufl., London, 1880.
6. Chamberlain, Things Japanese, London, 1905.
7. De Groot, Der Thūpa, Berlin, 1919. De Groot, Th.
8. De Groot, The Religious System of China, Leiden, 1892-1910. De Groot, R. S.
9. De Groot, Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine, Amsterdam, 1893.
10. De Groot, Universalismus, Berlin, 1918.
11. K. Florenz, Die Historischen Quellen der Shintō-Religion, Göttingen, 1919. Florenz, Shintō.



Vollständiger Titel	Abkürzung:
12. K. Florenz, Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur, Leipzig, 1909.	Florenz, Lit.
13. R. Fujishima, Le Bouddhisme Japonais, Paris, 1889.	
14. The Japan Year Book 1918 Tōkyō.	
15. St. Julien, Exercices Pratiques, Paris, 1842.	Julien, Ex. Pr.
16. C. F. Koeppen, Die Religion des Buddha, Berlin, 1906.	
17. F. W. K. Müller, Zwei Pfahlschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Berlin, 1915.	
18. J. J. Rein, Japan, Leipzig, 1881—1886, (bzw. 1905), 2 Bde.	
19. Die Religionen des Orients (Kultur der Gegenwart) 1913.	
20. Th. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, London, 1904.	
21. Th. Watters, Essays on the Chinese Language, 1889	

Berichtigungen zum 1. Teil von F. M. Trautz,  
Japanische wissenschaftliche Hilfsmittel  
in "Asia Major" 1924 Heft 1, S. 147/175.

- Auf S. 147, Z. 7 v. o. Ende schreibe: 152 anstatt 150.  
 „ „ 153, Z. 3 v. o. schreibe: 154,15 anstatt 152,15.  
 „ „ 172, Z. 7 v. u. schreibe: 170 anstatt 168.  
 „ „ 173, Z. 1 v. o. schreibe: Trāyastriṃśa, anstatt Trayastriṃśa.  
 „ „ 174, Z. 8 v. o. schreibe am Ende: einen Punkt anstatt Semikolon.  
 „ „ 175, Z. 18 v. o. das zweite Wort von links muß „palrons“ lauten;  
 es enthält den dort besprochenen Druckfehler „l“  
 anstatt „t“.  
 „ „ 175, Z. 9 und Z. 4. v. u. schreibe: 170 anstatt 168.  
 „ „ 175, Z. 2 v. u. schreibe: 171 statt 169.

gZER-MYIG,  
A BOOK OF THE TIBETAN BONPOS  
TIBETAN TEXT ACCORDING TO THE BERLIN-MANUSCRIPT  
EDITED AND TRANSLATED  
by A. H. FRANCKE

[བཀའ་འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གཟེར་སྤྱན་གྱི་

རྒྱུ་བརྒྱགས་སོ།]

༄༅ ། ཨ་ཁྱེ་དྲ་གཡུང་རྒྱུ་ལྷ་སྒྲུ་ན། རྒྱུ་ས་ན་ཅི་བ་ནི། ཨ་ད་ཀར་ Fol. 1a  
1. 2. 3

ཨ་དྲལ་སྤྱ་ལ་རམ་། གང་ཟླ་སྤྱི་ལྷ་སྒྲུ་ན། བཀའ་འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དེ་རྒྱུ་  
གཟེར་སྤྱན་ལས་སྤྱ་རབས་འདས་པ་གཏོ་རྒྱལ་ཡི་མཁུན་གྱི་བཟུན་པ་འི་ལེའུ་འོ།

འཁོར་བའི་སེམས་ཅན། ཐམས་ཅད་འབྲེན་པ་འི་དཔལ་གཤེན་རབ་སྟོན་པ་འི་ L 4

མཚན་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། སྤྱིར་ ། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ལས་ཀྱང་ ། བསམ་གྱིས་སྤྱི་ L 5

ཁྱབ་སྟེ་གྲངས་མང་ངོ། འཛིག་ནིན་གྱི་འཁམས་ཀྱང་བསམ་གྱིས་སྤྱི་ཁྱབ་སྟེ་གྲངས་

མང་ངོ། ། སྟོན་པ་འི་བཀའ་ཡང་བསམ་ ། གྱིས་སྤྱི་ཁྱབ་སྟེ་གྲངས་མང་ངོ། ། སྟོན་ L 6

དང་པོ་ཡང་སྟོན་པ་འི་བཀའ་དང་ ། བཟུན་པ་འི་སོན་བསམ་གྱིས་སྤྱི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཅིག་

དར་ནིང་རྒྱས་སོ།

Fol. 1b (empty)

འཛིག་ནིན་གྱི་འཁམས་དང་སྤྱིར་བའི་གྲངས་བསམ་གྱིས་སྤྱི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཅིག་ཆགས་ Fol. 2a

ནིང་ནིག་གོ། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ཕྱས་དང་ ། ཁྱེ་ཕྱག་གི་ལས་ཀྱང་བསམ་གྱིས་སྤྱི་ཁྱབ་

པ་ཅིག་འཁོར་ཅིང་ཐར་རོ།

། ཁྱེ་ཕྱག་གི་



1. 2 ཏུས་འདིའི་ཚུན་། སྲིད་པ་འདིའི་ཚུན་། ། འབྲུང་བ་འདིའི་ཐོག་མ། སྐལ་པ་  
འདིའི་དང་པོ་ལ། ། ལཱ་འི་བྱགས་ཆེས་བཟུང་ནས། ཡེ་ལྷ་སེམས་ཀྱི་སྒྲོན་མ་ཅན་གྱི་  
བྱགས་ཆེས་བཟུང་ནས། བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་ན། སྟོན་པ་གཏོ་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་མཁའི་ནད་ཀྱི་  
1. 3 བསྟན་པ་དར། སྲིད་པ་གང་གི་རྒྱུད་སྟེལ། ། ཡེ་ལྷ་ཁྱད། ཏུས་དེ་ཅས་ན་ཡང་། སྟོན་  
པ་གཏོ་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་མཁའི་ནད་ཀྱིས་དུག་ལཱའི་ནད་ཀྱིས་ཟིན་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་  
བྱགས་ཆེ་ཆེན་པོས་རབ་བསྐྱེད་ནས།

སྐུ་འིས་འདུལ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་ནི།

1. 4 བསྟན་པ་སྐུ་འི་། བེ་ཅེ་བསྟན།  
བསྟན་པ་དེའི་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱིས་  
སེམས་ཅན་བསམ་གྱིས་སྟི་བྱེད་པའི་  
འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐར་པ་ཐོབ་[བོ]།  
སྐུག་བསྐུལ་ལས་བདེ་གནས་བརྟེན་དོ།  
གསུང་གིས་འདུལ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་ནི།

1. 5 བསྐྱགས་པ་། གསུང་གི་བེ་ཅེ་བསྟན།  
བསྟན་པ་དེའི་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱིས་  
སེམས་ཅན་བསམ་གྱིས་སྟི་བྱེད་པ་ཅིག་  
འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐར་པ་ཐོབ་[བོ]།  
སྐུག་བསྐུལ་དེ་ལས་བདེ་གནས་བརྟེན་དོ།

༡ ཡེ་ལ་

༢ ཏོ་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་མཁའི་

༣ བསྟན་པ་ཏོ་བརྒྱལ་

༤ ཡོན་ཏན་གྱིས་

༥ བསྟེན་དོ་

ཐུགས་ཀྱིས་འདུལ་བ་ནམས་ལ་ནི།

བསྐྱབ་པ་། ཐུགས་ཀྱི་པེ་ཅེ་བཅུན།

L 5

བཅུན་པ་དེའི་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱིས་

སེམས་ཅན་བསམ་གྱིས་སྤྱི་བྱབ་པ་ཅིག་

འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐང་བ་ཐོབ་པོ།

སྤྱག་བསྐྱལ་དེ་ལས་བདེའ་གནས་བརྟེན་དོ།

དུས་དེ་ཅམ་ན་ཡང་། ལྷན་པ་ལི་སྤྱན་དང་། གསུང་དང་ཐུགས་དང་། ཞལ་མཛོན་ Fol. 2b  
གསུམ་དུ་བརྒྱགས་ནས། འདྲན་པ་ལི་སྤྱན་པ་མཛོན་ཀྱང་། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ལས་  
བསམ་གྱིས་སྤྱི་བྱབ་པ་ཅིག་འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐང་བ་ཐོབ་། བར་འགྱུར་རོ། ལྷན་ 1. 2  
པ་ཡང་ཤིན་དུ་ཐུགས་ཆད་དོ། ལྷན་པ་ཡང་རབ་དུ་ཐུགས་ཆད་དོ། ཤིན་དུ་སྤྱིང་  
ཅུག་གོ།

དེ་ནས་སྤྱན་པ་གནོ་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་མཁའ་ནད་གྱིས་འོད་ཅེན་འཁོར་ལོ། སྤྱིང་ཅེགས་ 1. 3  
གྱི་གཡུང་ཁང་པད་མའི་གཞུང་ལས་ན་ཡེ་ལྷ་སེམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་མ་ཅན་བརྒྱགས་པ་ལི་  
སྤྱན་སྤྱང་རྩན་གྱིས་སྤྱིན་ནས། སུས་བཅུགས་། ཐལ་མོ་སྤྱང་། ཞལ་ནས་། འཛུམ་ 1. 4  
སྤྱང་། དབུ་བདེན་ནས། ལྷ་ཕྱག་ལན་གསུམ་འཛུམ་། མེ་དོག་པད་མ་འདབ་བརྒྱན་  
སུལ་ནས། འདི་སྤྱན་ཅེས་གསོལ་དདོ།

ཡེ་ལྷ་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཅན། བདག་ཀྱང་སྤྱི་བ་། སྤྱི་བ་ལ་སྤྱིང་བ་ཡེ་སངས་ 1. 5  
གནས་ན་མཆིས་ཅས་ན། ཡབ་ནི་ཁྱི་འོད་། ཡུས་ནི་ཀྱན་ཤེས་སོ། བདག་ཅག་ཕྱེ་ཕྱེ་

• བསྐྱེད་དོ། • བསྤྱན་པ་ལི་ • བནོ་བརྒྱལ་ • སྤྱིང་ • དཔུས་བརྒྱགས་  
• བསྤྱང་ • མཛུམ་ • བཅུལ་ • མེ་ཐོག་ • གཅེས་ • བསྤྱི་བ་



- Fol. 3a ལྷན་གསུམ་མཆིས་པ་ནི། ། གཅིག་ནི་བྱུང་དག་པའོ། ། གཅིག་ནི་བྱུང་གསལ་བའོ། །  
 གཅིག་ནི་བྱུང་ཤེས་པའོ། ། བདག་ཅག་བྱུང་ལྷན་གསུམ་གྱིས་གཡང་བྱང་བོན་གྱི་  
 1. 2 རྩོད་ལྷགས་ནས། སེམས་བསྐྱེད་དྲི་ཆེ། སློབ་དཔོན་གོ་བྱ་འབྲས་ཁྲི་སློབ་གི་ཁྱེ་ཅན་  
 ལ། སྤྱད་པ་སྤྱང་ཅིས་གྱི་བོན་ཉན་བས། སྤྱད་པའི་གོད་མ་ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་  
 སེམས་ཅན་ལ་བྱག། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ལས་བདགས་པས་ཀྱང། ཤིན་ཏུ་སྤྱག་བསྐྱལ་  
 1. 3 བར་མཐོང། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ལས་ནི། ལ་ལ་ན་སྤྱེ། ལ་ལ་ན་ན། ལ་ལ་ན་གས། ལ་  
 ལ་ན་འཆི། ལ་ལ་ན་གསོད། ལ་ལ་ན་བཤའ་། ལ་ལ་ན་འཆོད། ལ་ལ་ན་སྤྱེག།  
 1. 4 ལ་ལ་ན་བཀྲེས། ལ་ལ་ན་སྒྲོམ། ལ་ལ་ན་འཁོལ། ལ་ལ་ན་སྤྱོད། ལ་ལ་ན་ཅོད།  
 ལ་ལ་ན་འབྲོས། ལ་ལ་ན་འདོད། བསྐྱས་པས་ཤིན་ཏུ་སྤྱག་ཅིང་བསྐྱལ་བར་མཐོང།  
 1. 5 ལྷན་གསུམ་ཁུས་པས། མཆི་ས་བྲག་ཏུ་དྲོལ། ། སེམས་བསྐྱེད་དྲི་ཆེ་སློབ་དཔོན་  
 ཞལ་ན་ཏེ།

པའི་གཞུང་། ཨེ་མ་ངོ་མཆར་ཆེ།

དག་པ་གསལ་བ་ཤེས་པ་གསུམ།

སྤྱང་ཆེ་ཆེན་པོ་སྤྱེས་ཆད་གྱིས།

ཆད་སྤྱད་བཞི་དང་ཐུན་པ་འཕེས།

ཆད་སྤྱད་བཞི་དེ་བྱགས་ཆེ་ནི། །

1. 6

འཁོར་བ་ཐར་པར་འབྱེད་པ་ཡིན།

སེམས་ཅན་དོན་ལ་སོང་ཤིག་གསུང། །

སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་ལ་སྤྱིང་ཆེ་སྤྱེས།

‘ལྷན་གསུམ་’ ‘མཉན་’ ‘འཁམས་’ ‘ག’ ‘ཅད་’ ‘ཤེས་’  
 ‘གསལ་ཤེས་’

སློབ་དཔོན་ལྷའི་བཀའ་ཐོབ་པས།

བདག་ཅག་སྤྱན་གསུམ་གཏོང་ནས་མཆིའ།

ཡབ་ཅིག་༥ སྤྱིད་པ་བྲི་འོད་དང་། སློབ་དཔོན་གཏོང་བྲི་འོད་ན་རེ། བྲིད་ཅག་སྤྱན་ Fol. 3b

གསུམ་དེར་སྤྱིད་དང་།

ཇི་ལྟར་སེམས་ཅན་སྤྱིང་ཇི་ཡང་།

སྤྱན་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བལྟན་པ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་སྤྱིད།

ཇི་ལྟར་སེམས་ཅན་གྲངས་མང་ཡང་།

ཕྱང་པོ་གཅིག་གིས་སེམས་གཉིས་སྤྱན་ཀྱི་སྤྱིད།

L 2

ཇི་ལྟར་སྤྱན་ནག་སྤྱིག་ཅེ་ཡང་།

ཉི་མ་རྒྱང་ཅིག་གཞིབས་ནས་འཆར་ཀྱི་སྤྱིད།

སྤྱི་རབས་འདས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རེ་རེས་སྤྱོད་དེ།

སྤྱི་རབས་བྱོན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རེ་རེས་སྤྱོད།

བྲིད་ཅག་སྤྱན་གསུམ་དུས་གསུམ་སྤྱོད་པར་གཤེགས།

L 3

སྤྱོད་པའི་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་དུ་དཀོན་ན་བཅུན།

གཉིས་ཀ་མངས་སོ་བྱས་ན་གསུམ་ཀ་གང་དུ་རྒྱ།

ཕྱ་པོ་དག་པས་འཇིག་རྟེན་སྤྱོད་པ་མཛོད།

L 4

སྤྱི་ལས་འོད་གཟེར་སྤྱི་ལ་སྤྱི་མང་ཕྱང་ལ།

སྤྱི་ལ་གསུམ་སྤྱི་ལ་འཇིག་རྟེན་དུ།

ད་ལྟར་བཞུགས་པའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་པ་མཛོད།



- l. 5 དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་གསུངས་ནས ། དབང་བསྐྱར་ནས ། ། བདག་འདྲིན་སྟོན་ལ་བདང་བ་  
ལགས ། བདག་གི་རྩ་བོ་གཉིས་སྐྱར་འགོན་བཅུན་ཕྱི་གོང་བྱིང་དུ ། ཡེ་ཤེས་རྩ་  
ལ་གཡུང་དུང་མོན་ཉན་དུ་སོང ། སྟོབ་དཔོན་དང་ཡབ་གཉིས་ཀྱང་བདག་ལ ། ཅས་  
l. 6 ཞིག་འཁོར་བའི་སེམས་ཅན ། འདུལ་ན ། གུབ་པ་གཤེན་གྱི་གནས་མཆོག་སྟོགས་  
ཤིག ། གསུང་ནས ། སྐྱར་གཤེན་གུབ་པའི་དབྱིངས་སུ་གཤེགས་སོ ། དེ་ནས་བདག་  
གིས་ཀྱང་སྐྱེ་བ་སྤྱི་ཅ་བྱངས་ནས ། བྱིང་གཏོང་བྱུང་ཡེ་མཆོན་དུ་བདགས ། འཁོར་

Fol. 4a བའི་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་གདུང་བ་བསྐྱེད །

སྐྱས་འདུལ་བ་ནསས་ལ །  
སྐྱའི་སྐྱལ་པ་བཀྱེནས །  
བསྐྱར་བ་སྐྱའི་ཤེའུ་ཅེས་བྱངས་པས  
སེམས་ཅན་བསམ་གྱིས་སྤྱི་བྱུབ་པ་ཅིག །  
ངན་སོང་ལས་མཐོ་རིས་སུ་བསྐྱེངས །  
འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐང་པ་ཅུ་བྱངས །

l. 8

གསུང་གིས་འདུལ་བ་ནསས་ལ །  
ཅོག་གི་བརྟན་ངག་བགྱིས་ཤིང །  
བསྐྱགས་པ་གསུང་གི་ཤེའུ་ཅེས་བྱངས་པས །  
སེམས་ཅན་བསམ་གྱིས་སྤྱི་བྱུབ་པ་ཅིག །  
ངན་སོང་ལས་མཐོ་རིས་སུ་བསྐྱེངས །  
འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐང་པ་ཅུ་བྱངས །

ཐུགས་ཀྱིས་འདུལ་བ་ནམས་ལ།

L 3

ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མན་ངག་བྱིན་ནས།

ངསྐྱུ་བ་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཤེའུ་ཅེས་བྲངས་པས།

སེམས་ཅན་བསམ་གྱིས་ཁྱི་ཁྱུ་བ་ཅིག།

ངན་སྲིང་ལས་མཐོ་ངེས་སུ་བསྐྱེངས། ॥

འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐང་བ་ཅུ་བྲངས།

L 4

འཁོར་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་ཀྱི་ཆེ་གུངས་མང་ཡང། སྐྱུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱིས་བྲངས་  
 ཀྱང། འདྲོངས་པར་མ་འགྱུར་བའི་ལྷ་ལགས། དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་ཞུས་སམ་གསོལ་  
 པས། ཡེ། ཤེས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སེམས་ཀྱི་སྦྱོན་མ་ཅན་གྱིས་བཀའ་སྒྲུབ་པ། ལོ་རྒྱུད་པས།  
 སྤྱིད་ཀྱི་བྱ། སྦྱོས་བྱ་ཆེན་པོར་འཁྱུངས་པའི་ཆོ་སྤྱི་བྱིན་པ། ལས་དག་སྤྱིག་ཤེས་  
 པ། ལན་མཐོན་དཔན་དོགས་པ། འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཤིན་དུ་ སྦྱིད་ལྷག་ནས་ཞུས།  
 བ་ལེགས་སོ། སྐྱུ་འིས་འདྲོངས་པ་དང། ལྷ་སྤང་གིས་འདྲོངས་པ་དང། ཐུགས་ཀྱིས་  
 འདྲོངས་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་ནམས་ནི། སྦྱོན་ཆོ་སྤྱིལ་བ་དང་བོ་ནས། ལས་ཁྱེའུ་དུ་སྦྱང་  
 པ་ལས། ཀྱན་གཞི་ས་མོན་ ॥ བཟང་བོ་ཡོད་པས། སེམས་ལ་རིག་པའི་རྩལ་ཡོད་  
 པ། དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་སེམས་ཅན་ནམས་ཀྱིན་སྦྱོན་པའི་བཀའ་དྲག་པོ་དང་ལྷན་པས། འཁོར་  
 བ་ལས་ཐང་བ་ཐོབ་པ་དང། སྐྱུ་ག་བསྐྱུལ་ལས་བདེ་གནས་ཆེད་པ་ནི་ཡོན་ཏན་  
 ལགས། སོ། སྦྱོན་པའི་སྦྱུང་འོ་བོ་ཉིད་ཞལ་མཛོད་སྦྱས་དུ་བསྐྱུན་ཀྱང། མ་འདྲོངས་  
 པའི་སེམས་ཅན་ནམས་ནི། ལོ་རྒྱུད་པས་སྤྱིད་པའི་བྱ། ལོ་རྒྱུད་པ་ཡེ་མཁའ་ཉན་ལགས།  
 དེ་ནམས་ནི་ཤིན་དུ་འདྲོངས་དཀའ་བ་ལགས་སོ། རབ་དུ་ཡང་འདྲོངས་ དཀའ་

Fol. 4b

L 5

L 3



བ་ལགས་པོ། རྒྱུ་ཚེ་སྐལ་བ་དང་པོ་ནས་ལས་ཤིག་བ་ཆིག་ཚུགས་སུ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་  
 བ། ཀུན་གཞི་ལ་དགེ་བའི་ས་བོན་དེ་ལ་འབྲུ་ཅས་ཡང་བྱེད་བ། དུག་ལྷ་ཀ་ཆང་  
 L 4 བའི་ཐ་རས་གྱིས་དས་དུ་བསྐྱེས་པ་ཡིན་། རོ། གཏོ་རྒྱལ་ཁྱིད་བོན་གྱི་བཀའ་ཡིས་  
 ཀྱང་སྤྱི་འདུལ་། བདག་ལྷ་འི་ཐུགས་རྗེས་ཀྱང་ཟིན་ཅིང་འདྲོངས་པར་ས་འགྲུར་རོ།

དེ་ཅིའི་བྱིར་ཞེ་ན། སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ལ་ཞིག་ནི་ཞེ་སྤང་སྤྱེ་ལྷར་འབར།  
 L 5 སེམས་། ཅན་ལ་ལ་ཞིག་ནི་འདོད་ཆགས་ཏུ་ལྷར་འཁོར།  
 སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ལ་ཞིག་ནི་གཏི་སྤྱག་སྤྱན་ལྷར་སྤྱོས།  
 སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ལ་ཞིག་ནི་འབྲུ་དོག་ས་ལྷར་སྤྱོས།  
 སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ལ་ཞིག་ནི་ང་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུང་ལྷར་འཛུབ།  
 L 6 སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ལ་ཞིག་ནི་། དག་ག་སྤྱིན་བའི་རིགས།

དེ་ལྷ་བྱའི་རིགས་ལ་རིག་བ་ཤར་པའི་རྒྱ་མ་མཆིས། དཔེར་ན། ཉི་མའི་འོད་གཟེར་  
 ཤར་ཀྱང་། ལྷ་པའི་ཁང་པ་ན་གནག། དེ་དང་མཚུངས་པར་སེམས་ཅན་དེའི་རིགས་  
 Fol 5a ལ་ངས་པའི་ཚོག་གིས་བསྐྱར་ཀྱང་། སྤྱི་ཉན། ལྷར་པ་འདེབས། སྤྱི་དགེ་སྤྱ་ཚོགས་  
 ལྷན་ནས་<sup>1</sup> ། སེམས་ཅན་དེས་ལ་བར་སྤྱེ། དྲངས་ཀྱང་། སྤྱི་འཕྱོན་། གཏོ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་  
 འདྲོངས་ངས། ངས་ཀྱང་སྤྱིང་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་རབ་བསྐྱེད་ནས། ། ཁས་ས་གསུམ་སེམས་  
 L 7 ཅན་འདི་། རབ་དྲུ་གདུངས། ལྷ་གྱི་གས་པ་ཅས་ཅིག་ཡར་དྲངས་ཀྱང་། ཆང་  
 འགགས། ལྷང་ས་ཅས་ཅིག་མར་ལ་ལྷུང་། གནས་གྱི་སྐར་ས་ཅས་ཅིག་ཡར་ལ་  
 དྲངས་ཀྱང་། ཅའི་གཞོགས་མ་ཅས་ཅིག་མར་ལ་ལྷུང་། འཁོར་བ་འདི་ལ་གཏིང་

ནས་སྤྱོད་པ་ ། ལྷག ། རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་གཏོ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་རྫོགས་ ་ 1.3

ན ། གྲུབ་པའི་གནས་སྟེག་རན ། དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་ཡི་གེས་ལྷ་འིས་བཀའ་སྟུང་ཏོ །

ཡང་སྟོན་པ་གཏོ་རྒྱལ་ཡི་མཁུན་དཀྱིས་ ། གསུང་བྱང་ལྷ་ཅེ་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཡུལ་ ་ 1.4

དུ་ཕོན ། སྟོན་བྱ་གསུ་ཅེ་གེལ་གྱི་མཁར་ནང་ན ། སྤྱ་བརྒྱད་དཀར་པོ་བཞུགས་པའི་

སྟན་ལས་དུ ། བྱས་མོ་བཅུགས ། ཐལ་སྤྱར ། འཛུལ་བྱང་ཕྱེ ། འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་གསོལ་

ཏོ ། ཀྱེ ། སྤྱོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྱ་བརྒྱད་དཀར་པོ་ལགས ། བདག་ཀྱང་སེམས་ཅན་དོན་ ་ 1.5

ལ་རབ་དུ་དགོངས །

སྤྱི་སྤྱལ་པས་བསྟན་པ་ །

སྤྱི་པོ་འུ་ཅེས་གཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཁམས་ལ་བསྟན །

གསུང་གི་སྤྱལ་པས་བསྟན་པ་ །

གསུང་གི་པོ་འུ་ཅེས་འདོད་པའི་ ། ཁམས་ལ་བསྟན ་ 1.6

ཐུགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱལ་པས་སྤྱབ་པ་ །

ཐུགས་ཀྱི་པོ་འུ་ཅེས་གཞུགས་སྟེད་ཀྱི་གསུལ་ལ་བསྟན །

ཁམས་གསུལ་འཁོར་བའི་གནས་སྤྱ །

སྤྱ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་རྫོགས་ །

ཁམས་གསུལ་ལས་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཅན་ ། ཉོན་མོངས་ཀྱན་བྱངས་ནས་ ། བདེ་བ་བས་ Fol. 5b

ཀྱང་ ། མ་འདྲོངས་སྤྱག་པ་མང་ ། ཀྱེ་སྤྱོད་པ་སྤྱ་བརྒྱད་དཀར་པོ་ལགས ། བསྟན་

པ་གཅིག་ལ་གནས་པ་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ ། ཐུགས་རྩལ་ཆུང་དང་ ། ཁམས་གསུལ་སྟོངས་

པར་འདྲོན་ ། པའི་བོན་ཅིག་བདག་ལ་བསྟན་དེ་གསོལ་ ། དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་གསོལ་ཏོ ་ 1.7

་བསྟན་

་རྒྱད་

་སྤྱལ་པ་



དེ་མ་ཐུ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་མཁའ་ལྷ་མ་མ། ལོ་རལ་མེད་པའི་ལུ། ལོ་རྒྱུ་མ་མེ  
 བཞེན།

དབང་པོ་ཤིན་ཏུ་གསལ་བ།

ཤེས་རབ་རབ་དུ་རྫོབ།

La

ལྷོང་ཆོལ་། མཐམ་དང་ལྷན་པ།

ཕྱིས་སྤྱི་ཆེན་པོ་བཞུགས་པས་

ཞུས་སམ་གསོལ་ད་པ་ནི་ཤིན་དུ་ཡང་ལེགས་ནི། ཉིད་པས་ཀྱང་བདག་ནི་འགྲོ་བའི་

1. 4 རྟོག་པ་ལྷན་དུ་དགོངས་པ་ཅིག་པགས་མོ། རབ་དུ་ཡང་། དགོངས་པ་ཅིག་པགས་

ན། ཁམས་གསུམ་འབྲེངས་ནས་སྤྲངས་པའི་མེན་ཅི་ཤིན་དུ་ཡང་སྤྲི་སྤྲི་བ་ལགས་

མོ། རབ་རྩུ་ཡང་ཁྱི་སྲིད་པ་ལགས་མོ། དེ་ལྟར་ཁྱི་སྲིད་པ་ལགས་དེ། ལྷན་པའི་

L 5 བྱགས་ ༥ རྩིས་འདྲ་མེ ། ཀུན་ལ་སྤྲོས་ས་གྲང ། བྱག་ཕྱག་ཁ་ཕྱང་དུ་ལྷས་པར་ཉི་

མ་ཕྱི་འཆར་བ་དང་འདྲ་ཞེ། འཁོར་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་ནི་གྲུ་པན། ཆགས་བའི་དྲག་

ལཱ་ནི་དབང་ཆེ། ཕྱོད་མོངས་པའི་འདོད་ཆགས་ནི་ཁ་བྱུག་གོ། དེའི་དབང་གིས་

L 6 ཉིད་པས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱས་གསུམ་ཚང་བའི་སྟོན་པ་འཛོགས་ནས། རྩམས་ཀྱང་། འཕྲོངས་

བར་གྱི་བྱུང་རྗེ། ལྷ་མཆོད་ལྷན་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་རྒྱུ་མཆོད། ཡང་དག་གྱུ་བ་མཆོད།

Fol. 6a. གནས་སྐྱེལ་རྩེད་ ། བས་ཀྱང་སྤྱོད་གཞུང་འཁུལ་ཞིང་ ། བས་ས་གཞུང་འཁུལ་མེགས་

པར་གཏོན་པ་པལ་ནས་སྤྱིད་ན།

དཀར་བཞི་གནག་པར་སོང་།

ཡོད་པ་ནི་ཕྱིར་པར་མེད།

॥५॥

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पञ्चमः

གང་བ་ནི་ཕྱོང་པར་སོང་།

བདན་པ་ནི་འགྱུར་བར་སོང་།

ཅགས་པ་ནི་འཇིག་པར་སོང་།

སྤྱིས་༥ བ་ནི་འཆི་བར་སོང་།

L 2

ཁམས་གསུམ་ལ་དད་པ་ཡོག།

སྤྱིད་གསུམ་ལ་ཡིད་བྱུང་༥

འཁོར་བ་ལ་སྤྱིད་ཕྱག་ནས། བདག་ནི་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་འདིའི་སྤྱིད་པའི་  
 རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྱི་བགྱིད་དོ། སྤྱིད་པས་དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་བཀའ་སྩལ་དོ།

དེར་སྤྱིད་པ་གཏོ་རྒྱལ་ཡི་མཆིན་གྱིས་བྲགས་ལ་དགོངས་པས། ལྷ་དང་གཤེན་ ༥  
 རབ་དང་། སྤྱིད་པ་གསུམ་བསྐྱེད་པ་གཅིག་ལ་གནས་པ་ལ། ལྷ་དང་སྤྱིད་པ་གཉིས་  
 འཁོར་བ་ལ་སྤྱིད་ཕྱག་ནས། སྤྱིར་སྤྱི་ཞོང་བའི་༥ འབས་བྱ་ལ་འཁོར་བ་དང་བྱ་ངན་ ༥  
 ལས་འདས་སོ། སྤྱིད་དང་པོ་སྤྱི་བ་དེའོན་དང་ཡབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ནས་ཀྱང་། ནམ་  
 ཞིག་འཁོར་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་འདུལ་ཅོམ་ན། གྲུབ་པ་གཤེན་གྱི་གནས་༥ མཆོག་ ༥  
 རྩོལ་ལ་ཤོག། གསུང་བ། དུས་ད་ལྟ་ཡིན་བར་ངེས་༥ ད་བདག་ཀྱང་འགྲོ་བའི་  
 དོན་སྤངས་ལ། འཁོར་བ་དང་བྱ་ངན་ལས་འདའ་བར་དགོངས་ནས། འདའ་ཁར་  
 ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་སེམས་ཅན་བྲགས་ཇེས་མ་འདྲོངས་༥ ནས། སྤྱུག་ཅིང་སྤྱོད་པ་ ༥  
 ནམས་ལ་ཞལ་གཟིགས་ནས། གདུང་ཞིང་བཤུམས་སོ། ཤིན་དུ་ཡང་བཤུམས་  
 སོ། རབ་དུ་ཡང་བཤུམས་སོ། དེ་ནས་བཤུམས་པའི་མཆི་མ་ཕྱག་གིས་སྤྱིས་ནས།  
 འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་སྤོན་༥ ལས་བཟབ་པོ།

Fol. 6b



བདག་ནི་འཁོར་བ་སྤྱ་ངན་འདྲ།

འཁོར་བ་སྤྱ་ངན་འདས་འོག་ཏུ།

འགྲོ་བ་སེམས་ཅན་རྩེ་སྤྱད་ཏུ།

བར་གྱི་བསྐལ་བ་གཅིག་ཡོན་ནས།

ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཅན་གྱི་ཕྱོད་བ་ཕྱོན།

1. 2 སྤྱོན་བ་དེ་ཕྱོན་༥ རྩམ་ཅམ་ན། ། ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་སེམས་ཅན་སྤྱུག་བ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱང་།  
 རྩམ་དེར་སྤྱུག་བསྐལ་ལས་བདེ་གནས་རྟེན་བར་ཤོག་ཤིག། འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐར་བ་  
 1. 3 ཐོབ་པར་ཤོག་ཤིག། ། འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་འདི་ན་ཉོན་མོངས་བ་༥ ལས་གས་རྩེ་  
 བ། དུ་གྲུ་ཐེས་བ་སྐས་དང་། ཕྱ་བཟའ་ངང་འབྲང་མ་གཉིས་ཡིན་དེ། བདག་ནི་  
 སྤྱ་སྤྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་ཀྱང་། གསུང་དུང་ཤོག་དཀར་པོ་ལ་གསུངས་སྤྱོན་མོ་བྱིས་  
 1. 4 ནས། འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་༥ ཁམས་སྤྱ་སྤྱེལ་བས། གསུང་མ་འདས་གྱིས། དེའི་རྗེས་སྤྱ་  
 སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་གསུང་རབ་གྱི་འབྲུ་རྟོགས་ལ། བཟུང་བ་འདི་སྤྱངས་ཤིག།  
 1. 5 དགི་བ་ནི་སྤྱེལ་ཅིག། སྤིག་བ་ནི་སྤྱོངས་ཤིག། གསུང་ནས། སྤྱ་༥ འཁོར་བ་དང་སྤྱ་  
 ངན་ལས་འདས་མོ༥

དེ་ནས་འགོན་བཅུན་ཕུའི་ཡུལ་དུ་གཙང་གསལ་བ་ལ་འདི་སྤྱད་ཅེས་སྤྱུས་མོ།

བདག་གིས་ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་སྤྱོདས་བ་རྗེ་ཅམ་ཞིག་ཡར་རྩངས་

1. 6 ཀྱང་། གང་བ་ཅམ་ཅིག་༥ མར་ལ་ཕུས། འཁོར་བ་ལ་སྦྱིད་ཕུག་ནས། འཇིག་རྟེན་  
 གྱི་ཁམས་ནས་སྤྱ་ངན་འདས་ནས། འོངས་བ་ཡིན། དེ་ཉིད་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་  
 སྤྱ་འགྲོ་བ་འདྲིན་པའི་བཟུན་བ་ལ། བར་གྱི་བསྐལ་བ་ཅིག་ཡོན་ནས། འདུལ་

བའི་ ། རྒྱལ་ལ་བབ་པ་ཡིན་བས། ། དེའི་རྒྱལ་ལ་གཤེགས་པར་འབྱུང་གསུང་ནས། ། Fol. 7a  
གོད་རྒྱལ་ཡང་གྲུབ་པ་གཤེན་གྱི་གནས་མཆོག་དམ་པ་ཅུ། ། འགྲོ་བ་གདུལ་བར་བྱ་  
བའི་དོན་དུ་གཤེགས་སོ། །

བཀའ་འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྒྱུད་གཟེང་གྱི་གཞི་གྱི་རྒྱུད་ལས། སྤྲ་རབས་འདས་ ། ་  
པ་གོད་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་མཁེན་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ལེན་ཕྱི་དང་པོ་ལོ། །





ཚོན་འོད་འབར་གྱི་ཚལ། ཅི་མེད་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ཚལ་གྱི་ནགས། གསེས་བདུན་ཅི་སྤྱོད་གྱི་  
ཚལ། གནས་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སྐུ་ཁང་། ॥

ཡུལ་དེའི་སྤྱིང་ནི། འོལ་སོ་ཡུང་རིངས། སྐུ་ཁང་དེའི་སྤྱིང་ནི་པར་པོ་སོ་བརྒྱད། ༥  
གསེས་སྐུ་ཁང་དེའི་སྤྱིང་ནི་གསེས་པོ་སྤྱོད་ཅི། ॥

གནས་དེ་ན་འཇམ་བུ་སྤྱིང་གི་སྤྱི་གནས་དེ། སྤྱི་ལ་རིགས་བཞི་སྐུ་ཁང་པ་ལ།  
རྒྱལ་རིགས་། སྤྱི་གཏོགས་པ་ཆེ་བ་དང་། རྒྱུ་རིགས་སྤྱི་གཏོགས་པ་བཅུན་བ་དང་། ༥  
བྱས་ཆེའི་རིགས་སྤྱི་གཏོགས་པ་གཙང་བ་དང་། དམངས་རིགས་སྤྱི་གཏོགས་པ་  
གཏོལ་བ་ཅན་དང་བཞི་འོ། ॥

ཡུལ་དེ་ན་ཀུན་ཚང་། ལྷེ། སྐུ་ཁང་དེའི་ཅི་ན་ལྷུ་སྤྱོད་པ་ནི་དཔྱད། རིགས་ནི་རྒྱལ་ ༥  
རིགས་སོ། སྤྱིང་ནི་དཔྱད་རྒྱལ་ལན་གྱི་ཐེས་པ་སྐུ་ཁང་སོ། སྤྱི་ལ་ཆེན་པོར་བཞུགས་  
པས། རབ་ཏུ་སེམས་ཉིད་སྤྱོད་ན་བདེ། འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་ལ་བྱེན་། པས། སེམས་ཅན་ ༥  
ཀུན་ལ་བུ་གཅིག་པ་ལྷན་བྱས་ས། དེའི་བཅུན་སོ་ནི་པུ་ཨེ་ལེ་ཁྲབ་པའི་སྤྱི་སོ།  
པུ་བཟའ་དང་འབྲང་མས་བཞི་ལྷེ། དེ་ཡང་ཡབ་དང་སྐུ་ཁང་ལྷེ། འཛིན་ཏུ་དག་  
འཇམ་ཞིང་རབ་ཏུ་ཁོང་དལ། སེམས་ཅན་སྤྱི་འགྲོ། ལ་བྱས་པ་པའི་སེམས་དང་ལྷན། Fol. 5a  
ཡབ་ཡུམ་དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་ལ་དཀོངས་ནས། སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལ་པས། དཔྱད་ཆུ་  
ར་བའི་ཆོས་བརྒྱད་ལ། སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་བུ་གཅིག་སྤྱི་འབྲངས་སོ། འབྲངས་པའི་དུས་ ༥  
དེར་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྱོད་བསྤེས་ནས། ལ་ལས་ཁྱེ་ལ་གདབ། ལ་ལས་ཁྲུས་  
བྱས། ལ་ལས་རྩ་གསོལ། ལ་ལས་གཡང་སྤྱན། ཞང་པོ་པུ་ཁ་ཆེ་དང་པོས་དུང་གི་  
གནས་ཡོལ་དཀར་པོ་ལ། ཁྲུང་འབྲུག་གི་རིས་། བཀྲ་བ། ཉི་ཆུའི་འོད་འབར་བ། ༥



- མདའ་གང་དབྱ་ལ་བཅིངས་ནས། རྫོན་ལས་བཏབ་པ། དབྱ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྤྲུལ་རྒྱལ་བུ་  
 ཁྱིའི་ཀྱང་། ལྷ་སྤྲིན་སྤེ་བརྒྱད་ལ་བཀའ་བཅན་ཞིང་། སྤྱི་འགྲོ་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་།  
 1. 4 རྒྱལ་པོར་ཤོག་ཤིག། གསུངས་སོ། རྒྱལ་བུ་དེ་ཡང་ཡབ་ཡུམ་དང་མཚའས་པར་།  
 ཤིན་དུ་ཁྱིའི་དཔ་ལ་རབ་དུ་ངག་འཇམས། བས་ཟེའི་བྱ་གསལ་ཁྱབ་འོད་ལྡན་གྱིས་  
 1. 5 མཚན་བདགས་པས་ཀྱང་། མཚན་ཤིན་དུ་བཟང་བར་བཅད་། སྤྱིང་དང་མཚན་  
 བདགས་པ། སྤྱི་བོན་ལྷ་བོན་ཡོ་བོན་རྒྱལ་བོན་ཐོད་དཀར་དུ་བདགས།

སྤྱི་བོན་ལྷ་བོན་ཡོ་བོན་རྒྱལ་བོན་ཐོད་དཀར་དུ་བདགས།

ལྷ་བོན་ལྷ་བོན་ཡོ་བོན་རྒྱལ་བོན་ཐོད་དཀར་དུ་བདགས།

1. 6 གཏོ་རྒྱུད་། སྤྱིང་རྒྱུད་ས་ལེ་མཁྱེན།

དུས་དེ་ཅས་ན་རྒྱལ་བུའི་གདུང་འཕྲོ་བའི་དེན། བཅུན་སོ་ཞིག་མ་མཆིས་ནས།

སྤྱིང་ཁམས་སྤྱི་བཅའ་བས་མ་རྩེད་དོ། དེ་དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལོན་ནས། ལྷ་སྤྲིན་

- Fol. 8b འཕྲུབ་པའི་གཟུ་མཐོང་ཅིང་། བཞུགས་ན། འཁོར་གྱི་དམ་པ་ཅིག། སྤྱི་གཉིས་རྒྱལ་

བུ་ལ་མཆེལ་ཟེར་ནས། འཕྲིན་རྫོན་དུ་ཞུས་ན། རྒྱལ་བུ་ཡང་བཞེངས་ནས། སྤྱི་

གཉིས་ཀྱི་དུང་དུ་བཞུད། དེར་སྤྱི་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཞེས་ལྷགས་བཞིན་དུ་སྤྲུལ་ནས།

1. 2 རྒྱལ་བུ་ལ་འདི། སྤྱིང་ཅེས་ཞུས་སོ། བདག་ཅག་གཉིས་ནི་སྤྱིང་ལགས་སོ། ཡུལ་

ནི་མཚོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྤྱིང་ལྷན་ཉེད་ཀྱི་འགྲུལ་ལགས་སོ། ཁྱིམ་ནི་གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་ལང་ལོང་གི་

1. 3 དབྱས་ན་མཆིས་སོ། རྒྱལ་བུ་དང་ཞུས་མཆེལ་བའི། ཁབ་ཀྱི་བཅུན་། མོ་ཅིག་རྒྱལ་

ཁམས་ན་སྤྱི་གཏོང་ཞིང་གདའ་བས། མ་རྩེད་མཆི་ནས། བདག་རིགས་ནི་དམངས་

བདག་ བཅུན་ བདགས་ བདགས་ རྒྱུང་ འཕྲུལ་

ཉིས་ འཁམས་

རིགས་ལགས་ན་ཡང་། རྒྱལ་བུའི་བཅུན་མོར་རྩང་བའི་བུ་མོ་བྱང་པར་དུ་འཕགས་  
པ་ཅིག་བདོག་པས། རྒྱལ་བུའི་། བཅུན་མོར་འབྲུལ་ཞིང་མཆིས་ན། བཀའ་གནང་། ༥  
འཆའ། དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་གསོལ་པས། རྒྱལ་བུས་ཀྱང་།

སྤྱན་གྱིས་གཟིགས་པས་ཀྱང་སྤྱན་མ་བརྩམ།

ཐུགས་ཀྱིས་དགོངས་པས་ཀྱང་ཡིད་མ་། རངས།

1. 5

ཁྱི་གཉིས་པོ་ལ་འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་བཀའ་སྤྲུལ་དོ། ། ཡེ་མ་ཡ་མཚན་རེ་ཆེ། པ་ནི་  
གཡས་ཞར། བུ་ནི་གཡིན་འཐེང་། རིགས་ནི་དམངས་ཀྱི་རིགས་ཡིན་ན། བྱང་ལ་  
ངའི་ཁབ་དུ་བཞེས་སྤྱ་རྩང་བའི་བུ་མོ་སྤྱེ་བའི་ཕྱགས་བྱེད་ཀྱིས། ། ། བྱིའི་རྩང་དུ་དེ་ ༥  
སྐད་མ་ཟེར་ཅིག། རོ་ཆའོ། བྱང་ལ་བུ་མོ་བྱང་པར་ཅན་ཅིག་ཡིད་ན། དབྱར་རྒྱ་ར་  
བའི་ཆོས་བཅོ་ལྔ་ལ་གྲོང་བྱང་ལང་ལིང་དུ་གཤེགས་ནས། མཚོ་མུ་མེ་མྱང་ལྗན་པ་  
བྱས་བྱེད་དུ་བྱིན་ཅིང་ན། ཁྱོང་བྱང་ལང་ལིང་གི་ཁྱི་། རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མདུན་ནས་བསྐྱོ་ Fol. 9a  
ནས། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྒོར་བ་བྱེད། ལ་ལ་ནི་རྩ་བྱག་འཆའ། ལ་ལ་ནི་སེ་དོག་འབྲུལ།  
ལ་ལ་ནི་ལྷན་མོ་བྱེད། བྱང་གི་བུ་མོ་བྱང་པར་ཅན་དེ་གཡ་ཉལ། ཤིན་དུ་འཆོད་  
ཅུང་མ་གཉིས། སྤང་གིས། རབ་དུ་གསང་གདམ་གྱིས་ལ། བྱིར་ཆོས་ཤིག། རའི་ ༥  
འཁོར་པས་གྲོས་ན། བཀོན་འབེབས་པར་འགྱུར་རོ། གསུང་ནས། རྒྱལ་བུ་ཡང་  
བཞེངས་ནས་བཞུད་དོ། ཁྱི་གཉིས་པོ་ཡང་ཡི་ཆད་ནས་སོང་ངོ་།

དེར་རྩ་མ་། སྤྱན་སྤེ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བོ་དང་འཁོར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཆིང་ནས། རྒྱལ་ 1. 3  
བུ་ལགས། གདམ་རེ་མང། ཁྱི་དེ་གཉིས་སྤྱ་ལགས་ཅི་ཞིག་མཆི། དེར་རྒྱལ་བུ་  
ཡང་རོ་ཆ་བ་འགྱུར་ནས། བརྒྱན་བསམས་ནས་བཀའ་། སྤྲུལ་བ། ཁྱི་དེ་གཉིས་ནི་ 1. 4

• ཅེས་རྒྱལ་བུས་གསོལ་པས། • ཅས་ • མང་ • སྤྱ་ • ཆོད་



འིན་དུ་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ལྷ་མོ་གྲུ་ངེས་གཉིས་གནའོ། ། བདག་ལ་ནན་བསྐྱེད་ནས།  
རྩམ་སྒྲིང་དུ་འོངས་ན། འུམ་ལྷ་སྒྲིང་གྲུ་མ་མཆིས་ནས། ཁྲིས་དུ་ཤོག་ཤིག་པར་

L རྟེན་གྱི་སྒྲོལ་བུ། ༄།

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

Fol. 96 རྣམ་རྒྱུད། ། དེགས་ནི། རྣམ་རྒྱུད་དེགས་ཀྱི་བཞུགས། ། ཕྱི་ལ་ཐུ་ལ་ཁོ་ལ་མྱི་བཞུགས།

བས། བདག་གི་བྱ་སྤྱོད་ལུ་མེད་པའི་འབྲུལ། མེད་པའི་གུ་བྱུང་ན་འདྲི་ཅི་ལགས། བདག་  
ནི་ཤིན་ཏུ་མོའ་ནས། འཁོར་གྱི་ནམ་མ་ནས་མ་ལ་ལ་གསང་ནས། ལ་ལ་ལ་ཞུས།

ལ་པ་ རྒྱལ་པོ། ཡལ་གྱི་ནམ་ནམ། བའི་ཤ་། ལྷོ་མིང་བ་ཡང་མ་ཡིན། ལྷོ་མིང་  
ལྷོ་མ་ཡང་མིན། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷོ་མ་ཡང་མིན། ལྷོ་པོ་ནམ་མཁུ་ལྷོ་པོ་པོ་

ཡང་མྱོད་དོ། དཔངས་གྱིས་ཀྱང་ས་འཛོན་པ་ཡང་མྱོད་དོ། ལྷོ་དེ་གཉིས་ནི་པ་འབྲས་  
པ་ས་པགས་མོ། གཡས་ཉན་པ་ནི་འབྲས་མོང་གི་ཕྱོད་པགས་པ་པགས་མོ། གཡོན་

1. 4 རྒྱུང་བའི་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་ཅུང་པ་འགས་མོ། གཉེན་མཐོན་ལ་གདགས་ཆེད་བའི། མཐོན་  
པོས་ཐུང་བའི་འགྲོ་བའི་འགས་མོ། བདག་གིས་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་གཏུང་བརྒྱུད་

གཅིས་ནས། ལྷ་པ་ལྷ་པ་བཞུད་མོའི་ག་སྐར་བརྒྱུད་ནས་བཞུང་བས། །ས་ཉིད་ །དེ་ལྟ་

[illegible]

‘མཐུང་གསལ་’

• ३५ ।

1. 55

ཀྱལ་བྱ་མཚོ་ལ་བྱས་མཛད་དུ་ག་ཤེགས་ཅས་ན། རྒྱུང་བྱིང་ལང་ལིང་དུ་ག་ཡངས་  
ཀྱིས་ཅད་གཅད་པར་རིགས་སོ།།

ཡབ་ཀྱིས་དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་བཀའ་སྩལ་པས། ཀྱལ་བྱ་ཀྱང་། མནོས་པས། དེ་ལྟར་<sup>1. 6</sup>  
ལགས་པར་དགོངས་དེ། ཀྱལ་བྱ་ཉིད་དང་། འཁོར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། རོལ་ཚོ་ཀུན་ནི་  
བཅས་ནས། སྐྱ་བྱས་ཀྱི་དུས་ཐུག་པས། ཆས་གཟབས་ནས་མཛད་ཅིང་ཞུགས་སོ།།

སྤང་ནས་དམངས་ཀྱི་གཉིས་བྱིས་དུ་སྤྱར་ཕྱིན་ནས། བྱིས་བདག་མོས་འདྲིས་<sup>2</sup> Fol. 108  
པ། ལྷ་མིན་མེ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་མདུན་སར། བྱིད་སྤང་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱིན་ནས། ཀྱལ་བྱ་  
ཐོད་དཀར་དང་མཛལ་ལས། བྱ་ཚོ་བཙན་མོར་དབུལ་བ་འགྱུབ་། བས། དེ་སྐད་<sup>1. 2</sup>  
ཅེས་འདྲིས་པས། ཕྱིར་ལ་ལན་བདེ་པ། བདག་ཅག་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་མིན་མེ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་  
མདུན་སར་མཆིས་སོ། ཀྱལ་བྱ་ཐོད་དཀར་དང་ཞལ་ཡང་མཛལ་ལོ། བྱ་ཚོ་དབུལ་  
བའི་མཆི་ཚོག་ཞུས་ན། ཀྱལ་བྱས་། མ་གནང་མེ། སྤྱར་ལ་བཀའ་སྩལ་པ། བ་ནི་<sup>1. 3</sup>  
ག་ཡས་ཞར། བྱ་ནི་ག་ཡོན་འཐེང་། རིགས་ནི་དམངས་རིགས་སུ་གདོགས། བྱིད་ལ་  
ངའི་ཁབ་དུ་བཞེས་སུ་ཅུང་བའི་བྱ་ཚོ་ཅིག་སྤྱི་སྤྱེ་ངེས་ཀྱིས། ཤིན་དུ་མོད་ཅུང་བའི་<sup>1. 4</sup>  
སྤྱི་གཉིས་སྤང་གིས། རབ་དུ་གསང་དས་པར་གྱིས་ལ་སོང་གིག་གསུང་ནས། ཀྱལ་  
བྱ་བཞེངས་ནས། མདུན་སར་བརྒྱད། བདག་ཅག་གཉིས་ཀྱང་ཡངས་ནས་མཆིས།  
ཡི་ཐུག་ག་ཆད་ནས་། འབྱུང་ཅིང་འགན་ཅིང་ད་ལྟ་མཆིས་པ་ལགས་སོ། དེ་སྐད་<sup>1. 5</sup>  
གསུངས་པ་དང་། བ་ནི་བྱ་ཚོ་དབུལ་བ་མ་འགྱུབ་ནས། ཅུས་སོ། བྱ་ཚོ་ནི་ཀྱལ་  
བྱའི་མངན་ཚོག་ལ་ངོ་མཚར་སྤྲེས་ནས་ཆོད་དོ། བ་ནི་བྱང་ག་ཆད་ནས་འབྱུན་ནོ།།  
བྱས་སྤྲེས་པ།

L 6

བཅས་ བཞུགས་སོ། དྲིས་པ་ མདུན་ ཐོད་དཀར་ ཡང་



བྱད་མྱེད་བྱ་བ་ལས་ཀྱི་སྤྲིན་མོ་ཡིན།

ཆགས་པའི་གཞི་ས་ཆེ་བས་འདྲེའི་རིགས་སུ་གསོགས།

ཞེན་པའི་འདོད་ཆགས་དྲགས་པས་མངལ་གྱི་གྲོང་ཁྱིར་རྒྱ།

ཀྱལ་བྱ་མག་པར་ཐོབ་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དཀའ།

བྱ་མོ་༥ དམངས་ལ་བྱིན་ན་རབ་དུ་བཅུན།

ས་རུ་ས་ཤོད་ཟུ་སྤྱད་ལ་གྱིས།

དེ་སྤྲད་ཅེས་སྤྱས་པ་དང་། ས་ཡིས་བྱའི་གྲོས་ལ་བཅུད་དོ། ནང་པར་པ་ན་རེ།

དམངས་ལ་ཞོར་གྱིས་དོགས་པས། བཅོ་ལྷ་ཁང་པར་སྤྱས།

ཀྱལ་བྱའི་༥ ཁབ་དུ་ཕུལ་བས་མངན་མཚང་ཕྱིར་ལ་རྫོགས།

སྤྱས་ནས་ཅི་བྱི་ཐང་ལ་དབྱུང་བར་རིགས།

འདོད་པ་བྱང་ན་ཐད་ཀ་ས་ལ་སྤྱིན།

བྱ་མོས་སྤྱས་པ། ཀྱི་ཡབ་གཅིག་ལགས།

འཚོང་དུ་བྱིན་ན་རིན་ཆེན་གསེར་ཡང་མེད།

བྱ་མོ་འཕྲག་ཚོངས་བྱས་ན་ག་ལ་ཡོས།

ཀྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་པས་དས་པ་དངས་ཀྱང་བྱི་འདོད་ངེས།

བཅོ་ལྷ་སྤྱ་ཅུ་ཅུང་ན་རྒྱ་གཅིག་ངང་ངེ་ཐུང།

དགུན་རྒྱ་ཕྱི་མའི་ཉ་ལ་ཀྱལ་བྱ་ཁྱས་ལ་བྱིན།

དེ་ལ་སྤྲོང་གི་རྩ་༥ ནང་འོག་གི་ཁྱ་ཡང་འཚོག།

བདག་ཀྱང་དེ་ལ་ལྟ་དམི་རྩ་ཅུ་མཆི།

སྤྱད་

མངས་

བཅོ་ལྷ་

ཅིག་

བྱོ་ལྷ་

སྤྱ་

དེའི་གོང་དུ་ཡབ་གཅིག་དེ་སྒྲོང་བཀའ་མ་སྟེལ །

བྱ་མོས་དེ་སྒྲོང་སྤྲུལ་པས། ཡབ་ཡུམ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་དེ་ལྟར་གྲོས་གྱིས་བཅད་དོ། དེ་ནས་ ༥  
 རྒྱལ་བུ་ཉིད་དང་། འཁོར་པ་དང་། རོལ་མོ་བཅས་རྫོགས་པ་དང་། རྫོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་གྲིང་  
 མཚོ་ལྷ་ལེ་མྱོང་ལྷན་ཉན་གྱི་འགྲུས་དུ་སྤྱུ་བྱས་ལ་གཤེགས་སོ། འཁོར་པ་སང་པོས་  
 ཀྱང་། ལ་ལས་ནི་སེལ་འདེབས། ལ་། ལ་ནི་བྱས་གསོལ། ལ་ལས་ནི་ཚན་འཕྱོར་ ༥ 6  
 ལ་ལ་ནི་མྱུད་གཏོང་། ལ་ལ་ནི་ཕྱ་ལྷན་། ལ་ལ་ནི་གཡང་སྟོབ། ལ་ལ་རྩ་དྲུང་། ལ་  
 ལ་གཤང་འཁྱེལ། ལ་ལ་དུང་འབྱུང་། ལ་ལ་སྟོས་གཏོང་། ལ་ལ་དར་འབྱུར་།

མྱོང་གི་རྩ་དང་། འོག་གི་ཁྱུ་དང་། བར་གྱི་ཁྱི་དང་། དེ་ནས་ས་ཀྱང་ལ་ལ་ནི་རོལ་ Fol. 11a  
 མོ་སྒྱུར་། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྒྲོང་བ་བྱེད་། ལ་ལ་ནི་རྩ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་། ལ་ལ་ནི་སེ་དོག་འབྱལ་།  
 རྒྱལ་བུ་ཉིད་ནི་ཤིང་ན་འཁོར་མེ་ཅིབ་ ། བརྒྱད་པ་ལ་བཅིབས། སྤྱག་དང་གཡལ་ག་ ༥ 2  
 དང་། སེང་གེ་དང་། སྤང་པོ་ཆེ་ནས་ས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱོགས་བཞི་ནས་མཐའ་མནན་ནས་  
 གཤེགས་དེ། སྤང་བྱིང་ལ་སྤྱུ་བཅགས་།

ལང་ལིང་ཕྱོགས་གསུམ་བསྒྲོར་བའི་ཐ་ས་ལ། རྒྱལ་བུ་། སྤང་བྱིང་གི་དབུས་ ༥ 3  
 སུ་གཟིགས་ནས། གསུང་ཕུང་ནས་རྩ་ག་རྩ་བཅད་དོ། འཁོར་གྱི་དམ་པ་བྲམ་ཟེ་  
 གསལ་བྱུང་འོད་ལྷན་གྱིས་ཞུས་པ། མྱོང་གི་རྩ་དང་། བར་གྱི་ཁྱི་དང་། འོག་གི་  
 ཁྱུ་ནས་ས་ཀྱིས་རོལ་མོ་སྤྱོ་ཚོགས་བསྒྱུར་དེ་ཅིང་། གུས་པའི་ཞ་འབྲིང་བགྱིས་ཀྱང་། ༥ 4  
 ཤིན་དུ་ཐུགས་མ་རངས་ཞིང་། ཞལ་འཛུལ་པ་ལས་ཁྱི་མཛད་ན། སྤང་བྱིང་གི་  
 དབུས་སུ་གཟིགས་ནས། ཞལ་། རྩ་ག་རྩ་བཅད་པ་ངོ་མཚར་དུ་ཆེ་བ་ཅི་གཟིགས། ༥ 5  
 ཞེས་གསོལ་པས། རྒྱལ་བུས་བཀའ་སྟེལ་པ། འཁོར་གྱི་དམ་པ་བྲམ་ཟེ་གསལ་

༥ ཅིག་      ༥ ཁྱུད་      ༥ གཏོང་      ༥ བཞིན་ནས་      ༥ སྤྲུལ་



ཁྱེད་པོ་ལྟ་ན། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ལང་ལོང་གི་དབུས་མཁར་སྐྱོ་བོ་འཛིན་པ། ཁྱོད་པར་དུ།  
 l. 6 འཕགས་པའི་བྱ་མེ་ཅིག་སྐྱོང་། ཕྱི་ལོ་ཕྱི་བུ་ཁྱེད་སྐྱེས་མེ་ཅིག་ཡིན་ནས། ཁྱིའི་ཕྱི་  
 སྐྱེས་ནས་མཁར་ལྷ་མེ་ཅིག་ཡིན་ནས། དེ་ལ་ངོ་མཚར་སྐྱེས་ནས། ཁྱོད་པ་ཡིན།  
 Fol. 11b བྱས་ཟེ་ཤིང་དེའི་ཐུང་ནས་བཟླས་པས། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་དབུས་མཁར་གྱི་རྩེ་མོ་ལ་  
 བྱད་མེད་འདུག་པ་མཐོང་ནས། རྒྱལ་བུ་འགས། གཤུང་བ་འདྲའོ། སེམས་ཅན་  
 ཕྱི་མ་དང་ཁྱོད་པར་ཡོད་པ་ཅིག་གདོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འཛིན་པ་བཞེས་ནས་ཡང་ངོ་  
 l. 2 མཚར་རང་དུ་ཆེ་ཅིག་གདོ། ཕྱི་ལོ་མཚན་བདགས་པས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱ་བ་ལ་ཉི་མ་ཤར་  
 པ་འདྲ་བ་ཅིག་གདའ་བས། ཉི་འབར་མ་བྱ་བའི་རིགས་ཅིག་འགས་སམ། ཉི་མ་ལ་  
 རྒྱ་བ་ཤར་པ་འདྲ་བ་ཅིག་གདའ་བས། རྒྱ་འོད་མ་བྱ་བའི་རིགས་ཅིག་འགས་སམ།  
 l. 3 གཞུང་ཚོན་ལ་སྐར་མ་བཞོད་པ་འདྲ་བས། གཞུང་འབྲུག་མ་བཞི་བའི་རིགས་ཅིག་  
 l. 4 འགས་སམ། མཚན་ཤིན་ཏུ་བཟང་བ་ཅིག་གདའ་བས། འཁོར་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཤིང་  
 དུ་ཡང་མ་འདྲེན་ཅིག། རྒྱ་དང་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་རིལ་མོ་ཀུན་ཀྱང་། འཕྲོ་ཚད་ལ་དེར་  
 l. 5 གཞེས་ཅིག། བདག་གིས་མཁར་རྩེ་ཕྱིན་པ། བྱད་ཐུང་པ་གི་རྩེད་གཅད་ཀྱིས་  
 ཟེར་ནས། ཤིང་དུ་ལས་བྱས་ཟེ་བབས་ནས་སོང་ངོ། མཁར་གྱི་རྩེ་ཕྱིན་ནས་འདི་  
 སྐད་ཅེས་སྐྱས་སོ། མཁར་གྱི་རྩེ་ལ་འདུག་པའི་བྱ་མོ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་པ་ནི་གང་ཡིན། མ་  
 l. 6 ནི་གང་ཡིན། ཁྱོད་ནི་གང་ཡིན། རིགས་ནི་གང་གདོགས་ཅེས་བྱེདས་པས། བྱ་  
 མོས་ལན་མ་བདེ་བ་པར། ཕྱིར་ཕྱིད་ཀྱིས་འདས་དེ་སོང་ངོ། བྱས་ཟེས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་  
 Fol. 12a ཕྱི་རྣམས་ལ་འདྲིས་པས། ཕྱི་རྣམས་ན་དེ། པ་ནི་ས་ལ། མ་ནི་འགྱིར་དེ། བྱ་ནི་  
 གསལ་ལྟུང་། བྱ་མོ་དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ནི་སྐྱ་ན་མ་མཆིས་སོ།

འཁར་ མདྲོ་ གཞ་ འཁར་ པ་གི་ ཅུས་གཅད།  
 བྱད་ རྩས་

དེ་ནས་བྱས་ཟེས་སྤྱང་ལོག་ནས། རྒྱལ་བྱ་ལ་དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་གསལ་དོ། རྒྱལ་བྱ་འི་  
 ཞལ་ནས། ང་མཚོ་ལ་བྱས་ལ་འགྲོ་ཡིས། བྲིད་འདི་ཅ་འདུག་། ལ། བ་སྤྱང་དང་། ལ ༥  
 འཕྲོད་ལ། དམངས་ཀྱིས་མ་བརྒྱུམས་ཤིང་། ཤིན་དུ་མཚན་བཟང་ན། ཁབ་དུ་  
 བཞེས་ཀྱིས། ཚད་འདེགས་ཀྱིས་ལ་ཤོག་ཤིག་གསུང་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱས་ལ་  
 ག་ཤེགས་སོ།

དེར་བྱས་ཟེས་ཀྱང་མཁར་གྱི་ཅ་། ཅ་སྤྱིན་ནས། མཁར་བདག་སྒོར་ཤོག་ཅེས་། ལ ༥  
 བོས་པས། བྲུ་ཅིག་བྱང་ནས། བྱས་ཟེ་ཁབ་དུ་ག་ཤེགས་ཟེར་ནས། དེར་བྱིས་དུ་  
 སྤྱིན་ནས། བརྩས་པས། བྱ་མོ་དེའི་འདྲ་ནི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྒྲ་ལྔར་འབར་། ཞིང་སྤྱང་ངོ་། ལ ༥  
 བྱས་ཟེ་ཡང་ཆགས་པ་སྤྱེས་ནས་སྤྱོས་སོ། བཟའ་རྩམས་ཀྱིས་ཟས་སྒོས་བཅའ་  
 དགྲ་དྲངས་སོ། བྱས་ཟེས་གསལ་བ། བྲིད་ཀྱི་བྱ་མོ་འདི་ཤིན་དུ་མཚན་དང་ལྡན་  
 བས། དམངས་ཀྱིས་མ་བརྒྱུམས་ན། རྒྱལ་བྱ་འི་ཁབ་དུ་དབྱལ་དགོས་ཅེས་པས། ལ ༥  
 ལན་བདེ་བ།

བྱས་ཟེ་ཀླད་པོ་བྲིད་ཀྱང་ཅི་སྤྱི་གསུང་།

བདག་གི་བྱ་མོ་རྒྱལ་བྱ་སྤྱི་བཞེད་ངེས།

ལྷ་སྤྱིན་མདུན་སར་སྤུལ་བས་སྤྱང་ལ་མངན་མཚང་རྫོགས། །

བྱས་སྤྱོས་པ། དམངས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ཞབས་ནས་ཐེག་པ་རབ་དུ་དགའ་། ལ ༥

རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་བཀའ་ཡིས་རྩས་ན་འབྱལ་བ་བས།

བྱས་ཟེའི་ས་སྤྱངས་ཡིན་ན་ཁ་ལས་ཆེ།

• འདུ་ཅ་ • ཤིང་དུ་ • དེགས་ • རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ • རྒྱ་ • ཀ་

• འབྱལ་བར་བས།



Fol. 12b མས་སྤྲུལ་པ།

ཀྱལ་བྱ་བཞེད་ན་ཅི་ཕྱི་ཕྱི་འབྱུང་། ཡགས།

བྲམ་ཟེས་གྲུབ་ན་རབ་མོ་ཀྱལ་བ་ཡིན།

བདག་ཅག་འཁོར་པ་ནམས་ཀྱང་ཞབས་ཐོག་བགྱི།

དུས་ལ་བབ་པོ་བྲམ་ཟེ་སྤྲུལ་བྱ་རེས།

བྱ་མོས་སྤྲུལ་པ། ཀྱལ་བྱ་གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་འཆག་ཅས་ན།

L. 2

མ་དང་ཁྱུ་དང་ཕྱི་ལས་སྤྲུགས་པ་ནི།

འཁོར་པ་རབ་དུ་ཀྱ་ཆེ་གྲངས་སང་ཡང་།

ཀྱལ་བྱའི་ཞལ་ལྷ་མཚན་པ་བྲམ་ཟེ་ཀྱང་པོ་ཡགས།

སྤྲིང་ཟེས་ཀྱལ་བྱ་བཞེད་ན་པ་མ་ཀྱལ་སར་བྱུང་།

L. 3

འོས་པ་ཅས་ལ་བྲམ་ཟེ་ཞལ་མགྲོན་། ཆེ།

དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་སྤྲུལ་པས། བྱ་མོའི་གྲོས་ལ་བསྐྱུས་ནས། བྲམ་ཟེ་ཡང་ཡངས་དེ་སོང་ངོ།

བྲམ་ཟེ་ཀྱལ་བྱའི་སྤྲུན་སྤང་མཆིས་ནས། འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་གསོལ་དོ། ཀྱུ་ཀྱལ་བྱ་

L. 4

ཡགས། བདག་གིས་འདི་རིང་སྐབར་དེའི་ནང་དུ་མཆིས་སོ། བྱ་མོ་དེའི་པ་མ་

དང་མཐལ་ཡོ། གདུགས་ནས་མཚན་ཡང་བདགས་སོ། བྱ་མོ་ནི་ཤིན་དུ་ཡང་སྤྲེ་

L. 5

ཡགས་པ། མཚན་དང་རབ་དུ་མུན་པ། ཅིག་གཤེད་། ཀྱལ་བོའི་ཁབ་དུ་དབྱེ་

དཀོས་བགྱིས་པས། མ་ནི་ཤིན་དུ་ཡང་འབྲང་བར་གཤེད་། པ་ཕྱིང་གཉིས་ནི་ཤིན་

དུ་ཡང་ཕྱི་འབྲང་བར་གཤེད་། སྤྲོན་དུ་ཡང་ལྷ་མ་སྤྲོན་གྱི་མདུན་སར་བྱལ་བས། སྤྲུང་

L. 6

ལ་མངན་བགྲངས་། མཆི་ནས། ཡི་ཆད་ནས་གཤེད་། བྱ་མོ་རང་གིས་སྤྲུལ་པ། སྤྲིང་

ནས་བཀའ་ཡིས་མེད་ན། པ་མ་ཀྱལ་སར་བྱུང་གིག། མཆི་ནས་གཤེད་། ད་ཀྱལ་

་གྲོན་

་དེ་རིང་

་འཁམར་

་བདག་པོ་

་དེའོ་

བུའི་བྱུགས་ལ་ཇི་ལྟར་དགོངས་ཤེས་གསེལ་དོ། རྒྱལ་བུའི་ཞལ་ནལ། ॥ གོང་རོལ་ Fol. 134  
 དུ་དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཡིན། དར་ན་དེ་ཡིན། ཡང་། གཉེན་རྒྱ་ངན་ན། རང་ཅག་དམ་པ་བ་  
 ཡིན། རྒྱལ་སར་དབྱང་བར་གྲོས་ཀྱིས་ཆོད། བུ་མོ་དམངས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱུས་ས་ན།  
 བདག་དང་འགྲོགས་དབང་བྱེད། བ་མ་༥ དེ་ནི་དེ་རྒྱལ་སར་བྱང་ལ་ནང་བར་འབྱལ་ 1 2  
 གྲོས་ཀྱིས།

དེ་སྐད་གསུང་ནས། རྒྱལ་བུ་སྤྱོད་གྱི་མངན་ལ་ནང་ནས། བྲོས་ཐབས་སུ་བཞུད་  
 བར་གྲོས་ཀྱིས་བཅད་དོ། འཁོར་བ་ནས་ས། རྫོན་པོའི་ཚོགས་དང་། དམག་སྤྱིའི་  
 ཚོགས་༥ དང་། རོལ་མོའི་ཚོགས་ནས་སྤེད་བྱེད་བགོས་ནས། རོལ་མོ་ལྷང་རིངས་ 1 3  
 སུ་ག་ཤེགས་སོ། བྲམ་ཟེས་སྤྱ་བྱངས་བ་ནས་སྤི་བྱོང་བྱིར་ལང་ལིང་དུ་ག་ཤེགས་  
 སོ། རྒྱལ་བུ་འོལ་མོ་ལྷང་རིངས་ ॥ སྤྱ་བྱོན་ནས། སང་གི་ཉི་མ་ལ་བཙན་མོ་འོང་ 1 4  
 བར་ཡབ་ལ་ཞུས་སོ། ཡབ་ལྟས་ཀྱང་དགེས་ནས། སྤྱ་མཚོག་པོའི་བོན་པོ་དང་།  
 གཡང་ཐོན་བའི་བོན་པོ་དང་། དཔྱལ་ཐག་འདོགས་པའི་བོན་པོ་དང་། ॥ ཞལ་སྤྱོད་ 1 5  
 པའི་བོན་པོ་ནས་སྤྱན་འབྱེན་པ་བཟང་ངོ། ལྷལ་ཁམས་དེའི་སྤྱི་ནས་སྤྱ་ཀྱང་། ལྷན་  
 མོ་ལྟ་བུ་དང་། སྤྱན་མ་ལ་རབ་དུ་ག་ཟེངས་སོ།

དེ་ནས་བྲམ་ཟེགས་ལ་ཁབ་འོད་ལྟ་ནི་འོངས་ནས། བྱོང་བྱིར་ལང་། ལིང་གི་སྤྱི་ 1 6  
 རྒྱུས་ལ་སྤྱ་བཟང་ནས། མདུན་མ་བསྐྱུས་ནས་འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་སྤྱུས་སོ། བགའ། སྤྱི་  
 རྒྱུས་༥ ས་ལ་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོར་བྱང་བ་ལགས་སོ། འགྱིར་དེ་ནི་རྒྱལ་མོར་བྱང་བ་ལགས་  
 སོ། གསལ་ཁབ་ནི་རྒྱལ་བྱར་༥ བྱང་བ་ལགས་སོ། བུ་མོ་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཁབ་དུ་ Fol. 135  
 བྱལ་བ་ལགས་སོ། རྫོན་པོ་དང་། དམག་སྤྱི་ནས་སྤི་རྒྱལ་པོས་པའི་རྒྱལ་དེན་དུ་



1. 2 ལྷལ་པ་ལགས་སོ། སྤྱི་བྱིང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཞབས་ནས་ཐོག་ཤིག། སང་གི་ཉི་མ་  
ལ་བུ་མོ་ཡང་རྒྱལ་བུ་ལ་འབུལ་བས། བྱིང་ཁས་ཅིག་ཀྱང་ཉ་འབྲིང་དང་སྤྱི་རྟེན་ལ་  
ཆ་དགོས་སོ། དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་སྤྲུམ་པས། སྤྱིང་བྱིང་ལང་ལིང་གི་སྤྱི་རྣམས་འདུས་
1. 3 ལས་གྲོས་བྱས་པས། རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་བཅད་པས། ས་། ལའི་ཞབས་ཏོག་བཀྱི་  
བར་བཅད་དོ། ལུ་མོ་ལ་ཡང་ཆོངས་བདབ་ལ། ཉ་འབྲིང་དང་སྤྱིལ་ས་བཀྱི་བར་བཅད།  
བྱས་ཟེལ་ཡང་དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་གསོལ་དོ། དེར་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཀྱང་སྤྱིད་པའི་བོན་པོ་སྤྲུན་།
1. 4 དངས་ནས། སྤྱིང་དང་སྤྱིང་གི་དཔལ་བགོས་སོ། ལུ་ཡང་སྤྲན་ནས་ལྷ་གསོལ་ལོ།  
སྤྱིང་བྱིང་གི་སྤྱི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་བུ་མོའི་སྤྱི་ཆར་རེལ་གཡུ་འབྲིང་རེ་བདགས་སོ།
1. 5 བྱས་ཟེལ་། བག་སའི་ཆིབས་ནི་གསེར་གྱི་ཤིང་དྲ་འཁོར་ལོ་བཞི་བལ་བསྐྱོན་དོ།  
དར་དང་ཟེའོག་གི་སྤྱབས་སུ་བཅུག་ནས། སྤྱིང་བྱིང་གི་སྤྱི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བདགས་  
པས། སྤྱི་རྣམས་ཀྱང་འོད་ཀྱིས་འཛིག་པ་ལྷར་གདའོ།
1. 6 སྤྱིང་བྱིང་གི་སྤྱི་། བྱིང་སྤྱིད་ལ་སཁལས་པ་བྱ་བས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྤྲན་པ་གསོལ་དོ།  
རྒྱལ་པོ་ལགས། བྱིང་གི་སྤྱུམ་མོ་འདི་ནི་གནས་འདི་འུ་སྤྱིས་པ་ནི་ཡབ་ཡུམ་དྲ་ཨ་  
ཅང་ཡང་ཆེས། བདག་ཅག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཡང་བསོད་ནམས་ལགས་སོ། རིན་གྱི་བབས་  
ཅིག་ས་པལ་བར། གཏང་དུ་པངས་པ་ཅིག་གཏང་ན། རྒྱལ་སར་བྱིནད་པ་ནི་རབ་དུ་  
ཡང་བཟང་ལྟེ། རིན་དུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྤྱིང་པོ་ཆེ་བཀྱིའི་ཁལ་དབབ་འཛལ་ལོ། སྤྱིའི་
1. 2 རྒྱལ་པོས་རིན་ས་ཐོག་ན། ལྷ་ཁྱའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཅིག་ལ་ལུལ་ན། བདག་ཅག་གི་སྤྱིང་  
བྱིང་གི་སྤྱི་རྣམས་ཅས་ཡང་རྒྱལ་སར་སྤྱིབས་པར་ངེས། དེ་སྐད་སྤྲུམ་པས། རྒྱལ་  
པོས་ལ་ཡང་སཉེས་པས། བྱིང་སྤྱིད་ལ་སཁལས་པས་སྤྲུམ་པ་ཤིན་དུ་ཡང་ལགས་

Fol. 14a

'རྟོན་

'འཛའ་

'རྒྱལ་ས་

སོགས་ལྟར་ནས་ ། ། བྱས་ཆེ་ལ་བཀའ་སྣུལ་པ་ ། བདག་གི་བྱ་མོ་འདི་ལྟ་བུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ ༥ ༣  
 ཅིག་ལ་བྱལ་ནན་ ། གོང་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་ཁྱི་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་པོར་ཕྱིན་ཏེ་མཆི་ན་ ། རིན་གྱི་  
 བབས་རྒྱུད་སྤྲུལ་པས་ ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལྷང་པོ་ཆེ་བརྒྱུད་ ། ། ཁལ་སྤྱིན་དགོས་ཅས་བཀའ་ ༥ ༤  
 སྣུལ་པས་ ། བྱས་ཆེས་གསོལ་བ་ །

བཀའ་མ་དེ་ལ་ཞོན་ནས་ ། རིན་འབབས་ཨེ་རེ་འཕྱི་ །

དམངས་རིགས་རྒྱལ་པོར་བྱུང་བ་རིན་གྱི་དམ་པ་ལགས་ །

སྤྱི་ཡུལ་གཙང་ ། ། མ་ཐོབ་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་ལྟ་བུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བས་ཀྱང་སྤྱིའི་བསོད་ ༥ ༥  
 རྣམས་ཆེ་ ། རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་དགོང་མཛོད་ན་ ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཡང་ཅུའི་གུས་པ་འདྲ་ །  
 གོང་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་རྣམས་ཙམ་ཡང་བྱུག་པོར་འགྲོ་བའི་ནོར་ ། བ་ ། ལྷང་བརྒྱུད་ཁལ་དུ་ ༥ ༦  
 རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་ལྟ་བུ་བཀའ་ ། གོང་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་རྣམས་བདག་ལ་བསྐྱུར་ལ་གདང་ཆེར་ནས་  
 ཁས་སྤྲུངས་སོ་ །

དེ་ནས་གོང་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་ཁྱི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཁྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཅང་གཙང་མ་དང་ ། བྱ་མོ་གཙང་མ་  
 རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྦྱེལ་ས་ ། མཛོད་ན་ས་ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་འབྱུལ་དུ་གཤེགས་སོ་ ། དེར་འོལ་ Fol. 14b  
 མོ་ལྷང་རིངས་ཀྱི་ས་དགས་གཅིག་ལ་ཕྱིན་ཙམ་ན་ ། དམངས་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱེད་གཙང་  
 མ་དང་ ། བྱ་མོ་གཙང་མས་དང་དཀར་གྱི་གཡལ་བཞིས་བསྟུང་ ། དེ་ནས་ས་དགས་ །  
 གཉིས་ལ་ཕྱིན་ཙམ་ན་ ། རྒྱུ་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱེད་གཙང་མ་དང་ ། བྱ་མོ་གཙང་མ་བརྒྱས་ ༥ ༧  
 མཚལ་སྦྱོས་ཀྱི་དུ་བས་བསྟུང་ ། དེ་ནས་ས་དགས་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱིན་ཙམ་ན་ ། བྱས་ཆེའི་  
 ཁྱེད་དང་ ། བྱ་མོ་གཙང་མ་བརྒྱས་སྤྱུ་ཁྱུས་དང་ ། ། ཚན་ཆབ་ཀྱིས་བསྟུང་ ། དེ་ནས་ ༥ ༨  
 རྒྱུ་འབྲང་ཁྱེད་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཙམ་ན་ ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱི་བོན་པོས་ ། བདུད་ནི་མཚོད་ ། སྤྱི་ནི་



1. 4 མནན་ནི། ལུང་ནི་ཕུང་དོ། འཕེན་པ་མེད་པོ། དཔལ་ནི་བསྐྱབས་སོ། ། དེ་ནས་ཀྱལ་  
 རིགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱི་ནས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱིས། གཡང་ཆ་ལྷ་ཆོགས་པ་ཐོགས་ནས་བསྐྱེད། དེ་ནས་རིན་  
 པོ་ཆེ་འབར་བའི་མཁར་པར་པོ་སོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས། བག་མའི་ཁྱིང་ཡང་  
 1. 5 ལྷ་བོན་༥ པོས། ཁྱི་ཕྱི་ལྷ་ཕྱི་ན་ཡོ་ཕྱི་ཀྱལ་ཞད་མར་བདགས་སོ། ། གཡུའི་ཁྱི་སྤྱོད་  
 མོ་ལ་བཞག་གོ། ཁྱི་བོན་ལྷ་བོན་ན་ཀྱལ་བོན་ཐོད་དཀར་ནི། གཤེར་ཁྱི་གཤེར་  
 1. 6 པོ་ལ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ་བཞགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་སྤོན་ལས་ལྷས་༥ བདབ། ཞལ་བསྐྱོ་ལྷས་  
 བགྱིས། དཔུ་ཐག་དཔུས་བདགས། བྱ་གཡང་ཕྱས་ལྷན། དེ་ལྷར་ལྷངས་དང་དབྱལ་  
 དུ་བསྐྱོགས་སོ། །

ནང་པར་བྱས་ཟེགས་ལ་ཁྱབ་འོད་ལྡན་གྱིས། ཀྱལ་བུའི་སྤྱན་སྤར་ཕྱིན་ནས། །

- Fol 15a འདི་སྤྱད་ཅེས་གསོལ་དོ། ཀྱལ་བུ་ལགས། ཀྱལ་པོ་སྤྱོད་ལས་སྤྱོད་མོ་ལ་རིན་བསྐྱར་  
 ནས་པ་བ་པ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལྷ་ལྷ་བན་ལྱང་གི་ཁལ་བརྒྱ་འདོད་པར་བཀའ་སྤྱལ་པས། །  
 1. 2 བདག་གིས་ཀྱང་གཡང་གྱིས། ལྷངས། ཁྱོང་ཁྱིང་གི་ཁྱི་ནས་སྤྱོད་ལ་ཡང་བཟང་བར་  
 བཅད། དེ་སྤྱད་ཅེས་བྱས་ཟེས་གསོལ་ནས། ཀྱལ་བུས་གསོལ་པ། འོ་ན་ཁྱོད་གས་  
 1. 3 པོ་ལྷ་ཅེའི་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ན། ལྷགས་ཀྱི་སྤོན་ཆེན་པོ་ཅིག་བཅུག་པའི་སྤོན་ཁ་ན། ལྷགས་  
 ཀྱི་ཁྱི་ཆེན་པོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་འོད་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་འཕྱོ། སྤྱན་ནི་བརྒྱུག། ཞལ་ནི་གདེངས།  
 ཆོས་སྤྱི་གཏོགས། ཞབས་ནི་བགྱུད་། བྱག་ན་གནས་ལྷགས་དཔལ་གྱི་བྱད་ནོ། །  
 1. 4 དུག་ཅལ་ཐོག། གི་ཆ་ཆ་འཕྱོ་བ་བསྐྱེས་སྤྱོད་པ། དེས་གང་ལ་བརྒྱབ་ཀྱང། དུས་  
 ལུང་གཏོང་དོ། དེའི་སྤྱན་ལས་དུ་སོང་ལ། ཤིང་དོག་དང། འབྲུ་དང། ཁྱི་དོག་

བནན་      འཁར་      ཀྱང་      འདྲངས་ཏེ་      ཞལ་སྤོས་  
 དཔུར་གྱིས་      ཀྱ་ན་      དབྱུད་      བྱད་ནོ་

དང ། གསེར་དངུལ་གྱི་གཞིགས་མས་མཆོད་ཅིང་ ། དུག་གིས་ལ ། འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་ ལ 5  
སྒྲིམ་གྱི།

ཀྱལ་པོའི་བཅུན་མོའི་རིན་དུ།

རིན་ཆེན་ཁལ་བཀྱ་པལ།

ཁལ་དང་རིན་ཆེན་གཉིས་ཀ།

ཁྱོད་གྱིས་མཆོད་དགོས་སྐད།

ཀྱལ་པོ་གདུང་ ། རབས་ཆད་ན།

L 6

ནོར་གྱིས་ཅི་བགྱིར་མཆིས།

དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་ཞུས་ལ་སོང་དང་། ཡུལ་དེ་ན་རི་ཕྱང་ཀུན་ཀྱང་རིན་ཆེན་སྒྲིང་དུ་ཡོད།  
ས་ནོ་བའི་ཕྱིང་ཡང་བྱེད་མེ ། བན་གྲང་བཀྱའི་ཁལ་བས་སྒྲིང་གི་ཁལ་ཡང་ཅི་  
དགའ་མེ ། རིན་ ། གྱི་བབས་ཡིན་བས། ཁལ་བཀྱ་སྐྱར་ །

Fol. 15b

དེ་ནས་བྱས་ཐེས་བག་མའི་སྒྲིལ་མ་ནམས་ཁྱིད་དེ ། གསལ་མཁའ་ཤས་པོ་  
ལྷ་ཅེའི་བྱང་ངོས་སུ་བྱོན་ནས། ཀྱལ་པོ་གསུང་བ་དང་མཐུན་བར། རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རི་  
ལ་ལྷགས་གྱི་སྒྲི་བཅུག་ ། པ་ན། ། ཤིན་དུ་སྒྱི་འཇིགས་པའི་ཕྱི་ཅིག་གདའ་བས། ལ 2  
ཀྱལ་པོ་གསུང་བ་ལྟར་བགྱིས་ནས་ཞུས་ནས། ཕྱི་དེའི་ཞལ་ནས། རོར་གྱི་རྩ་ཨ་གྱི་  
ཇོས་བ་ལ་བྱ་བ་ང་ཡིན་ཏེ། སྒྲིང་བ་གསུམ་གྱི་ནོར་བྱིན། སྐལ་བ་གསུམ་གྱི་དབང་ །  
བསྐྱར། འབྱུང་བ་བཞིའི་གཏོར་བསྐྱུང་བ་ཞིག་ལགས་ན། ཀྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་ཡིས་ ལ 3  
བཅད་ནས། བདག་ལ་དབང་མ་མཆིས། བདག་ཀྱང་ཀྱལ་པོའི་སྒྲིན་ལས་མཐུའི་སྐྱ་  
ཀྱེན་ཡིན། དེའི་ཕྱི་དེ། ། ལྷ་བྱ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཁྱེ་ཅུང་གཡུའི་རྩར་སྐད་ཅན་བཀྱ་



- དང་མཛེས་དུ་སོང་ནས ། ལྷགས་ཀྱི་སྒྲིལ་བས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་གསུང་བ་དང་མཐུན་པར །  
 1. 5 རི་ཕྱང་ཀུན་ཀྱང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བ་གདའ ། ས་རྩོད་བ་ཕྱིང་ཕྱི་སྤྱི་དོ ། ཁྱོང་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་སྤྱི་  
 རྣམས་ངོ་མཚར་ནས་ཆོད ། བྱིའུ་ཕྱང་གསུའི་རྩེར་ཕྱད་ཅན་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས ། ཕྱིད་  
 ཀྱིས་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཁྱང་པོ་ཆེ་བ་རྒྱ་བ་བྱུང་ནས ། རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སྒྲིལ་བལྟུང ། ཕྱིད་ཀྱིས་  
 1. 6 རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་བྱ་བར་རིན་པོ་ཆེའ་སྒྲིལ་ཆོགས་ཀྱིས ། བཀང་ནས་བཀལ་ལོ ། དེར་གྱོང་  
 ཁྱིམ་ལང་ལིང་གི་སྤྱི་ལ་བྱས་ཟེགས་ལ་བྱབ་འོད་ལྡན་གྱིས་སྒྲིལ་བ ། ཁྱོང་ཁྱིམ་ལང་  
 ལིང་གི་བྱིའུ་གཙང་མ་དང་བྱ་མོ་གཙང་མ་རྣམས ། འདི་ཕྱིད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ས་ལའི་རྒྱན་  
 Vol. 16a དང་རྒྱུད་དུ་ཕྱལ་ ། ཅིག ། ཕྱིད་ནི་ཁྱོད་འཁོར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་ཤིག་གསུང་  
 བས ། ཁལ་འཁོར་པས་དེད་ནས་སོང་ངོ ། དོ་ནོད་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་སྒྲོར་པོ་གན །  
 1. 2 ཁྱོང་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་སྤྱི་རྣམས་ཀྱང་འདུས་ནས་ངོ་མཚར་སྒྲིལ་སོ ། ལ་ལ་ནི་ཆོད ། ལ་ལ་  
 རི་མཚོང ། ལ་ལ་ནི་འགྲེ ། ལ་ལ་ནི་གཡང་ཐོན ། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྒྲིལ་གསོལ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ས་  
 ལའི་ཞལ་ནས ། བྱིའུ་དང་བྱ་མོ་ཀུན ། ལུ་བྱ་ལ་འདི་ཙམ་ཅིག་བསྐྱར་བའི་དྲིང་ལ་  
 1. 3 འདི་བྱ་མོ་ལ་འགའ་ ། ལུས་སམ ། བྱིའུ་སྤྱིད་ལ་མཁམས་པས་གསོལ་བ །

པའི་ཤ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ས་ལ་ཅི་སྤྱི་གསུང །

འོ་སྒྲིལ་སྒྲིལ་པའི་ལུས་ནས་སྒྲིལ་བ །

1. 4 ཕྱི་ལུས་གཙང་མ་ཐོབ་པ ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་དཀོར་ ། མཛོད་ན །

རི་ཕྱང་ཀུན་ཀྱང་རིན་ཆེན་གྱིང་དུ་གདའ །

ས་རྩོད་འོད་ཀྱང་བཙལ་དུ་སྤྱི་ཆེད་ཉེས །

བདག་ཀྱང་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགའ་ལ་རབ་དུ་འགྱོད །

དགའ་ནི་རིན་ཆེན་ཁལ་བརྒྱ་ཐོབ་༥ བས་དགའ་༥

l. 5

འགྲོད་ནི་བན་གྲང་འབྲས་གི་ཁལ་ནས་པ་བ་འགྲུར་ཡང་༥ རྒྱལ་པོའི་དཀོར་ལ་  
དགའ་བ་བྱེད་བས་འགྲོད་༥ ཁྲོས་ཕྱགས་བདག་གིས་ཕྱང་བས༥ གསུམ་ཆ་བདག་  
ལ་ཞུ༥ དེ་ནས་གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་ཕྱི་༥ མས་ཀྱིས་མདུན་ཕྱང་བཅད་ནས༥ དམངས་པལ་༥

l. 6

པོ་ལ་ཕྱི་དབང་ཟེར་རོ༥ ༥ ས་ལས་གསུངས་བ༥ བཞི་ཆ་ཁོ་ལ་བྱིན་ལ༥ གཞན་ས་ Fol. 16b

ས་མཉམ་པོར་གོས༥ རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་ལ་བརྟེན་༥ ནས༥ ཁྱེུ་ལ་བཞི་ཆ་བྱིན་ནོ༥ ཕྱི་༥

l. 7

ས་མཉམ་པོར་བགོས་བས༥ གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་ཀྱང་ཀྱང་ཕྱག་གོ༥ ༥ ༥ l. 8

བཀའ་འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གཟེར་སྤྱིག་གི་རྒྱུད་ལས༥ གཤེན་རབས་༥

l. 9

ཡབ་དང་ཡུས་གྱི་ལེུ་ཕྱེ་གཉིས་སོ༥



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གཤེན་རྩམ་བཀའ་སྒྲུབ་པ། རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱས་ཞུས་སམ། གསོལ་པ་ནི་ཤིན་  
 ཏུ་ཡང་ལེགས་སོ། རབ་ཏུ་ཡང་ལེགས་སོ། རུས་འདི་ལ་རྩ་གཤེན་སྲིད་པ་གསུམ་  
 ཀྱི་བཅུན་༥ པ་འབྱུང་ཞེ། རྩ་བདག་དང་། གཤེན་ཁྱོད་གཉིས། སྲིད་པ་སངས་པོ་ ༥  
 འབྲུམ་ཁྱི་དང་གསུམ་ཀྱི་བཅུན་དཔ་འབྱུང་བ་ཡིན་དེ། ངས་ནི་ཡོང་སྤྱོད་རྩོགས་པའི་  
 སྐྱ་བྱ་བ་ལས་ས་ཐོབ་པས། སྤྱོན་ཚོ་༥ སྤྱངས་པའི་ལས་འབྲོ་ཅན་པར་ལ་འོད་ ༥  
 གསལ་བྱ་བ། ཡི་གཤེན་གཡུང་རྒྱུང་སེམས་དཔའ་ཤེས་བྱའི་སྐྱབ་པས་བསྐྱབས་  
 ནས། ས་ས་ཐོབ་པ་ནས་སྐྱབ་པ་བསལ་ནས། ས་ཐོབ་པར་བྱ་བའི་འདྲིན་སྟོན་ཅས་  
 ལས་ས་༥ རུས་སོ། ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ནི་ཇིང་ཡང་སྐྱུལ་པའི་སྐྱ་བྱ་བ་ཐོབ་པ་ལགས་སོ། དེ་ ༥  
 ཡིས་ནི་ཤེས་བྱའི་སྐྱབ་པ་དང་། ཉན་སྟངས་པའི་སྐྱབ་པ་གཉིས་ཀ་བྱང་བ་  
 ལགས་སོ།

འདུལ་བའི་རུས་ཀྱང་འདི་ལགས་སོ། དེ་སྐྱེ་༥ བ་ཡང་རྩའི་རིགས་འོད་དང་། Fol. 18b  
 རྩ་འབྲུམ་ཏུ་སྐྱེ་བ་ནས་ས་ལ་ཡང་ས་གཤེགས་ཤིག། དེ་ནི་ཡོང་པོ་སྲིད་པའལ་  
 སངས་བྱ་བ་ལགས་དེ། ཤིན་ཏུ་འདུལ་བའི་རྒྱ་ཅུང་ལ། འཁོར་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་  
 གདུལ་དཀའ་བས། དེ་ལ་ཡང་༥ མ་གཤེགས་ཤིག། བྱ་རིགས་སྟོང་ནས་སྐྱུལ་ ༥  
 པའི་སྐྱེ་བ་དེ་ལ་ཡང་ས་གཤེགས་ཤིག། སངས་པ་སྐྱ་ཕྱོ་བྱ་བའི་སྲིད་པ་ལགས་དེ།  
 ཤིན་ཏུ་སེམས་ཅན་གདུལ་དཀའ་བ་ལ། རབ་ཏུ་ཐར་པ་ཐོབ་པ་དཀའ་བས། སྐྱེ་༥ བ་ ༥  
 དེ་ལ་ཡང་ས་གཤེགས་ཤིག། འབྲུ་རིགས་ཤོད་ལས་སྐྱེ་བ་དེ་ལ་ས་གཤེགས་  
 ཤིག། མཐོན་པོ་སྐྱབས་ཐེད་ཀྱི་སྲིད་པ་བྱ་བ་ལགས་དེ། ཤིན་ཏུ་གདུལ་དཀའ་བ་ལ།  
 ཐར་པ་ཐོབ་པ་རབ་ཏུ་ཉུང་། བས། སྐྱེ་བ་དེ་ལ་ཡང་ས་གཤེགས་ཤིག། L. 4



སྒྲིབ་ནས་པ་བཞི་ལས་ཁྱད་ས་བཅུན་ཅིང་མཆོག་གཙང་བཞི་བྱི་ལུས་རིན་པོ་ཅེ་

1. 5 ལགས་པས། ཐང་ལས་སྒྲོ་འབྲེད་ཀྱི་སྤྲོད་པ་ཡིན་པས། གཙང་མ་བྱི་ཅུ་༥ སྒྲིབ་  
ལ་གཤེགས་ཤིག། རིགས་ཀྱི་ལ་རིགས་ལྟ་བུའི་སྤྲོད་པ་ལ་སྒྲིབ་གཤེགས་ཤིག། དེ་  
ནི་དུས་ད་ལྟ་ཀྱི་ལ་རིགས་བཀའ་བཅུན་བའི་བྱིང་ལོ།

1. 6 འགྲོ་བ་རིས་དྲུག་ལ་ཡང་། ལྷའི་ལྷུང་དུ་སྤྲོད་པ་མ་གཤེགས་། ཤིག་། ལྷ་  
ནས་ས་ཡོངས་སྤྲོད་ལས་ཡོངས་ནས། བསྟན་པ་ཉན་བྱི་ཁྲིས་པས། འགའ་དང་  
འགའ་ཙམ་ལས་ཤིན་དུ་གཏུལ་དགའ་ལོ། ལྷ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་ལྷུང་དུ་ཡང་སྤྲོད་པ་

Fol. 19a མ་གཤེགས་ཤིག། ཁོ་འཕས་དང་། བདག་ཀྱི་ལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུག་བསྐྲུལ་གྱིས་ཡོངས་  
ནས། བསྟན་པའི་བོན་ཉན་བྱི་ཁྲིས་པས། འགའ་དང་འགའ་ཙམ་ལས་ཤིན་དུ་གཏུལ་

1. 7 དགའ་ལོ། གྲུལ་སོང་གི་ལྷུང་དུ་སྤྲོད་པ་ལ་མ་གཤེགས་ཤིག། གྲུལ་སོང་ནས་ས་  
ནི་སྤྲོད་དཀྱགས་ཀྱིས་ཁྲིས་ནས། སྤྲན་པའི་ས་གཏིབས། གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་ཟ་བའི་  
སྤྲུག་བསྐྲུལ་གྱིས་ཡོངས་ཤིང་འབྲོས། དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྤྲུག་བསྐྲུལ་གྱིས་ཆེན་པས།

1. 8 བསྟན་པའི་བོན་ཉན་བྱི་ཁྲིས་། མོ། ལས་འབྲེ་ཅན་འགའ་དང་འགའ་ཙམ་ལས་  
ཤིན་དུ་གཏུལ་དགའ་ལོ། ཡི་དགས་ཀྱི་ལྷུང་དུ་སྤྲོད་པ་མ་གཤེགས་ཤིག། ཡི་

1. 9 དགས་ནས་ས་ནི། ཞེན་ཅིང་ཆགས་པའི་འདོད་པས་བརྒྱལ། བཀྲེས་ཤིང་སྒྲོས་བའི་  
སྤྲུག་བསྐྲུལ་གྱིས་ཆེན་དེ། དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྤྲུག་བསྐྲུལ་གྱིས་གཏུངས་པས། དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་

1. 10 བསྟན་པའི་བོན་ཉན་བྱི་ཁྲིས་མོ། ལས་འབྲེ་ཅན་འགའ་དང་འགའ་ཙམ་ལས་། ཤིན་  
དུ་གཏུལ་དགའ་ལོ། དབྱུང་བའི་ལྷུང་དུ་སྤྲོད་པ་མ་གཤེགས་ཤིག། དབྱུང་བ་  
ནས་ས་ནི། ཚ་གྲང་གི་བཅོ་བསྟེན་དང་། སྤྲུག་བསྐྲུལ་གྱི་གཤེག་གཏུབ་དང་། བོ་ཀོ་ལ་

་གྱི་

་བཅུན་

་ཀྱི་བས་

་གཏོ་

་བཅུལ་བ་

ལྷན་གྱི་བདུང་བཅོག་དང་། དེ་༥ ལྷ་བུའི་ལྷག་བསྐལ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་སྐུ་ལས་༥ ལྷ་ལྷི་<sup>1. 6</sup>  
ཁོས་མོ༥ ། ལས་འགྲོ་ཅན་འགའ་དང་འགའ་ཅས་ལས་ཤིན་དུ་གདུལ་དགའ་བོ་༥

འགྲོ་བ་རིས་དུག་ལ་ཡང་སྤྱིའི་ཡུལ་དུ་སྟོན་བ་གཤེགས་ཤིག ། ལྷི་ནམས་ལ་  
ཡང་སྐད་ཅིག་མ་ཐ་མའི་སེམས་༥ བསྐྱེད་ལེགས་པས་༥ ལྷི་ལུས་ཐོབ༥ ལྷིན་དུ་སྟོན་<sup>Fol. 19b</sup>  
ལས་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་སྤྱད་པས་༥ ཀྱན་གཞི་ལ་དུག་ལྷ་ལྷི་སྟོན༥ ལྷིན་པས་ལྷི་འདུལ་བའི་  
ལྷི་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ༥ ལྷིན་ནས་དགོ་བཅུ་སྟོན་སྟོན་པ༥ ལྷི་ལུས་དེ་ལས་༥ ཐར་བ་ཐོབ་<sup>1. 2</sup>  
བ་ཁ་ན༥ ལྷིན་པས་གདུལ་ནི་ལྷི་དགོས་པའི་ལྷི་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ༥ ལྷིག་པའི་སྟོན་དཔོན་  
དང་ལྷན་ནས་༥ ལོག་པར་བྱིད་ན་ངན་སོང་དུ་སྐྱེ་ལ༥ དགོ་བའི་སྟོན་དཔོན་དང་ལྷན་  
ནས་༥ དགོ་བའི་དོན་བསྟན་༥ ན༥ མཐོ་རིས་དང་༥ ཐར་བ་ཐོབ་པ་ནི་མང་པོ་ཡོད་དོ༥<sup>1. 3</sup>  
ལྷིང་ན་ལྷི་ནམས་ནི༥ ལྷི་ཁོས་བའི་འདུ་བྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཟེན་བ་ལགས་པས་༥ ལྷིན་པའི་སྤྱི་  
དེར་གཤེགས་ཤིག ། བསྟན་པའི་༥ ཐོན་དེར་སྟེལ་ཅིག ། དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་བཀའ་སྤྲུལ་<sup>1. 4</sup>  
པས་༥ ཡང་སྤྱད་པའི་བྱེད་གསལ་ལ་བས་ཞུས་པ༥ ཡེ་ཤེས་སྤྱིའི་སྟོན་བ་ལགས་༥  
ལྷག་བསྐལ་ནི་ངན་སོང་གསུམ་ཆེན་༥ ལྷིའི་ཡུལ་དུ་༥ གཤེགས་ཤིག་པ་ཅི་ལགས་<sup>1. 5</sup>  
ཅེས་གསོལ་པས་༥ ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་སྤྲོ་གཤེན་སྤྲོ་དགའ་པོས་བཀའ་སྤྲུལ་པ༥ སྤྱད་པའི་  
བྱེད་སྤྲུལ་ལ་ནི་ལེགས་མོ༥ ལྷག་བསྐལ་ལྷི་བ་ཆེ་ཡང་༥ ལྷི་ལས་འདུལ་བ་འབྱུང་༥  
ལྷི་ལས་ལྷི་ཁོས་བའི་ལྷག་བསྐལ་བྱེད༥ དཔེར་ན༥ འགྲོ་བ་རིས་དུག་སེམས་ཅན་ནི༥<sup>1. 6</sup>  
རྩོམ་གྱིད་མ་བཞིན་དུ་༥ གཅིག་ནས་གཅིག་དུ་འགྲོ༥ ལྷི་ཅུ་སྟེ་བའི་འཁོར་བ་གྱུན་  
བཅད་ནས་༥ ཐར་བ་བདེ་བའི་གནས་སྤྱི་༥ ལྷིས་འགྱུར་ན༥ དཔེར་ན༥ ཅུ་ཀྱི་གོང་དུ་<sup>Fol. 20a</sup>  
འགྱུར་ན༥ འོག་དུ་ལྷི་འབབ་པ་དང་འདྲ་སྟེ༥ སེམས་ཅན་དཔུལ་བ་ནམས་ཀྱང་གྱུན་



1. 2 ཆད་པར་འགྱུར་རོ། ཡི་དགས་ནས་སྤྱང་གྱུན་ཆད་པར་འགྱུར་རོ། ། ཁྱོལ་སྤང་  
 དང་། ལྷ་ས་ཡིན་དང་། སེམས་ཅན་ལྷ་ནས་སྤྱང་གྱུན་ཆད་པར་འགྱུར་རོ།  
 དེ་ནས་སྤྱང་གྱུན་ཆད་པ་ནི་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགའ་ལྷེ་ཕྱི་སྤྱི་དོ། དེ་སྤྱད་ཅེས་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་ནོ།  
 1. 3 དེ་ནས་ཡོང་སྤྱོད་ཆོགས་པའི་། ཕྱིན་རྒྱལ་སྤྱང་། ཐུབས་དང་ཤེས་རབ་གཉིས་འབྲེལ་  
 པའི་སེམས་ཅན་དོན་ཏུ་དགོངས་པས་སུ།

སྤྱིད་པ་གསངས་པོ་འབྱུང་གིས་གསོལ།

ལྷ་དང་གཤེན་དང་སྤྱིད་པ་གསུམ།

1. 4 བསྟན་པ་གཅིག་ལ་འབྱུང་བ་། ལ།

ཁམས་གསུམ་སེམས་ཅན་དང་སྤྱད་ཏུ།

འདུལ་བའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་སྤྱོད་འདི་ཡིན།

- སྤྱལ་སྤྱུ་མང་པོ་ཕུང་ལ། འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་བཀྱི་སྤྱད། སྤྱིད་པས་སྤྱལ་བའི་སྤྱུ་ཕུང་  
 1. 5 བ། སྤྱུ་པོ་། བརྒྱད་པོ་བརྒྱད་དང་། དཔོན་པོ་མོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དང་། དེ་པན་ཅོད་

ཐུགས་ཆེ་སྤྱལ་བའི་སྤྱིད་པ་བསམ་དུ་སྤྱད་པར་སྤྱིད་ནས། འཁོར་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་  
 ཞིག་པ་ལས་ནི་ཆགས་པར་སྤྱིད།

སྤྱག་བསྤུལ་ལས་ནི་སྤྱིད་པར་སྤྱིད།

1. 6 སྤྱིད་། བ་ལས་ནི་ཡོད་པར་སྤྱིད།

གནག་པ་ལས་ནི་དགར་པར་སྤྱིད།

དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྤྱལ་བ་ཁྱེ་བ་ཐུག་བརྒྱུ་འེས། སྤྱོད་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤྱོད་འདི་ལ། སེམས་ཅན་  
 གྱི་དོན་ཏུ་མཛད་ཅིང་བརྒྱད་འཕེལ་པོ།

ལྷ་འིས་ཀྱང་སྤྱལ་བ་ཕྱང་བ། ། ཐུགས་རྩེ་སྤྱལ་བའི་ལྷ་ཏུ་བཞི་དབལ་གྱི་ཚེགས་  
 དང ། འདར་གསལ་དང ། འཕོར་གསལ་དང ། ལྷ་འཁོར་སྤྲོད་འཁོར་བསལ་དུ་  
 མེད་པ་ཅིག་སྤྱལ་ནས ། སྤྱོད་གསུམ་གྱི་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་བར་དུ་གཙོད་པའི་  
 བདུད་ ། དང ། ཀྱིན་གྱིས་བསྐྱང་ནས ། གནོད་པའི་གནོད་སྤྲོད་རྣམས་བདུལ་ཞིང་ 1. 2  
 བརྗོག་གོ།

གཤེན་གྱིས་སྤྱལ་བ་ཕྱང་བ། ། ཡ་ཀི་དབུའི་ལྷང་ལོ་ནས ། མ་གྱི་ཞབས་གྱི་ལོང་  
 བུ་ཡན་ཆད་དུ་འོད་གཟེར་བྱེ་བ་འབུས་ཐུག་ཕྱང་ནས། ། སྤྱོད་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤྱོད་འཛིག་ 1. 3  
 རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་སུ་ཐུགས་རྩེས་སྤྱལ་བའི་གཤེན་འདུལ་བའི་གཤེན་དུག་བྱེ་བ་ཐུག་  
 བརྒྱས་འཛིས་བྱ་མྱིང་བཞི་བྱེ་བ་ཐུག་བརྒྱན་སྤྲོད་པ་མཛད་རོ། བསྟན་པ་སྤེལ་ལོ། །  
 ཁ་ལོ་སྦྱར་རོ། འགྲོ་བ་འདུལ་ལོ། 1. 4

སྤྱིད་པའི་ཁྱེ་ཏུ་གསལ་བ་དེས །  
 ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷ་འི་སྤྲོད་པ་འིས །  
 ཤེས་བྱ་སྤྱིབ་པ་འབྱོངས་པ་ཡིན །  
 ཐོགས་མེད་སྤྱལ་བའི་སྦྱར་འགྱུར་རོ། །  
 སྤྲོད་གྱི་སྤྲོད་ལས་དབང་བཅན་ནས ། 1. 5

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དེ་ནས་སྤྱིའི་ཡུལ་དུ་སྤྲོད་པ་ལ་གཤེགས་སོ། ། ལས་དུ་བར་ལྷ་འོད་གསལ་གྱི་  
 ཡུལ་དུ་གཤེགས་སོ། ། ཡེ་གཤེན་གཡང་རྒྱང་སེམས་དབའ་ས་ས་ཐོབ་པ་རྣམས་ །  
 ཀྱིས ། མདུན་བསྐྱའ་ནས་འདི་སྤྲད་ཅེས་གསོལ་རོ། ། ཀྱི་སྦྱིས་བྱ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱི་དང་ལྷ་འི་ 1. 6



- ལྟོན་པ་ཅིག་ལགས་པར་ངེས། ནང་གི་བཅུད་བཏགས་པས་ཀྱང། བསམ་བ་བཟང་  
 Fol. 21a བོ་ནི་གཏོ་མའི་གསེར་འདྲ་བ་ཅིག་གདའ། ། འདིགས་པའི་ཤོད་ཡངས་ནི་རིན་པོ་  
 ཆེ་ས་གནི་ལྟ་བུས་འདྲ་བ་ཅིག་གདའ། ལྟོས་ས་པའི་ཐུགས་ཆེ་ནི་ཉི་མའི་གཟེར་འདྲ་  
 བ་ཅིག་གདའ། ལྷག་པའི་བསམ་བ་ནི་ལྷ་བ་ཆེས་པ་འདྲ་བ་ཅིག་གདའ། བུས་ས་།  
 1. 2 པའི་སེས་ས་ནི་ནས་ས་ཁའི་ངོགས་འདྲ་བ་ཅིག་གདའ། ཤིན་དུ་ནང་གི་བཅུད་བཟང་  
 བ་ཅིག་གདའ། ཕྱི་ལྷ་ལ་བཟུས་པས། མཚན་བཟང་པོ་སྤྲུམ་ཅུ་ཅ་གཉིས་དང།  
 1. 3 དཔེ་བྱད་བཟང་པོ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་ནི། སྤྱ་ལུས་། ལ་ལྟོན་ཤིང་ལྷར་སྤྲུམ་པ་ཅིག་གདའ།  
 ཤིན་དུ་ངོ་མཚར་ཆེ་བ་ཅིག་གདའ། དེ་སྐད་ལྷས་ནས། ལ་ལས་བསྐྱེད་བ་བུས། ལ་  
 1. 4 ལས་ལྷ་ཕྱག་བཅའ། ལ་ལས་བྱེ་རྟོག་གཏོར། ལྟོན་པའི་ལྷ་པོ་། མའོན་སྤྲུམ་དུ་  
 མཐོང་ནས། ལྷས་པར་ཕྱག་བཅའ་བའི་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱིས། ཤེས་བྱའི་སྤྱི་བ་པ་བྱང་  
 ནས། སྐད་ཅིག་ས་གཅིག་ལ་འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐར་པ་ཐོབ་པོ།  
 1. 5 འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་ལ་མོས་པ་། ནས་ས་ལ་ནི། ལྟོན་པའི་འཁོར་དང་པོ་ཅུ་ལྟོན་པའི་  
 ཕྱི་བཞིན་དུ་ཆས་པ། ནས་ས་ཁའི་བ་ཏན་ཅན་དང། ལྱང་གི་ཅུ་མཚན་ཅན་དང། མ་  
 བྱའི་མེས་རྒྱུད་ས་ཅན་དང། རྟོན་གྱི་འཕར་སྤྲུམ་ཅན་དང། རྩོ་བོ་སྤྲུམ་ཤད་ཅན་དང།  
 1. 6 རྩ་ལྟོང་རི་འཆེས་བ་ཅན་དང། ག་ཤང་ཁྲི་ལོ་གནས་གྲངས་ཅན་དང། དུང་པར་པོ་  
 པར་ཅུང་ཅན་དང། ག་ཤེན་ཡང་རྒྱལ་འབྲུག་སྤྲུམ་ཅན་དང། ཆེ་རྒྱལ་བྱ་ལྷ་ཅན་དང།  
 Fol. 21b གཏོད་པ་ཁ་སྤྲུམ་ཅན་དང། བདུད་རྩི་ཆར་སྤྲུམ་། ཅན་དང། དེ་ནས་ས་འཁོར་དང་  
 པོ་ཅུ་ཆས་སོ། དང་པོ་པ་ནི་ལྟོན་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་ལ་སྤྲུམ་ལས་བཏབ་པས་ཆས་སོ།  
 ག་ཤེན་རབ་གྱི་འཁོར་དབྱེད་མ་ཅུ་དབལ་ལོན་རོམ་པོ་དང། ཡོགས་པོན་གོ་

རྒྱལ་དང ། ། ཁྱི་བོན་ཕུ་སངས་དང ། གཉེར་བོན་གཏོ་ཆེན་དང ། འོ་བོན་འབྲང་ཕུགས་ 1. 2  
 དང ། མཚམས་བོན་ཡོ་བྱ་དང ། བདུད་བོན་ཅུ་ཕུགས་དང ། དུ་བོན་ཡོ་ཐན་དང །  
 བཅན་བོན་མཚལ་ཕུགས་དང ། སྤྱིད་བོན་ཕྱ་ཆོ་དང ། སྒྲིམ་ ། བོན་གཙུག་སྤམ་དང ། 1. 3  
 ཕུ་བོན་ཐོ་ཡེགས་དང ། ལྷ་བོན་ཐོད་ཀར་དང ། རྒྱ་བོན་ཆོས་པ་དང ། ཉི་བོན་དྲང་མ་  
 དང ། སྐར་བོན་གདངས་བཀྲ་དང ། སྤྱིན་བོན་བ་བྱལ་དང ། གནའ་བོན་ཁྱུག་པ་ །  
 དང ། དལ་བོན་དབྱུད་དཀར་དང ། ཟེར་བོན་གདང་སྒྲན་དང ། ཡོ་བོན་ཐོག་ཇེ་དང ། 1. 4  
 ཇི་བོན་དང་དུག་དང ། དེ་ནས་ས་ནི་གཤེན་རབ་ཀྱི་འཁོར་འབྲིང་པོ་ཅུ་ཆས་སོ །  
 བྱིང་པོ་ནི་ཕྱོན་པས་ ། འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་དུ ། སྤྱིད་པ་ལས་སྤྱེས་ནས་ཆས་སོ ། 1. 5

འཁོར་ཐ་ས་ལ ། ལྷ་བོན་ཡར་སྒྲ་དང ། གཉེར་བོན་ཐང་པོ་དང ། རྒྱལ་བོན་  
 བོངས་པ་ཐོག་ཇེ་དང ། སྤྱན་བོན་འབྲིང་དང་དང ། གཟེན་བོན་ལག་ཆ་དང ། ། སྤྱི་བོན་ 1. 6  
 ལུས་པ་དང ། འཕྲོ་བོན་ལྷུད་བོན་གང་མཁས་དང ། སྤྱི་ན་བོན་ཡང་དང ། བྱར་བོན་  
 ཡི་རི་དང ། གཤེན་ཇེ་བོན་པོ་གཏོ་བོན་བྱོན་ཁྱི་དང ། ཅུད་བོན་སྒྲོལ་གྱ་དང ། དེ་ནས་ས་  
 ནི་འཁོར་ཐ་ས་ལགས་སོ ། ཐ་ས་ ། ནི་གཤེན་རབ་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཇེ་དང ། སྤྱུལ་པ་དང ། Fol. 223  
 བྱིན་རྒྱབས་དང ། འོད་གཟེར་ལས་སྤྱིད་པས ། འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་དུ་སྒྲོན་མ་ལ་  
 གཤེགས་སོ །

དེ་ནས་རི་རབ་ཀྱི་ཆེ་མོ་ལ་བྱོན ། འཁོར་ནས་པ་གསུམ་དང ། ། སྤྱི་ཡུལ་གླིང་ 1. 2  
 བཞི་གཟིགས་ནས ། དཀོངས་ཚད་ནས་པ་ལྷ་ཐུགས་ལས་ཕྱུང་ནས ། ཡུལ་གྲངས་  
 སང་ནིང ། སྤྱིང་གྱ་ཆེན་ཡང ། ལྷོ་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་སོགས་ཀ་སྒྲོད་ཀྱི་འཛིག་ཉིན་  
 འོ་ལ་སོ་ཕྱང་རིངས་ལ་གཟིགས་ནས་བྱོན ། ། དེ་ཅི་འཛི་ཕྱིར་ཞེན ། སྤྱིང་ཕྱི་མ་ནི་མཐོ་ 1. 3



- རིས་སྤྱ་འགོ་བྱ་དག་པ་བྱེད། འན་སོང་དུ་འགོ་བྱ་སྤྱིག་པ་བྱེད། ལྷན་པའི་བསྟན་  
 1. 4 པ་བྱི་འཕེལ་བའི་གླིང་ཡིན་ནོ། ཁོང་དག་ནི་ཆོ་དེ་ནས་ཟད་ཅུང་ན། ། ལས་ཀྱི་དབང་  
 གིས་གཟོད་འཕེན་ནོ། ལྷན་ལས་ནི། ལྷོ་འི་སོགས་ཀྱང་འདེབས། ལྷོ་འི་འཛུལ་བྱ་  
 གླིང་ན་བསམ་གཏན་གྱི་ནིང་འི་འཛིན་བསྟོམས་ནས་ཐང་ད་པ་ཐོབ་ཐོ། དག་པ་བཅུ་འི་  
 1. 5 ལྷོར་། རྒྱགས་ནས་མཐོ་རིས་སྤྱ་སྟེའོ། མཚམས་བྱེད་པ་ལྷ་སྤྱད་ན། མནར་བྱེད་  
 པར་འགོ། སྤྱིག་པ་བཅུ་འི་ལྷོར་རྒྱགས་ནས་འན་སོང་དུ་སྟེ། ལྷན་པའི་ཐུགས་ཆེས་  
 1. 6 སེམས་ཅན་ཁ་ལོ་བསྐྱར་སྤྱ་བས། དེ་ལ་དགོངས་། བས་བྱོན་ནོ།

མཁར་མང་ན་ཡང། པར་པོ་སོ་བརྒྱད་ལ་དགོངས་ནས་བྱོན་ནོ། དེ་ཅི་འི་བྱིར་  
 ཞེན། མཁར་གཞན་མ་ནི་ས་རྩོད་དང། ཅི་ཤིང་ལ་སྤྱིགས་པ་ཡིན་པས། བརྒྱགས་  
 Fol. 22b པར་ཉམས་སྤྱི་དགྲེས་། ། པར་པོ་སོ་བརྒྱད་ནི་དེ་པོ་ཆེ་ལྷ་ལ་བཅིགས་པ་ཡིན་  
 པས། བརྒྱགས་པར་ནི་ཉམས་དགྲེས་ལ། དགོངས་པར་ནི་ཡིད་སྤྱོད་པས་བྱོན་ནོ།  
 1. 2 རྩོད་ནི་དེ་པོ་ཆེ་འི་གཏེར་ལ་དགོངས་ནས་བྱོན་ནོ། དེ་ཅི་འི་བྱིར་ཞེན། རྩོད་། བྱི་པ་  
 ནི་ཟད་པ་དང། ལྷོར་བ་དང། ཤི་བ་ཅན་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་པོ་ཆེ་འི་གཏེར་ནི་རྩོད་གྱི་ལྷ་ལ་  
 ཅུ་ཅུང་བ་བརྒྱགས་པས། དེ་ལྷ་བྱ་བྱི་སྤྱིད་པས་བྱོན་ནོ།

1. 3 ཡབ་ལ་དགོངས་ན། རྒྱལ་པོན་ཐོན་དཀར་ལ་དགོངས་ནས་བྱོན་། རོ། དེ་ཅི་འི་  
 བྱིར་ཞེན། ཡབ་བྱི་མ་ནི་ཇི་ལྷ་བྱ་ལ་ཡང། རྒྱ་དུག་ལྷོ་འི་ཤས་ཀྱན་གནི་ལ་ཡོད་ན།  
 རྒྱལ་པོན་ཐོན་དཀར་ལ། ཀྱན་གནི་ལ་ཉོན་སོངས་པའི་ཤས་བྱེད་ལ། རྒྱལ་རིགས་  
 1. 4 དུ་ས་ཆེན་། པོ་ཡིན་པ་དང། ལྷོན་ལྷོན་པ་གོ་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་མཁུན་ལང། སྤྱ་འཁོར་བ་  
 དང་བྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་པའི་དུས་ན། ལུས་པོ་དཔལ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཞལ་ཆེས་བཞག་  
 པས་ཀྱང། ཆེས་སྤྱ་དགོངས་ནས་བྱོན་ནོ།

ཡུམ་ལ་དགོངས་ན། གྱི་གྱི་ལྷ་གྱི་ན་ཡོ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཞད་ས་ལ་དགོངས་ནས་བྱོན་<sup>1. 5</sup>  
 ནོ། དེ་ཅི་འདྲི་བྱེད་ཞེ་ན། ཡུམ་གྱི་ས་ལ་ནི་རྩ་བུ་ལ་ཡང་རྒྱ་དྲུག་ལྗེ་འཇམ་ལོད་ན།  
 (ཡོ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཞད་ལ་ནི་རྩ་མའི་སྐུ་ཡིན་པས། རྒྱ་དྲུག་ ལྗེ་འཇམ་ལོད་ན།) ཡོ་གྱི་<sup>1. 6</sup>  
 རྒྱལ་ཞད་ལ་ནི་རྩ་ཡིན་པས། རྒྱ་དྲུག་ལྗེ་འཇམ་ལོད་ཀྱི་འབྲུ་ཅས་ཡང་བྱེད་ལ།  
 སྤྱིང་མེ་ལོ་སེམས་དང་ཐུན་བའི་བྱམས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་མཛད་པས། དགོངས་ནས་བྱོན་ནོ།

དེ་ནས་ཕྱོན་པ་བྱོན་ཁར་། རི་རབ་ཀྱི་ཅེ་མོ་ལ། གསལ་སྐུ་ལོ་རྩ་ཅེ་དག་<sup>Fol. 23a</sup>  
 རྣམས་བཞེངས་ནས། འཁོར་རྣམས་པ་གསུམ་ལ་བཀའ་སྐུ་ལ་པ། ང་ནི་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་  
 ཡུལ་དུ་ཕྱོན་པའི་ཕྱོན་ས་ལ་འགོ་དེས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འི་སྐས་སུ་སྦྱེ་བ་ རྣམ་བཞེས་<sup>1. 2</sup>  
 ཅས། ཁྱེད་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ནས་སྐུ་ལས་ཆར་བཞིན་བོམས་ཤིག། ས་གནི་ལ་ཡང་  
 ཅེ་ཤིང་བཞིན་དུ་འབྱུངས་ལ། འབྲུལ་ངག་བཞེན་བའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་དེར་སྦྱེལ་གྱིས།  
 ཉན་དུ་ཤོག་ཤིག། རི་རབ་ལ་གནས་ པ་དཔལ་གྱི་རྩ་ཆ་ངས་པ་དང་། བརྒྱ་བྱིན་<sup>1. 3</sup>  
 དང་། གཡུང་རྒྱུང་གི་རྩ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞི། རྩ་འབྲུལ་གྱི་རྩ་ཆེན་པོ་མེ་ཏུ་མཆོད་བདུན།  
 སྤྱིད་པའི་རྩ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞི། རོལ་མཚོ་འི་ཁྱོ་དང་། རྣམ་སྐུ་འི་ གཟུང་སྐར་<sup>1. 4</sup>  
 ཚན་ཆད་འདུས་ནས། སྐོར་བ་བྱས། རྩ་བྱུག་བཅའ་། བྱེད་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ལ་ནས། རི་རབ་  
 རི་འི་ཅེ་མོ་ལ་བཞུགས་པར་བྱས་ན། ཕྱོན་པས་བཀའ་སྐུ་ལ་པ། བདག་ཡོ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་  
 རྩ་ཕྱོན་པ་གཤེན་། རྩ་འོད་དཀར་གྱི་བཀའ་གཞག་དུ་གྱི་བདུབ་པས། གྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་<sup>1. 5</sup>  
 སྦྱེ་བ་བཞེས་ནས། བསྐྱེད་པ་སྦྱེལ་བས། རྣམ་སྐུས་པའི་དུས་སུ་ཁྱེད་རྣམས་ཀྱང་  
 རྣམ་སྐུ་ལས་ཆར་བཞིན་དུ་བོམས་ལ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཉན་དུ་ཤོག་ཅིག་གསུང་ངོ་། རི་  
 དེ་རྣམས་ནི། ཕྱོན་པའི་པོ་ཉ་དག་འཁོར་ལ་མཐོང་།

1. 6

\* passage in brackets to be omitted.

\* ཀར་

\* འཁར་

\* རྒྱ

\* རྣམ་ཀ་ལ་

\* སྐུ

\* ཡ་དེ་



- དེ་ནས་འོད་དཀར་པོ་མདའ་གང་བཅིག་དུ་སྦྱེལ་ནས། འཛིག་དེར་ཁམས་རྩལ་  
 རྟོགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིང་། ཅུ་པོ་བཞི་འདུས་པའི་འགོ་། རྩོམ་འཛམ་བུ་སྤྱིང་གི་སྤྱིག་འོལ་།  
 Fol. 23b མོ་ལྷང་རིངས། མཁར་པར་པོ་སོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ནང་ན། ཡབ་ཀྱི་ལ་བོན་ཐོན་དཀར་  
 གཟེས་པའི་སྤྱི་བོའི་གཙུག་དུ་བབ་མེ། བབས་པའི་དུས་སྤྱ་ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ལམ་ན།  
 1. 2 ཡི་གེ་ཨ་དཀར་པོ་འོད་དང་ལྗན་བཅིག། སྤྱི་བོར་བབས་ནས། སྤྱ་ལ་ཐིམ་བས།  
 སྤྱ་ལས་འོད་འཕྲོས། སྤྱིང་གསུམ་གང་བར་སྤྱོའོ། མད་ནས་ཤིན་དུ་སྤྱ་བདེ་ཡིད་  
 ཀྱང་རབ་དུ་སྤྱོ། དངོས་བྱུབ་མཆོག་དུ་དགོངས་ནས། འཁོར་བ་ཡོངས་ལ་གསང་།  
 1. 3 འོད་ལས་འོད་ཟེད་དམར་པོ་། འཕང་ཙམ་ཅིག་འཕྲོས་ནས། ཡུམ་ཡོ་ཕྱི་  
 ཀྱི་ལ་ཞད་མའི་སྤྱི་བོར་བབས་སོ། བབས་པའི་དུས་དེར། ཡུམ་གྱི་སྤྱི་ལམ་ན། ཡི་  
 1. 4 གེ་ན་དམར་པོ་འོད་དང་ལྗན་བཅིག་སྤྱི་། བོར་བབས་དེ་སྤྱ་ལ་ཐིམ་བས། སྤྱ་ལས་  
 སྤྱོན་ཤར་སྤྱིང་གསུམ་གསལ་བར་སྤྱོས། མད་ནས་སྤྱ་བདེ་ཡིད་ཀྱང་རབ་དུ་སྤྱོ།  
 དངོས་བྱུབ་མཆོག་དུ་དགོངས་ནས། ཤིན་དུ་ཡོངས་ལ་གསང་།  
 1. 5 འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་པ་དེ་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་སྤྱིད་སྦྱེལ་བ་ལགས་སོ། སེམས་བྱ་བ་བྱེད་  
 པ་པོ་ཀུན་དུ་བཟང་པོ་དང་། ཡིད་བྱེད་པ་མོ་ཀུན་དུ་བཟང་མོ་ཞེས་དེ་ལ་བྱའོ།  
 1. 6 དེ་ནས་འོད་དཀར་པོ་མདའ་ཙམ་དེ་ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བོ་། གཙུག་ཅུས་ནས་སྤྱད་པ་  
 དུང་གི་གཞལ་ཡས་སྤྱ་གཤེགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་ཚིགས་པ་གཡུང་དུང་གི་ཐེམ་སྒྲུལ་  
 ལ་གཤེགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་གཞུངས་པ་འདྲན་པའི་ཅུ་པོ་ལ་ཞོན་ནས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་  
 བདའ་ལ་གཤེགས་སོ།

འཁམས་ས་   འཁར་   ཀུར་   མདའ་   སྤུམ་   ཡོ་ལ

ཀུར་པོ་   ད་ལ་

དེ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་དཔར་པོ་འཕང་ཙམ་དེ། ཡུམ་གྱི་སྤྱོ་བོ་གཙུག་ཅུས་ནས། Fol. 24a  
 བྱད་པ་དུང་གི་གཞལ་ཡས་སྤྱ་གཤེགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་སྤྱིང་མཚོང་རི་སྤྱག་པོ་འདྲ་  
 བ་དང་། རྒྱོ་བ་པད་མ་འདབ་མ་བརྒྱད་པ་འདྲ་༥ འདྲ་བའི་ཚང་མོང་དང་། རྒྱོག་པ་ 1. 2  
 ཅའི་ལས་གྱི་སྤོང་བམས་སོ། རྒྱོག་པ་ཅའི་སྤྱ་གྱུར་བྱིད་ནས། ཡུམ་གྱི་ལྷ་མས་སྤྱ་  
 གཤེགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་ཡལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ལ་སེམས་གྱི་རྒྱ་གཤེགས་ཅི་དགར་པོ་བཅག་  
 པ་འདྲ་བ། ཡུམ་༥ གྱི་མངལ་ན་ཡིད་གྱི་རྒྱ་མཚལ་དཔར་པོ་ཅའི་ལ་དཔར་པོ་ 1. 3  
 སྤྱངས་པ་འདྲ་བ། དེ་གཉིས་འདྲེས་ཙམ་ན། སེམས་ཉིད་ནི་འོད་ཅེ་མོ་དགར་བ་ཅ་  
 བ་དཔར་བ། དཀྱིལ་ལྗང་། མོ་ཁབ་བཙུགས་པ་འདྲ་བ་ཙམ་ཅིག༥ རྒྱོན་གྱི་ལས་གྱི་ 1. 4  
 ཤུགས་མཐུན་བས། དགར་དཔར་པོ་འདྲེས་པའི་ནང་དུ། ལས་སྤྱོད་པའི་རྒྱུད་གིས་  
 དེད་ནས། རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཉ་དོལ་ལ་འབྲིས་པ་བཞིན་དུ་རིལ་གྱིས་སོང་ངོ་། དེར་སེམས་  
 དང་ལུས་གཉིས་༥ དང་པོ་ལས་གྱིས་དེ་རྩྱར་སྤྱད་ནོ། 1. 5

དེ་ནས་དགྲུང་ཞག་བདུན་ཡོན་ཙམ་ན། སེམས་ཀྱང་བརྒྱལ་ཞིང་གནན་ནོ། ལུས་  
 ཀྱང་རྒྱར་རྒྱར་པོར་ཆགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་དགྲུང་ཞག་བདུན་གཉིས་ཡོན་ཙམ་ན། སེམས་  
 ཀྱང་རབ་༥ དུ་སྤྱངས་ནས་འཕྲས་པས། རྒྱ་རྒྱར་རྒྱར་པོ་ཕྱོགས་བཞི་དབུས་དང་ལྗང་ 1. 6  
 དངས་སོ། ལུས་ཀྱང་འདྲེས་ནས་ནལ་ནལ་པོར་ཆགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་དགྲུང་ཞག་  
 བདུན་གསུམ་ཡོན་ཙམ་ན། སེམས་ཀྱང་འདར་ནས་འཕྲིག་ཅིང་༥ འགྲུལ་བས། Fol. 24b  
 རྒྱོན་གྱིང་ལ་ཡལ་གསེས་པ་བཞིན་དུ། ཅ་ཅེན་པོ་ལྷ་ཕྱོགས་བཞི་དབུས་དང་ལྗང་  
 གྱིས་སོ། ལུས་ཀྱང་ལྷར་ལྷར་པོར་ཆགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་སེམས་ཀྱང་མངལ་དུ་དུལ་  
 ནས་སྤོས་གྱིང་འཕྲིབས་སོ། རེ་ནས་དགྲུང་ཞག་བདུན་བཞི་ཉི་ཤུ་བརྒྱད་ལ། རྒྱན་ 1. 7



ཅིག་སྒྲིམ་པ་འི་ལྷ་ས་དབང་བྱས་ནས་སྒྲིམ་སོ། ། ལུས་ཅུ་ཡོན་ནས། རྩ་ན་ཅིག་སྒྲིམ་  
པ་འི་འབྲེས་དབང་བྱས་ནས་འཐིབས་སོ། ། དེ་ལྷ་ས་སྒྲིམ་གིང་འཐིབས་པས། དགྲུང་།

1. 3 ཞག་གཅིག་གི་བར་དུ་ ། ལུས་ཀྱང་གོང་གོང་པོར་ཆགས། ། བར་དེར་ས་ཡང་འགོ་  
ན་ལ་སྒྲུག་བྱོའོ།

དེ་ནས་དགྲུང་རྩ་གཉིས་ཡོན་ནས། སེམས་ཀྱང་སྒྲིམ་པ་སངས་དེ། འབྲེས་གིང་  
1. 4 འགྲུལ་ ། བས། ཅ་ནས་ས་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་འགྱུར་རོ། ། འབྲུང་བ་སྒྲིམ་རྒྱུང་  
བཞིའི་རྟེན་ཡང་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ། ། དགྲུང་རྩ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་ཕྱིའི་པགས་པ་ཆགས་སོ། །

1. 5 པགས་པ་འི་མདོ་འདུས་པ་ལྗེ་ ། བར་ཆགས་སོ། ། ལྗེ་བའི་དབུས་སུ་ཕྱིའི་སྒྲིམ་ཐག་  
དང་། མའི་སྒྲིང་ཐག་གཉིས་འབྲེལ་ཡོ། ། ལྷ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཅེས་དེ་ལ་བྱོའོ། ། ལྗེ་བ་ལ་

1. 6 གསུམ་གྱིས་དེ་ ། གོང་འོག་བར་དང་གསུམ་དུ་སོང་ངོ་། ། དེ་ལྷ་ས་གརྩགས་ ། ཀྱི་ཕྱང་  
པོ་ལ་ལྗེ་བ་ཆགས་པ་སྒྲུའོ། ། དེ་ནས་དགྲུང་རྩ་གསུམ་གྱི་ངོ་མཐོང་ནས། ཕྱིའི་པགས་  
པ་ཆགས་པས། སེམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་འབྲེས་ནས། ལུས་ཀྱང་ཡན་ལག་བཞི་མགོ་བོ་

Fol. 25a དང་ལྔ། པགས་པས་བདུས་སོ། ། ། ས་ཡང་ག་འདོད་ལ་སྒྲིད་སྒྱུར་རོ། ། དེ་ནས་  
དགྲུང་རྩ་བཞིའི་ངོ་མཐོང་ནས། པགས་པ་འི་འོག་ཅུ་ཐུས་ཀྱི་ནང་ན་སེམས་ཀྱང་

1. 2 ཉ་བཞིན་དུ་འབྲེས་ཞིང་འགྱུར་ནས་སོ། ། བར་དེར་ཅུས་པ་ལ་ཆགས་སྒྲུབ་ ། སྒྲུབ་པ་འི་  
གཞུ་གིང་ནས་ས་ཡོན། དེ་ནས་ཅིབ་མའི་གྲང་དང་ཡན་ལག་གི་རྩུ་དང་། སྒྲུབ་པ་འི་  
བྱས་པ་ནས་ས་ཆགས་སོ། ། དེ་ནས་ལུས་པོ་བཞི་འིས་བསྒྲུས་ནས་འབྲུང་བ་བཞི་

1. 3 གཅིག་དུ་འབྲུངས་སོ། ། དེ་ནས་བཞི་བསྒྲུས་ ། ཀྱི་ཕྱང་པོར་ཐོགས་སོ། །

འབྲུང་བ་བཞི་ཡང་། རྒྱང་གིས་སྒྲིད་ཕྱང་པོ་ལ་བྱུང་ཀྱང་། རྟེན་ཅིང་འདེགས་

• ཕྱིའི་      • ཉིས་      • གས་དེ་      • དགྲུང་རྩ་      • འགོ་བོ་





- ལ་ཆ་སཉམ་ཞིང་། རྟེན་པ་བཞི་ལ་སྒྲིམ་གནས་སོ། ནང་གྲོལ་ནས་པ་ཐུ་མཆིར་།  
 1. 4 བའི་ཙ་ལྷག་གིས་བསྐྱུས་། མཆིར་བའི་ཙ་ལས་ལུས་ཀྱི་དབང་པོ་ཆགས་སོ། འདྲ་  
 བ་ནས་པ་བཞི་ཀ་འདྲ་ན་། བ་སྐྱུའི་རྒྱ་ལོག་ནས་མཆིར་། སྒྲིའི་བ་སྐྱུ་ལ་དོད་ཏོ།  
 1. 5 རྟེ་བའི་ཙ་། ཅིག་གཉན་ལ་སོང་བ་ལས་། སྐྱུ་བའི་རྒྱ་མཆོ་ཆགས་། གཅིག་  
 བར་དུ་སོང་བ་ལས་། རྒྱག་གི་རྒྱ་མཆོ་ཆགས་། གཅིག་ཐུར་ལ་སོང་བ་ལས་། རྟེ་  
 1. 6 རྒྱ་མཆོ་ཆགས་། རྒྱ་དྲག་གསུམ་གྱི་ཙ་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ། གཏི་༥ རྒྱག་སྐྱུ་བ་ལ་གནས་  
 སོ། ཞེ་སྤང་ཁྲག་ལ་གནས་། འདོད་ཆགས་གསང་བ་ལ་གནས་། དེ་ལྟར་བྱུང་དགྲང་  
 རྒྱ་འོ་ཐུ་ལ་ཕུང་པོ་ནས་བར་སྒྲིན་ཏོ།

Fol. 26a

- འཕྲུང་བའི་ལྷ་སྐྱུས་ཤིག་ཆ་བསྐྱུས་སུ་ནས་། དགྲང་། རྒྱ་དགྲའི་བར་དུ་  
 ཕུང་པོ་ལ་དེ་ལྟར་སྐྱེས་སོ། མ་འིས་ཚ་བ་ཆོས་ན་བྱ་ཚ་བ་ནས་ཟ་བ་ཅས་སོ། མ་  
 འིས་གང་བ་ཆོས་ན་བྱ་གང་བ་ནས་ཟ་བ་ཅས་སོ། མ་འིས་འདྲངས་ན་བྱ་བཅུས་ན་  
 1. 2 བ་ཅས་སོ། མ་སྒྲིགས་ན་། བྱ་འཕྱོང་ནས་ན་བ་ཅས་སོ།

- དེ་ནས་དགྲང་རྒྱ་འོ་བཅུ་ལོན་ཅས་ན་། སེམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་ནི། སྤྱིང་གི་དཀྱིལ་  
 ན་སྟེ་འབར་བ་ཅས་ཅིག་ཡོད་ཏོ། ནས་པར་ཤེས་པ་སྐར་ཁུང་དོད་པ་འདྲོའོ།  
 1. 3 གཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཕུང་པོ་ནི། ཁང་པ་ཕུག་པ་འདྲོའོ། དཔེར་ན་། ཁང་པར་སྟེ་བཏང་ན་།  
 སྐར་ཁུང་དུ་འོད་འོང་བ་དང་འདྲ་བར་། སེམས་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ནས་པར་ཤེས་  
 1. 4 པ་ནི། ཚོགས་དྲུག་གི་སྒྲོ་ནས་འབབ་ཅུ་དང་འདྲ་སྟེ། དར་ཅིག་ཀྱང་སྤྱི་ཆགས་སོ།  
 སྟེ་ཕུ་དང་འདྲ་སྟེ་གཅིག་བཏང་ཡང་གཅིག་འཛིན་ཏོ། དེ་ལྟར་ལུས་ཀྱིས་སེམས་  
 1. 5 བསྐྱུས་སོ། སེམས་ཀྱིས་ལུས་བསྐྱུས་སོ། དེ་ལྟར་སེམས་ལུས་གཉིས་༥ འབྲས་བྱ་  
 མཉམ་ནས་། བར་དུ་རྟེན་གྱིས་དེ་ལྟར་བསྒྲིགས་སོ།

རྒྱ་དག་ངོ་བཅུ་ན་མའི་མངལ་ནས་ལས་ཀྱིས་བྱུང་ངོ་། དུས་དེར་ཡོ་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་  
 ཞན་མའི་ཞལ་ནས། འོ་ལ་མོ་ལུང་རིངས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་ནས་ས་མཚན་དང་བསངས་། ཀྱིས་ 1. 6  
 ལ། ངའི་སྤྱན་སྤར་འདུ་ཤིག། ཞག་གསུམ་འོ་བཞི་ན་རྒྱལ་བུ་ཅིག་ཕྱོན་གྱིས། དེ་  
 སྐད་གསུངས་པས། བུས་ཟེ་གསལ་བྱུང་གྱིས་ཕྱི་ནས་ས་ལ་སྤྱུས་པ། རྒྱལ་བུ་ཕྱོན་དེ་  
 འོང་གསུང་བཞི། གཞན་ནས་ཕྱོན་པ་མ་། ཡིན་དེ། རྒྱལ་ཞན་མ་ཉིད་ལ་སྤྱུ་འབྱུང་ Fol. 26b  
 དེས་མོ། དེ་སྐད་གསུངས་པས། ཕྱི་ནས་ས་ཀྱང་སེམས་སྒྲོ་ལ་ཡིད་རབ་དུ་དགལ་  
 བས། མཁར་ལར་པོ་མོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་སྒྲོ་ཁར་སྤྱིན་པུང་བཞིན་དུ་འདུས་དེ། ལ་ལ་ནི་  
 རོ་ལ་མོ་སྤྱར། ལ་། ལ་ནི་དར་འབྱར། ལ་ལ་ནི་ང་གླིང་དུང། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྤོས་བྱེ། 1. 3  
 གཏོང། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྤྱུ་སྤྱད་གཏོང། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྤྱུ་བྱ་མོན། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྤྱུ་བྱས་གསོལ།  
 སྒྲོར་བ་བྱས་ཤིང། མེ་དྲག་གཏོར་རོ།

ཞག་གསུམ་འོ་བཞི་ན། ། ཡུས་ཀྱི་སྤྱུ་ལས་སྤྱུས་བཟུམ་མོ། བཟུམ་བ་དེ་ཡང་ 1. 3  
 དོན་དུ། གཤེན་རབས་ཉིད་ལ་སྤྱུ་བ་ཕྱི་མངལ་ཕྱེ། འགྲོ་བ་བྱང་བའི་དོན་དུ་དེ་ལྟར་  
 བཟུན་པའོ། དེ་ནས་གཡུའ་བྱ་བྱ་དབྱུག་བཞིན་དུ། བསྐྱགས་པས། སེམས་ཅན་ 1. 4  
 ཐམས་ཅད་ཤིན་དུ་སྒྲོ་བ་སྤྱེས་མོ། ཡུས་ཀྱིས་དར་གྱི་སྤྱེ་བ་མེས་ཐངས། ཡབ་ལ་  
 རྒྱས་པ། སྤྱུས་འདི་ནི་དར་དཀར་གྱི་དང་དུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བྱིལ་བ་འདྲ་བ་ཅིག་གདའོ།  
 ཡབ་། ཀྱང་ཤིན་དུ་མཉེས་མོ། དུས་དེར་སྤྱོད་གསུམ་ཡང་གཡོ་ཞིང་འགྲུལ་ལོ། 1. 5  
 གསུང་སྤྱན་བ་དེ་ཡང། འཇིག་དེན་ཁམས་སྤྱུ་མ་ཐོས་བ་ཁྱེད་དོ། བར་དེར་ཆེན་  
 འོང་ཡང་ཁྱེད་བར་དད་བ་ཐང་ཆད། འཁོར་ནམས་། འབྱུངས། བས་མཁའ་ 1. 6

\* གྱུ་      \* ཚན་      \* སྤྱུ་ངར་      \* གྱུ་      \* འཁར་      \* གར་  
 \* དར་ཀར་གི་      \* འཁམས་



ཁམས་ན་གནས་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་། རྟོན་པ་སྤྱིར་སྤྱེ་བའི་གསུང་སྟོན་པ་  
 བློས་ནས། གཡུང་རྒྱུང་སེམས་དཔའ་རྣམས་ནི། དུས་དེར་སྐབས་སྤྱི་ཆེད་པས་མ་  
 གཤེགས་མོ།

Fol. 27a

- སྤྱད་ མ་རྣམས་ལ་དབལ་བོན་རིམ་པོ་དབལ་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་།  
 ཡོགས་བོན་གཏོ་གྱལ་ཡོགས་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། བྱིན་བོན་ཕྱ་སངས་བྱིན་  
 1. 2 ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། གཉིན་བོན་གཏོ་ཚ་གཉིན་ ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་།  
 དང་། འོ་བོན་འབྲང་ཟེ་འོ་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། དང་། མཚམས་བོན་ཡོ་ཁྱུ་  
 མཚམས་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། བདུད་བོན་ཅུ་ལྷགས་བདུད་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་  
 1. 3 པ་དང་། དུམ་བོན་ཡེ་དང་དུམ་ཁམས་དང་། བཅས་པ་དང་། བཅོན་བོན་མཚལ་  
 ལྷགས་བཅོན་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། སྤྱིད་བོན་སྤྱ་ཆོ་སྤྱིད་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་  
 1. 4 པ་དང་། སྟོས་བོན་གཏུག་སྟོས་སྟོས་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། ཕྱ་བོན་ བྱེ་  
 ཡོགས་ཕྱ་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། ལྷ་བོན་ཐོད་[ད]ཀར་ལྷ་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་  
 པ་། དེ་རྣམས་ནི་ཡེ་གཤེན་གཉན་པོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཞེས་བྱ་ཞེ། དབལ་ཡོགས་བྱི་  
 1. 5 དང་གསུམ་། གཉིར་འོ་མཚམས་དང་གསུམ་། དུམ་འབདུད་མཚལ་དང་གསུམ་།  
 སྤྱིད་སྟོས་ཕྱ་དང་གསུམ་། གཉན་པོ་ལྷ་དང་བཅུ་གསུམ་མོ། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ནས་  
 1. 6 མཁའ་ལས་ཆར་བཞིན་དུ་བབས་དེ། ཡུལ་འོ་ལ་མོ། ལྷང་རིངས་སུ། མཁའ་  
 བར་པོ་མོ་བརྒྱད་ལ། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྟོར་བ་བྱེད། ལ་ལ་ནི་ལྷ་ཕྱག་འཆལ། ལ་ལ་ནི་བྱེ་  
 དྲིལ་འབུལ། ལ་ལ་ནི་མཚན་མ་འདེབས། ལ་ལ་ནི་ཁྱུས་གསོལ། ལ་ལ་ནི་རྩ་དུང་།

‘ཕྱེད་པས་’ ‘ཆས་པ་’ ‘འཁམས་’ ‘ཆས་པ་’ ‘འཁམས་’ ‘བྱིན་’

‘ཆས་’ ‘ལ་’ ‘འཁར་’ ‘ཆན་’

ལ་ལ་ནི་གཤང་། འཁྲུལ་། ལ་ལ་ནི་དུང་འབྱུང་། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྒྲིམ་གཏོང་། ལ་ལ་ནི་ Fol. 27b  
གསལ་བཤེས་འབྱུལ་། ལ་ལ་ནི་མར་མེ་འབྱུལ་།

དེ་ལྟར་མཁའ་བོ་ཀོང་དྲ་གྲིས་བཀོར་ནས། སྟོན་པའི་འཁོར་དང་པོར་ཁས་  
སྤངས་ཤིང་དས་། བཅས་སོ། ཡབ་གྲིས་ཤིན་དུ་ངོ་མཚར་སྒྲིམ་ནས། དེ་ནས་ལ་ 1. 2  
བཀའ་སྩལ་པ། བྱིད་ནས་ལྷ་བྱུག་བྱེད་ཅིང་། མཚོན་པ་སྩལ་འབྱུལ་། དེ་ལ་སྒྲིམ་  
བོན་གཙུག་སྤུལ་ཁྲོལ་བས་སྤྲར་གསོལ་། བ། སྟོན་པ་སྩལ་བ་བྱི་བྱས་བཞེས་ 1. 3  
ནས། རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྤུལ་སྩལ་འབྱུངས། སྒྲིམ་བ་བཞིན་ཅིང་། མཁའ་འདི་ན་བཞུགས་  
པ་ལ་མཚོན་པ་འབྱུལ་བ་ལགས་སོ། ད་ཡང་། སྟོན་པའི་ཞལ་ལྷ་བ་ཤིན་དུ་རིངས་ 1. 4  
བས། བདག་ཅག་ནི་འཁོར་གྱི་དམ་པ་དང་པོ་པ་ལགས་དེ། སྟོན་པ་ལ་ཞལ་མཐུལ་  
གསུངས། རྒྱལ་བོན་གྲིས་བཀའ་སྩལ་པ། དེ་ལྷ་བྱུག་ནི་འདི་ཀུན་ན་། ཅང་མ་མཆིས་ 1. 5  
སོ། གཞན་དང་མ་ཉོར་རས། གསུང་ནས་སྤྲར་མཁའ་འདྲ་དུ་འདས་དེ་གཤེགས་  
སོ། རྒྱལ་ཞད་ས་ལ་གསོལ་པ། ནས་མཁའའི་ལྷ་འདྲེ་དང་། བོན་པོ་དང་། དམག་  
ཚོགས་དང་། འདིར་མཚོན་། བ་འབྱུལ་བ་དང་། སྒྲིམ་བ་བྱེད་པ་ནི། དེ་སྒྲིམ་སྤངས་ 1. 6  
ཤིང་འཛིགས་སྤྱི་དགོས་དེ། རྒྱལ་བྱ་འདི་ལ་མཚོན་པ་འབྱུལ་ཞིང་། འཁོར་དང་  
པོར་ཁས་ལེན་པ་ཅིག་གཤེད་། བདག་གིས་ནི་བསྟོན་ནས་གསང་ངོ་། ། ཡུམ་གྲིས་ Fol. 28a  
གསོལ་པ། ཡབ་ལགས་གསང་བ་ནི་ཤིན་དུ་ཡང་ལགས་སོ། ནས་མཁའའི་དམ་  
བདུད་དང་། བཅོན་བཅོན་དེ་ཀུན་ནི་ཤིན་དུ་ཡང་གདུག་ལ་། ཡེ་འདྲེག་ལ་དགའ་ 1. 7  
མྱེ། བདག་ཅག་ལ་བར་ཚད་ཚེལ་གྱི་ཆ་སྤྱིད། ཞེས་གསུང་ནས་སྒྲིམ་ཡང་དམ་དུ་བཅད་  
དོ། འཁོར་ནས་ཀྱང་སྤེལ་ཅེ་དམ་དུ་བྱས་དེ། གོ་མཚོན་བཟུང་རོ།

འཁའ་ ཀོང་ འལ་ འདྲ་པོ་བ་ ནས་ཀའི་ ལྷག་ རྒྲིས་



- l. 3 དེ་ནས་ཡང་བར་སྒྲུང་ལ་གནས་ ། བའི་སེམས་ཅན་ནམས་ཀྱང་ ། སྟོན་པ་བྱིར་  
 སྟེ་བ་བཞེས་པའི་གསུང་སྟོན་པ་རྩེ་རྩེ་བོམ་ནས་ ། རྩེ་བོན་ཆོས་པ་རྩེ་ཁམས་  
 l. 4 དང་བཅས་པ་དང་ ། ཉི་བོན་དྲུང་མ་ཉི་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་ ། སྐར་བོན་ ། ཆོག་  
 གུ་སྐར་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་ ། སྟོན་བོན་པ་ཐུམ་སྟོན་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་  
 དང་ ། གཞུན་བོན་ཁྱུ་པ་གཞུན་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་ ། དལ་བོན་དབུ་དྲུག་  
 l. 5 དལ་ཁམས་དང་ ། བཅས་པ་དང་ ། གཟེད་བོན་གདང་སྟོན་གཟེད་ཁམས་དང་  
 བཅས་པ་དང་ ། ལ་བོན་གདོ་ཆེ་ལ་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་ ། རི་བོན་དྲུག་རི་  
 l. 6 ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་ ། དེ་ནས་ནི་བར་གཡེན་གདོད་དགུ་བ་ ། གྱི་ཕྱེ་ ། ཉི་རྩེ་  
 སྐར་དང་གསུམ་ ། སྟོན་གཞུན་དལ་དང་གསུམ་ ། གཟེད་ལོ་རིམ་དང་གསུམ་ཀྱང་ །  
 རོལ་མོ་བྱུང་རིངས་སྟེ་ནས་མཁའ་ལུས་ཀྱང་བཞེན་བམས་དེ་ ། མཁའ་པར་བོ་  
 Fol. 28b མོ་བརྟུན་ལ་ ། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྒྲོར་བ་བྱེད་ ། ། ལ་ལ་ནི་རྩེ་ཐུག་འཛལ་ ། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྟེ་དོག་  
 འབུལ་ ། ལ་ལ་ནི་མཚན་འདེབས་ ། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྐྱུ་བྱུས་གསོལ་ ། ལ་ལ་ནི་རྩེ་དྲུང་ །  
 ལ་ལ་ནི་གཤང་འཁྱོལ་ ། ལ་ལ་ནི་དྲུང་འབུད་ ། ལ་ལ་ནི་གསལ་བཤོས་འབུལ་ ། ལ་  
 l. 9 ལ་ ། ནི་སེ་མར་ལྟོས་ །

དེ་ལྟར་མཁའ་གྱི་བྱི་རིམ་དུ་ ། དམག་ཆོགས་སྒྲུ་མའི་བྱི་རིམ་བསྒྲོར་རྩེ་ ། དེ་  
 རྩམས་ལ་རྒྱལ་བོན་གྱིས་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་པ་ ། བྱིད་ནམས་མཁའ་འདི་ལ་སྒྲོར་ཞིང་  
 l. 3 མཚན་པ་བྱེད་པ་རིམ་རྩེ་བྱུ་བྱུ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ ། ཅེས་གསུངས་ནས་ ། ཉི་བོན་དྲུང་མ་ལོ་བརྟུར་  
 གྱིས་སྐར་གསོལ་པ་ ། སྟོན་པ་བྱི་ལ་སྟེ་བ་བཞེས་དེ་ ། རྒྱལ་བོའི་སྐས་སྟེ་འབྱུངས་

འཁམས་      ཆས་པ་      དལ་བོན་དབུ་དྲུག་དྲུག་      ཆས་      རྩམ་ག་  
 འཁའ་      ཆན་      ལས་

ནས । མཁར་འདིའི་ནང་ན་བཞུགས་པས། མཛོད་བ་བཞི་དེ་ཅིང་། མཛོད་བ་འབྲུལ་ ༤  
 བ་ལགས་མོ། ད་ཡང་སྟོན་པ་དང་ཞལ་མཆལ་པོངས་པས། བདག་ཅག་ནི་བཀའ་  
 འཁོར་འབྲིང་པོ་བར་དམ་བཅས་པས། སྟོན་པ་ལ་སྤྱད་དུ་ཞལ་མཆལ་བ་གསུངས།  
 རྒྱལ་པོས་བཀའ་སྤྱལ་བ། དེ་ལྟར་བྱ་ནི་འདི་ཀུན་ན་ཅང་མ་མཆིས་ན། གཞན་དང་ ༤ ༥  
 མ་ཞོར་རམ། གསུང་ནས་སྤྱད་མཁའ་ནང་དུ་འདས་དེ་ག་ཤིགས་མོ། རྒྱལ་ཞད་མ་  
 ལ་གསོལ་བ། བར་སྤང་གི་ཤོན་པོ་དང་ཁྲིམ་ཚོགས་། འདི་ནས་ས་རྒྱལ་བུ་འདི་ལ་ ༤ ༦  
 མཛོད་བ་འབྲུལ་ཞིང་འཁོར་འབྲིང་པོར་ཁས་ལེན་ཅིང་གཤོལ། བདག་གིས་ནི་བསྟོན་  
 བས་གསང་ངོ། ལུས་གྱིས་གསོལ་བ། གསང་བ་ནི་ཡིན་དུ་ཡང་ལེགས་མོ། བར་  
 སྤང་གི་ཉི་། རྒྱ་ལས་སྟོགས་པ་ནི་ཡི་འདྲོག་དང་། ཐོབ་ཤོར་གྱི་བདག་པོ་ཡིན་ནོ། Fol. 29a  
 གསུང་ནས་མཁར་མཛོད་ཡང་དམ་དུ་བཅད་ནོ། འཁོར་ཡང་གོ་མཛོད་བསྤར་ནས།  
 རྒྱལ་ཚོ་དམ་དུ་བཅུགས་མོ།

དེ་ནས་ཡང་། ས་གཞི་ལ་གནས་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་ནས་ས་ཀྱང་། སྟོན་པ་བྱི་ ༤ ༢  
 ལུལ་དུ་སྤྱི་བ་བཞེས་པའི་གསུང་སྟན་པ་སྤང་སྤང་ཐོས་ནས། ལྷ་བོན་ཡར་སྤྱོད་  
 ཁམས་དང་བཅས་། གཞན་བོན་ཐང་ཐང་གཞན་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་། རྒྱལ་བོན་།  
 བོངས་རྒྱལ་ཐོག་ཇེ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་། སྟན་བོན་འབྲིང་དང་སྟན་ཁམས་ ༤ ༣  
 དང་བཅས་། གཟེང་བོན་ལ་ཚ་གཟེང་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་། སྟན་བོན་ལ་སྟན་ཁམས་  
 དང་བཅས་པ། འདྲེ་བོན་སྤྱད་བོན་གིར་། མཁར་འདྲེ་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་། སྟན་བོན་ ༤ ༤  
 ལུས་པ་སྟན་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ། ལྷ་བོན་སྤྱོད་བོན་ལྷ་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ།  
 གཤིན་ཇེ་བོན་པོ་གོ་བོན་ཕྱོད་ཁྲི་གཤིན་ཁམས་དང་བཅས་པ། ལྷ་བོན་གྱི་ ༤ ༥

འཁར་ ཉར་དུ་ འབྲུལ་ ལྷ་ འཁམས་ ཅས་པ་



- སྒྲིལ་ལྷ་འདྲེ་སྒྲིལ་འདྲེ་བས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། དེ་ནས་ས་ཀྱང་ས་གཡེན་ཅི་བ་བཅུ་  
 གཅིག་ཅེས་བྱ་སྟེ། ལྷ་གཉིན་གྱལ་དང་གསུམ། སྒྲན་གཟེན་སྒྲིན་དང་གསུམ། །འདྲེ་  
 1. 6 སྒྲི་བྱར་དང་གསུམ། ། གཡེན་ཟེ་ཅུད་དང་གཉིས། ས་གཞི་ལ་ཅི་ཡིང་། བཞིན་འོལ་  
 མོ་ལྷང་རིངས་སྤུ་འཁོད་སྟེ། མཁར་མར་པོ་སོ་བརྒྱད་ལ། ལ་ལ་ནི་སྒྲོར་བ་བྱེད།  
 ཞོང་ལྷར་རོ། དེ་ལྷར་དམག་ཚོགས་སྤུ་མའི་བྱི་རིས་དུ་བསྒྲོར་རོ། གྱལ་བོན་ཐོད་  
 Fol. 29b དགར་པོ་མཚར་སྒྲིལ་དེ། ཞོང་། ལྷར་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་པས། ད་ཡང་སྟོན་པའི་ཞལ་  
 ལྷ་བ་རིངས་པས། སྤུ་དུ་མཐལ་གསུངས། ཡང་གྱལ་པོས་གོང་ས་ལྷར་གསུངས་  
 1. 2 ནས། མཁར་ནང་དུ་འདས་དེ་གཤེགས་ནས། གྱལ་ནད་མ་ལ་གསོལ་པ། ། ས་  
 གཞི་གང་བའི་སེས་ས་ཅན་དང་། བོན་པོ་དང་ལྷ་འདྲེ་ནས་ས་ནི། གྱལ་བྱ་འདི་ལ་  
 མཚོད་པ་འབྲུལ་ཞིང་། འཁོར་བ་མར་ཁས་ལེན་ཅིང་གདོ། འདི་ནས་ས་ལ་འོ་སྒྲོལ་  
 1. 3 སྤྱག་ནི་བྱི་དགོས་ན། བདག་གིས་ནི་བསྟོན་། ནས་གསང་ངོ། ལུས་གྲིས་ཡབ་ལ་  
 གསོལ་པ། གསང་བ་ནི་ཤིན་དུ་ལེགས་སོ། ས་གཞི་དེ་འདྲེ་སྒྲིན་དང་། ལྷ་གཉིན་ནི་  
 1. 4 ཤིན་དུ་ཡང་གནོད་སེམས་ཅན་ཡིན་གསུང་ནས། མཁར་། སྒྲོ་ཡང་དམ་དུ་བཅད་  
 དོ། འཁོར་བ་ནས་ས་ཀྱང་གོ་མཚོན་བསྐྱར་ནས། སེལ་ཅེ་དམ་དུ་བཅུགས་སོ།  
 དེ་ནས་ཡབ་ལུས་ཡང་ཡིད་སྟོལ་བ་ལ་སེམས་དགའ་བས། གྱལ་དེ་མ་ས་དག་  
 1. 5 བྱགས་། ཀྲིས། ལྷས་དང་གཙང་སྤུ་དང་། གྲན་དང་ཚང་བྱ་བས། དེ་ནས་བས་ཟེ་  
 གསལ་ཁབ་འོད་ལྡན་ལ། ཡབ་ཀྲིས་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་པ། གྱལ་བྱ་འདི་ལྷ་མས་སྤུ་  
 1. 6 རྒྱགས་ཙམ་ན་ཡང་། བདག་ཅག་པ་མ་ལུས་གཡང་ཞིང་། ཡིད་དགའ་། ད་ལྷ་

མས་པ་      ལྷ་      ཐོད་ཀར་      ཉར་དུ་      འཁར་      གྱ་  
 གཙང་སྤུ་      ཡང་ཞིང་

སྒྲིམ་ནས་ཀྱང་། གནས་ས་དང་། བར་སྒྲུང་གི་སྐབས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་མ་ལུས་པར་།  
 བོན་གྱུད་དུ་ཆས་ནས་། འོལ་མོ་ལྷང་རིངས་སུ་ཡང་སྤྱི་ཤིང་བར་། སྒྲོང་བ་དང་  
 མཚན་པ་བརྒྱད་པ་འདི་ཅི་ལགས་། འདི་འི་མཚན་། བདག་དགོངས་པས་། རྒྱལ་ Fol. 30a  
 སར་ཁྱོད་ཤོག་ཅིག་པར་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་དོ།

དེ་ནས་བྱས་ཐེ་ལྷས་མཁན་དེས་། རྒྱལ་ཁང་ཡང་ཐོག་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་། རྒྱལ་  
 བུའི་ཞལ་མཛོན་སྤྲུམ་དུ་མཐོང་བས་། ལྷས་མཁན་། རྩ་ཞིང་བྱང་དྲུང་། བརྒྱལ་ 1. 2  
 ཞིང་ཐང་ལ་འགྲོའོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འི་ཞལ་ནས་། རྒྱལ་བུ་སྤྱང་དུ་འཆི་བའི་མཚན་ས་  
 མཐོང་ངེས་གསུངས་ནས་། ཡབ་ལྷས་ཡང་བཤུས་ས་པས་། ལྷས་མཁན་བྱེད་ནས་  
 གསོལ་བ་། ཡབ་ལྷས་ས་། བཤུས་ས་ཤིག་། རྒྱལ་བུ་འགྲོངས་པ་ལྷ་བུའི་མཚན་ 1. 3  
 བྱི་བྱི་གདའོ། རོན་བུ་བརྒྱལ་ཞིང་རྩ་བ་ནི། རྒྱལ་བུ་འདི་ལྷ་བུ་བཤུན་པ་ལ་ཁྱོན་དུས་  
 སུ་བདག་ཆས་པ་། ཨ་ཙ་མ་། དགོངས་ནས་རྩ་བ་དང་བརྒྱལ་པ་ལགས་། མོ། 1. 4  
 རྒྱལ་བུ་འདི་ཞལ་དང་པོ་ཁྲམས་ཙམ་ན་། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འི་སྤྱི་ལཱ་སྤྱོད་ཅེར་འབུས་  
 སྤྱག་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་འཕྱོབ་། ཡི་གེ་སྤྲུམ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུས་སྤྱོད་ལ་བརྒྱན་པ་། སྤྱགས་ཉི་  
 མ་དགུ་སྤྱགས་ཤར་། བ་ཅིག་གདའོ། རྒྱལ་བུ་འདི་འི་མཚན་ནི་ཤིན་དུ་བཟང་པོ་ 1. 5  
 ལྱི་འི་སྤྱི་བུ་ཁྱའི་སྤྲུམ་པོ་འདྲ་། ཁྱའི་སྤྱི་སྤྲུམ་ནས་མཁན་ལྷ་སྤྱག་འདྲ་། བདགས་  
 པས་ལྷ་ཡང་བྱན་། སྐམས་ཅན་ཀྱན་ལས་འབགས་། འབགས་། བའི་སྤྲུམ་བུ་ 1. 6  
 མཚན་དང་ལྷ་བ་འདི། འཛིག་དྲིན་ཁྲམས་སུ་སྤྱོན་པ་མཛད་ཙམ་ན་། ལྷས་མཁན་  
 ཆས་པ་། ཟ་མ་སྤྱིང་རེ་ན་། རྒྱལ་བུ་འདི་འི་མཚན་ནི་ཤིན་དུ་བཟང་པ་ཅིག་། སྤྲུམ་  
 ལྱི་མཚན་དང་དཔེ་བྱད་བརྒྱད་། ལྷ་ནི། ལྷོན་ཤིང་ལོ་འབུས་བཞིན་དུ་རིན་ཆེན་སྤྱོད་ Fol. 30b

‘ཁྱུད་’ ‘ལྷས་མཁན་’ ‘རྒྱ’ ‘བུའི་’ ‘ནས་ཀྱི་’ ‘སྤྱག་’



ལ་བརྒྱན། འདི་ལྟ་བུའི་ཕྱི་མཚོག་སྤྱི་བུ་ནི། འཇིག་རྟེན་ཁམས་སྤྱི་འབྱུང་བ་རི་  
 དགའ་ན། ལྷས་མཁན་གྱིས་པ། ཟ་སྤྱིང་རི་ན། དེ་སྤྱད་སྤྱི་ལས། ཡང་།  
 1. 2 བརྒྱལ་ཏེ་སྤྱིང་ངོ། དེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་བུ་གི་དུ་སྤྱིང་ཆེ་བར་དགོངས་ནས། ཕྱག་གིས་ལྷས་  
 མཁན་མགོ་བདེག་ནས་འདི་སྤྱད་ཆེས་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་ནོ།

རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ་མ་བརྒྱལ་བར་ཡང་ཡོངས་དང།

1. 3 མ་གས་བར་དུ་ཆད་ན་ཏུ། བ་ལགས།  
 ཕྱི་ཆོ་མཐའ་ཅུ་ཕྱི་ན་བ་བཙོད་ནམས་ལགས།  
 སྤྱི་མ་ལ་ཡང་སྤྱི་ག་གི་ལན་ཆགས་བྱེད།  
 ང་མཚན་བྱོད་ཀྱིས་བདགས་ཏེ།  
 བྱོད་མཚན་ངས་བདག་གིས་

1. 4 གསུངས་པས། ལྷས་མཁན་ཡང་ཡངས་ནས། སྤྱིང་བ་བུས། ལྷ་བུག་འཛལ་  
 བས། ལྷན་པའི་སྤྱན་སྤྱང་བུས་སོ་བཙུགས་སོ། ལྷན་པའི་ཞལ་ནས། བྱོད་ནི་ཏུ་

1. 5 ཞིང་ག་ཕྱི་དགོས་ཏེ། སྤྱི་བ་ཐོག་མ་དཔག་། དུ་ཕྱིད་པ་ནས། ད་ལྟ་བུས་ཟེར་ལུས་  
 འདི་སྤྱངས་པ་ལན་ཆད་དུ། སྤྱངས་པའི་ལས་འཕྱོ་ཆད་ཡིན་བས། ད་ལྟ་ཞག་  
 གསུམ་ན། ཡབ་ལུས་དང། ལྷས་མཁན་དང། འོ་ལ་སོ་ལུང་རིངས་སྤྱི་འཛོགས་

1. 6 བའི་ཕྱི་ནསས། ཀྱང་སངས་རྒྱས་ཏེ་འགྲོ་འཁྱིས་གསུང་ངོ། དེ་ནས་ཡབ་ལུས་ལ་  
 ལྷས་མཁན་གྱིས་གསོལ་པ། རྒྱལ་སར་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་དུས་འདི་རིང་གི་གདུགས་

Fol. 31a འདི་ལགས་སོ། འཛོགས་པ་འདི་ནསས་ཀྱང་གིན་དུ་ཞལ་མཇལ་། རིངས་པར་  
 གདའ། རྒྱལ་བུ་འདི་ནི་དབང་ན་ཡིན་བཞིན་གྱི་ནོར་བུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་འདྲ་སྟེ། བྱུང་

ག ལྷས་མཁན འཛོ སྤྱངས ཆོས རི

བར་གྱི་ཡིན་བཞིན་གྱི་ནོར་བུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་འབྲུ་མྱེ། ། མ་བགོས་སྤྱི་ལ་བཞག་པ་  
ཡིན་ནོ། ཡབ་ཡུམ་། ཡང་སྤྱོད་ཆོ་བས་གས་པའི་འབྲས་བུ་སྤྱིན་པར་ངེས་གསུང་། ལ ༥  
ནས་གདོ།

རྣམས་མཁའ་ཡང་རབ་དུ་དགའ་ནས་མཐོང་ངོ། ། དེར་རྒྱལ་བུ་ལ་བཏིང་ཐོབ་པ་ ༥ ༥  
བཅིངས། དར་དགར་གྱི་རལ་ཀ་གསོལ། དབང་གི་གུའག་ཐུང་ནི་བདག་ས། ཆོའི་  
ལན་ཐུན་ནི་རྣམས་། གསེར་གྱི་ཐུག་། ཤིང་ནི་བསྐྱམས། འཁོར་རྣམས་གྱིས་ཀྱང་༥ ༥  
གཡུང་རྒྱུང་རིས་གྱི་བད་ན་བཏིང་། ཉི་རྒྱ་བ་རིས་གྱི་གུར་ཐུབ། རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཤིང་དུ་ལ་  
འཁོར་བ་མང་པོས་བསྐྱོར་ནས། ཐུན་རྒྱུངས་སོ། སྤྱིང་དང་། མཚན་ནི་ཐུན་པ་ ༥ ༥  
གཤེན་རབ་ཁྱི་པོར་བདག་ས་སོ། དེར་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཞལ་འབྲུང་བའི་དུས་སུ། འཇིག་  
ནིན་གྱི་ཁས་ས་ཀྱང་ཤིན་དུ་གཡོས་སོ། རབ་དུ་གཡོས་སོ། འགྲལ་རབ་དུ་འགྲལ་  
ལོ། ཤིན་དུ་འགྲལ་ལོ། རྣམས་མཁའ་ལ་ཡང་སྐྱ་སྐྱན་པ་གྲག་གོ། ས་གཞི་ལ་ ༥ ༥  
ཡང་སྐྱ་སྐྱན་པ་གྲག་གོ། བར་སྐྱང་ལ་ཡང་འོད་གསལ་ལ་སོ་ཤར་ངོ། འདི་ཅི་ལགས་  
ཞེས་.....ཡོ་སྐྱངས་སོ།

དུས་དེར་སེམས་ཅན་དབྱལ་བ་། རྣམས་དང་། ཡི་དགས་དང་། བྱལ་སོང་། Fol. 31b  
དང་། སྤྱི་དང་། རྣ་མ་ཡིན་དང་། རྣ་རྣམས་དང་། དེ་རྩ་ར་ཁས་ས་གསུམ་གྱི་སེམས་  
ཅན་ལས་ཀྱང་། ཤིན་དུ་གྲངས་མང་བ་ཅིག་སངས་རྒྱས་དེ་སོང་ངོ། དེ་ལ་གཤེན་  
རབ་གྱི་། འཁོར་རྣམས་དང་། སེམས་ཅན་སྤྱད་མ་རྣམས་དོག་པ་སྤྱིས་ནས། ཐུན་ ༥ ༥  
པ་ལ། ལ་ལས་སྐྱོར་བ་བྱས། ལ་ལས་རྣ་ཐུག་བཅའ། ལ་ལས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཐུལ། ལ་  
ལས་མཚན་བདུབ། ལ་ལས་སྐྱ་ཁུས་གསོལ། ལ་། ལས་རྣ་བཤོས་ཐུལ། ལ་ ༥ ༥

༥ གྱི་ ༥ ཀྱང་ ༥ ཐུང་ ༥ རྣམས་ ༥ ཆོག་ ༥ རྣམ་ཀ་ ༥ ཐུམ་ ༥ ཆོན་



- ལས་རྩ་བརྩམས། ལ་ལས་གཤང་དགོལ། ལ་ལས་དུང་བུས། དེ་ནས་བས་ཆེས་  
 1. 4 ལྷན་པ་ལ་གསོལ་བ། ལྷན་པ་གཤེན་རབས་ལགས། བདག་ཅག་འཁོར་གྱི་  
 དས་པ་ནས་ལ་ཞི་གཅིག་ཀྱང་སངས་སྤྱི་བྱ་བར། ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་སེམས་ཅན་  
 རྣམས་ལ་འདིའི་ཆེད་པ་ཅིག་སངས་རྒྱས་ཏེ་འགྲོ་བ་ཅིའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ལགས། སྤྱད་པ་  
 1. 5 ལས་པ་ནི་ཅིའི་སྦྱོན་ལགས། ལྷན་པ་ལགས། དེ་འདྲའ་ན་ནི། ལས་ལ་དགོ་སྤྱིག་  
 བྱེད་དོ། ཆོ་ལ་ཡང་སྤྱི་བྱེད་དོ། གནས་ལ་ཡང་མཐོན་དམན་བྱེད་དོ། ཞེས་གསོལ་  
 1. 6 བས། ལྷན་པས་བཀའ་སྒྲུབ་པ། དེ་ནི་འདི་ལྟར་རོ། ལྷན་སྦྱོན་པ་གཏོ་བྱལ་ཡི་  
 མཆིན་གྱིས་མ་འདྲོངས་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་ལགས་སོ། ལྷན་པ་བྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་  
 ཁར་། བདའ་ཡང་གསུངས་ནས། ལྷན་ལས་བདབ་པ། བདག་ཀྱང་བྱ་ངན་ལས་  
 Fol. 32a འདས་པའི་འོག་ཏུ། ལྷན་པ་ཅིག་བྱོན་པས། ངའི་བག་ཆགས་འདིའི་སེམས་  
 བསྐྱེད་ནས། ཞལ་མཐོང་མ་གཤེད་ཏུ། སེམས་ཅན་བྱེད་སངས་རྒྱས་པར་ཤོག་ཤིག་  
 1. 2 གསུངས་པས། ལྷན་ལས་དེའི་མཐུ་ལགས་སོ། སྤྱད་པ་ནས་ལས་པ་ནི་སྤྱིག་པ་ཆོ་  
 རས་མ་བྱང་བར་ལས་པ་དང། ལྷན་པའི་ལྷན་ལས་མ་གྲེབས་པ་དང། བང་བེའི་ལས་  
 ངན་པ་འདོས་ནས་འཛིག་ནི་གྱི་ཁམས་གཞན་ནས་འཕོས་པ་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ། དགུང་  
 1. 3 ཞག་གཅིག་ལ། སེམས་ཅན་སྦྱོན་ལས་བདབ་པ་རྣམས་དེ་ལྟར་སངས་རྒྱས་སོ།  
 དེ་ནས་དགུང་ཞག་གཞིས་ན་ཡང་འཛིག་ནི་གྱི་ཁམས་གཡོས་སོ། ཤིན་ཏུ་  
 1. 4 གཡོས་སོ། འགུལ་ལོ། བར་ཏུ་འགུལ་ལོ། མ་གཞི་ལ་ཡང་སྦྱ་སྦྱན་པ་གྲག་  
 གོ། རྣམ་མཁའ་ལ་ཡང་འོད་གསལ་ལོ་མང་པོ་གར་རོ། ལྷན་པ་གཏོ་བྱལ་ཡི་  
 1. 5 མཆིན་གྱིས། འཛིག་ནི་གྱི་ཁམས་ན་བསྐྱེད་པ་བྱ་ཆེན་པོ། སྤྱ་གདུང་དང། རིང་

བསྐལ་དང ། སྒྲི་གཞུགས་བརྒྱན་དང ། གསུང་རབས་འབྲུམ་མེ་དང ། བདེ་  
གཤེགས་ཀྱི་ཉལ་སྒྲིན་ནམས་ཀྱང་[གནང་ངོ] ། སྒྲི་གཞུགས་ནི་ཕ་འབྲུང་བ་བཞིན་  
སོང་ངོ ། སྒྲི་གཞུང་ཡང་དར་བཞིང་བ་བཞིན་སོང་ངོ ། གསུང་རབས་ཀྱང་དྲུང་ཕྱིས་<sup>1. 6</sup>  
པ་བཞིན་སོང་ངོ ། དུ་རྒྱལ་ཐེས་པ་སྐས་དང ། ཕ་ཟ་ངང་འབྲང་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་  
ཀྱང ། མྱོད་ལ་གཤེན་རབ་ལ ། འོལ་སོ་ཕྱང་རིངས་སུ་མཆོད་པ་ལྷལ ། གྱང་ལ་  
བྲག་སོང་གོ་རྒྱལ་སྒྲོལ་ཀྱི་ ། ཕྲག་དྲུང་དྲུང་ནག་པོ་ངས་ཆེ་བསྐྱལ ། ཐོ་རངས་རི་<sup>Fol. 32b</sup>  
གཡུང་རླང་དགུ་བཅེགས་ཀྱི་ཅེ་སོ་ལ་མངོན་སུམ་དྲུ་སངས་རྒྱས་སོ །

དེ་ནས་ཡང་ཡབ་ལྷུས་དང་བྲས་ཟེ་དང ། འཁོར་ནས་པ་གསུམ་དང ། སྒྲི་  
མ་ལྷུས་པ་ནམས་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོས་ ། བཀའ་སྐྱལ་པ་ ། རྒྱལ་ཕྱ་འདི་བཟླན་པ་འདི་དུས་<sup>1. 9</sup>  
མ་ཡིན་ནམ ། གཤེགས་པ་འདི་དུས་ཆོད་ངན་ནམ ། འདུལ་པ་འདི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཆུང་ངས །  
རྒྱལ་སང་དྲུང་བའི་དུས་སྐས་སམ ། འདི་ཅི་ལགས །

པ་མ་ལྷུས་ཀྱི་སྒྲོལ་ཕྱ་ ། དང །

L 3

འཁོར་གྱི་དམ་པ་བྲས་ཟེ་དང །

གསུང་ལ་འདུས་པ་འདི་ཁྱོམ་ཆོགས་ལ[ས] །

གཅིག་ཀྱང་ཐར་པ་ཕྱི་ཐོབ་པར །

ཁམས་གསུམ་སེམས་ཅན་ཅི་ཕྱིན་དང །

བདག་གི་ཡབ་ ། ཁན་ལྷུས་གན་དང །

L 4

སྒྲི་གཞུང་གསུང་རབ་སྒྲི་གཞུགས་དང །

• རིང་སེལ་

• སོང་གོ་རྒྱལ་སྒྲོད་

• གཡུང་རླང་གྲུ་བཅེགས་

• འཁམས་

• གདག་



ཐར་པ་ཐོབ་ནས་འགྲོ་བ་འདི།

བྱས་ཟེས་བདག་ས་པས་རྩི་ལྟར་གདའ།

l. 5

གཤེན་རབ་ལ་ཡང་ཞུས་ཤིག་གསུང།

བྱས་ཟེས་སྤྱར་གསོལ་བ། གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐོན་དཀར་ལགས། དན་བྱ་འཁོར་བའི་ས་  
ལ་གནས་ནས། རིག་པའི་རྩོ་རྒྱུང་བས་བདག་ས་ཀྱང། ཅི་ལགས་ས་མཆིས་མོ།

l. 6 གཤེན་རབ་ཉིད་ལ་ཞུ་བ་ལས། དེ་ནས་ཉི་མའི་ ། ཅེ་ལམས་གཤེན་རབ་ཀྱིས།

རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་རྒྱལ་བླ་གསུལ། གཤེན་རབ་ལ་སྤྱན་སྲུང་ཚོགས་པའི་འཁོར་  
ནས་ས་ཀྱིས་སྐོར་བ་བྱས། རྩ་བླ་ག་བཅའ། སྤྱ་བྱས་གསོལ། མཚོན་བ་བྱལ་ནས།

Fol. 33a

བྱས་ཟེས་གསོལ་བ། བ། གྱི་རྒྱལ་བྱ་སྤྱན་བ་གཤེན་རབ་ལགས། ཉིད་ཀྱང་  
བསྐྱན་པའི་དུས་ས་ལགས་སས། གཤེན་པའི་དུས་ཚོད་དན་ནས། འདུལ་བའི་

l. 2 ཞིང་ཁམས་རྒྱུང་ངས། རྒྱལ་སར་དབྱུང་བ། སྤྱས་སས།

ཡབ་ཡུམ་ལུས་ཀྱི་སྦྱོར་བྱ་དང།

འཁོར་གྱི་དཔ་བ་བྱས་ཟེ་དང།

དད་པའ་སྦྱེས་པའི་འཁོར་ཚོགས་དང།

གཅིག་ཀྱང་ཐར་པ་བྱི་ཐོབ་པར།

གཞན་དག་ཐོབ་པ་ཅི་ལགས་ན།

l. 3 ཞེས། ཞུས་སས། གསོལ་བ། སྤྱན་བ་གཤེན་རབ་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་སྤུལ་བ། བདག་  
ནི་བསྐྱན་པའི་དུས་ཚོད་ཀྱང་འདི་ལགས་མོ། ལགས་པའི་དགས་ནི། སྤྱན་བ་གཏོ་

རྒྱལ་ལེ་མཁུན་དུ་གྱིས། རྫོན་ ལས་བདེ་བའི་བྱི་སངས་རྒྱས་པ་དང། བཟུངས་ L 4  
 བ་བཞག་པའི་རྩེས་དྲུ་བྱིས་པ་ལས། དར་བརྒྱུ་བ་བཞིན་འགྲོ་བ་ལས། བཟུངས་པ་  
 སྤེལ་བའི་སྤྱུ་བྱིས་པོ་དཔུལ་རྒྱལ་ཐེས་པ་སྐས་དང། བྱི་སྤྱུ་ཟ་ངང་འབྲང་ས་ L 5  
 གཉིས་ཀྱང། རྫོན་ལ་བདག་ལ་མཚན་པ་ལུལ། གུང་ལ་བདུད་ངས་རྩེ་ནག་པོ་  
 བསྐུལ། ཐོ་རངས་ཐང་པ་མཚན་སྐྱེས་དུ་ཐོབ་པ་ནི། དེ་པན་ཚད་གོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བཟུན་  
 པའི་རྩེས་ལགས་སོ། བདག་ གི་ནལ་མཐོང་མ་ཐག་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཏེ་འགྲོ་བ་ L 6  
 ནི། དུས་ཅིག་ལ་བཟུན་པ་གཉིས་བྱི་འབྲུང་བ་ལགས་སོ། དེ་བས་ན་བདག་འབྲུང་  
 པའི་དུས་ཀྱང་འདི་ལགས་སོ། ག་ཤེགས་པའི་དུས་ཚད་ཀྱང་འདི་ལགས་སོ།

མའི་འགོ་བྱི་བ་ལ་དགོངས་ནས་ག་ཤེགས་པ་ནི། ནན་དན་གིས་སེམས་ཅན་ Fol 33b  
 འདུལ་ཞིང་ཞིབ་དྲིག་གིས་བཟུན་པ་སྤེལ་བ་ལགས་སོ། རྒྱ་བའི་འགོ་དབྱིད་རྒྱ་ར་  
 བ་ལ་དགོངས་ནས་ག་ཤེགས་པ་ནི། འཛིག་དེན་གྱི་ཁམས་ལུ། མཚན་པ་བཅུ་ L 2  
 གཉིས་ནི། དོན་མཐུང་དུ་བྱིན་པས། རྒྱ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འགོ། དབྱིད་རྒྱ་ར་བ་  
 ལ་དགོངས་ནས་བྱོན་པ་ལགས་སོ། ཞག་གྱི་དང་པོ་ཆེ་བཅོ་ལྔ་ལ་ག་ཤེགས་པ་ནི།  
 རྫོན་གྱི་རྫོན་པ་ནམས་ག་ཤེགས་། པའི་དུས་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་གྱི་རྩེས་དང། རྒྱ་གསང་ L 3  
 ཐིག་ལེའི་རྩེས་གྲུབ་ནོད་པར་ག་ཤེགས་སོ། སྐར་མའི་དས་པ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཅུ་གོང་དུ་  
 ག་ཤེགས་པ་ནི། བདུད་ལྔ་དབང་དུ་བཟུས་ཏེ་ག་ཤེགས་པ་དང། འཛིག་དེན་ཐིམ་ L 4  
 གྱིས་གནོན་པའི་བྱིར་རོ། དུས་ཚད་ཀྱི་དང་པོ་ནས་ནངས་ནས་ག་ཤེགས་པ་ནི། ནས་  
 ནངས་པའི་དྲིང་ལ། ཉི་མ་འོང་བ་དང་འདུ་མེ། བདག་ག་ཤེགས་པའི་དྲིང་ལ།  
 སྤྱི། ལས་སྤུལ་སྤྱི་མང་པོ་ལུང་ནས། འགྲོ་བ་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་བྱིད་པའི་བྱིར་ L 5



རོ । འདུལ་བའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱང་གྱི་ཅིང་ཕྱེ ། ལྷོང་གསུམ་གྱི་ལྷོང་ཆེན་པོའི་  
 L 6 འཛིག་ནིན་གྱི་ཁམས་ལགས་སོ ། རྒྱལ་སར་འབྱུང་། བའི་རུས་ཆོད་ཀྱང་། དགྲང་  
 ལོ་ཅིག་ལོན་ནས་འབྱུང་བ་ལགས་སོ ། རྒྱ་བ་བཅ་གཉིས ། ཞག་སུམ་བརྒྱ་རྒྱག་  
 ཅུ ། ཟས་བདུན་བརྒྱ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལ ། སྤྱ་གསུང་ཐུགས་སྦྱིས་པས་རྒྱལ་ས་ཆེན་པོ་  
 ལགས་སོ །

Fol. 34a

དེ་ཡང་གོང་དུ་སྤྱོདས་པ་དང་འབྲེ་ཕྱི ། དགྲང་ཞག་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་བ་ནི་སང་  
 ལགས་སོ ། བདག་གིས་འདུལ་བའི་ཞིང་། སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་སྦྱིབ་པ་བྱང་བྱ་  
 L 2 བ་ནི ། འོ་ལ་མོ་ལྷང་རིངས་སུ ། འཛོགས་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་བྱིད་རྣམས་ལགས་  
 L 3 སོ ། དེ་ཡང་སང་གདུགས་གྱི་ཅིང་ལ་འོ་ལ་མོ་སྤྱོདས་ནས ། གཅིག་ཀྱང་ས་ལུས་  
 བར ། འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐང་པ་ཁོབ་ཕྱེ་འགྲོ་བར་ངེས་སོ ། དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་གཤེན་རབ་  
 L 4 ཀྱིས་གསུངས་པས ། ཡབ་ལུས་ ། དང ། བུས་ཟེ་དང ། འཁོར་རྣམས་ཀྱང ། འིནན་  
 དུ་དགའ་ནས ། སྒོར་བ་བུས ། རྩ་བུག་བཅའ་ལ ། སྤྱི་དོག་ལུལ ། དེ་ནས་ལུས་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་  
 L 5 རྩ་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་ཞད་མས ། སྤུས་གཤེན་ ། རབ་ལ་གསོལ་པ །

གནས་མཚོག་དམ་པ་འོ་ལ་མོ་ལྷང་རིངས་སུ །

བདག་ཅག་འདུལ་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ །

གཅིག་ཀྱང་ས་ལུས་ནང་བར་སངས་རྒྱས་ན །

རྒྱལ་བུ་གཅིག་ལུ་སྤྱ་དང་བཞུགས་པ་ལགས་ །

L 6

གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་ལང་ལིང་གནས་མཚོག་དམ་པ་ནུས་ །

རྒྱལ་པོ་ས་ལ་བཞུགས་པའི་སྤྱན་སྤྱུ་ཅུ་ །

བྱ་གཅིག་དེ་ནི་གཤེགས་ན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ཡི།

སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་གཤེགས་པ།

ལྷན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ། གཅིག་ཆོ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

Fol. 34b

ལྷན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

དཔེ་ན་ཆུ་གྱི་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

དེ་དང་ལྷན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

L 2

ནང་པར་ཐར་ནས་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

ལྷན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

ཉན་པ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ། གཅིག་ཆོ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

L 3

ལྷན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ། གཅིག་ཆོ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

ལྷན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ། གཅིག་ཆོ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

ལྷན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ། གཅིག་ཆོ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

ལྷན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ། གཅིག་ཆོ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

ལྷན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ། གཅིག་ཆོ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

ལྷན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ། གཅིག་ཆོ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

དཔེ་ན་ཆུ་གྱི་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།

དེ་ནས་ལྷན་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ། གཅིག་ཆོ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ལ།



- Fol. 35a བཀྱད་དུ ། གཤེན་རབ་ལ་མཆོད་པ་ལྟམ ། ། གྲུང་ལ་བྲག་མེང་གི་རྒྱུ་ལྟམ་གྱི་  
 l. 2 ལྟམ་དུ ། སྤྱན་པོ་མ་དང་ཁ་ཆེན་བདུལ ། ། ཐོ་རངས་རི་གཡུང་དྲུང་དགུ་བཅེགས་གྱི་  
 l. 3 ཆེ་མོ་ལ ། མཛོན་སྤུམ་དུ་མ་ལྟམ་པར་མངས་རྒྱུ་མོ ། །  
 l. 4 ཨཱཱྀ ། ། ། བཀའ་འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གཟེར་བྱིག་གི་རྒྱུད་ལས ། གཤེན་  
 l. 5 རབས་སྤེ་བ་བཞེས་ ། པའི་ལེན་ཞེ་གསུམ་པའོ །

Fol. 35b  
empty

gZER-MYIG, I. E.

RAYS FROM THE EYES OF THE SVASTIKA, A PRECIOUS  
SUMMARY OF THE WORD.

TRANSLATED FROM THE TIBETAN

By A. H. FRANCKE.

I

In the language of the gods of the *Ka-pi-ta*. Svastika: *Dsa-tur*. Fol. 1a  
*sa-na-tsi-ba-ti, ad-kar-a-trag-mu-la-ram.*

In human language: A chapter from the summarized Tantra which  
treats of the teaching of *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhyend* in olden times.

Salutation to the sublime teacher *gShen-rab*, the illustrious Fol. 1b  
redeemer of mankind! Viewed as a whole, the deeds of living beings  
are great in number and not to be grasped by thought. Also the  
kingdoms of the world (*kham*s) are great in number and not to be  
grasped by thought. Also the words of the teachers are great in  
number and not to be grasped by thought. In the most distant Past  
(already) the words of the teachers—not to be grasped by thought—  
and the well expounded *Bon* (religion) were spread.\*

The kingdoms of the world and the incomprehensible multitude Fol. 2a  
of regenerations came into existence and passed away again. The  
bodies of created beings and their innumerable deeds—not to be  
grasped by thought—moved in the cycle and attained liberation.

At the beginning of this time, at the beginning of this cycle\*,  
at the beginning of this creation (literally of this origin), at the first 4 2  
outset of this kalpa, when—moved by the pity of the gods, moved  
by the pity of *Ye-lha-sens-kyi-sgron-ma-can*—the *Bon*-religion was  
spread, the doctrine of the teacher *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhyend* was spread.  
[If we ask:] which teacher's family increased, [we answer:] [the



1.3 family of] *Ye-mu-khyad*<sup>1</sup>. \* The teacher *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhyend* was full of pity for the beings who were stricken by the sickness of the fivefold poison:

To those able to be converted by images he set forth  
The doctrine of the *Pe-tse* of images.\*

1.4 By the excellence of this doctrine  
Innumerable living beings  
Found liberation from transmigration.  
After misery they compassed paradise (*bde-gnas*).

To those able to be converted by discourse

1.5 He set forth the word, \* the *Pe-tse* of the word.  
By the excellence of this doctrine  
Innumerable living beings  
Found liberation from transmigration.  
After misery they compassed paradise.

To those able to be converted by the spirit

1.6 He set forth the *Pe-tse* of the perfected \* spirit.  
By the excellence of this doctrine  
Innumerable living beings  
Found liberation from transmigration.  
After misery they compassed paradise.\*

Fol. 2b About that time the teacher revealed himself publicly, face to face, in body, word and spirit. When he then was the redeeming (drawing upwards) teacher, the living beings that had [heaped up] deeds 1.2 (innumerable), found liberation \* from transmigration \*. Then the teacher was really tired, thoroughly tired; he was very faint.

Thereupon the teacher *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhyend* went before *Ye-lha-sens-kyi-sgron-ma-can* in the [house] *gYu-khan-pud-mai-gzha-yas* on 1.3 the [top of] 'Od-chen'-*akhor-lo*<sup>2</sup> *glin-rtsags*, visited him, fell on his 1.4 knees, folded his hands, smiled, \* bent his head and offered him three times the salutation of the gods. After also having offered a lotusflower of eight petals, he spoke as follows: "Oh *Ye-lha-thugs-kyi-*

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps instead of *Ye-mu-brgyad-dkar*. Fol. 7a l. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: the deeds of living beings [so numerous] as not to be grasped by thought found liberation.

*ye-shes-can*, in a former incarnation \* when I lived in the province of *l.5*  
*Srid-pa-Ye-sans*, *Khri-'od* was my father and *Kun-shes* was my mother;  
 also we three brothers were like fledglings [in one nest]. \* One was called *Fol. 3a*  
*Khyen-dag-pa* the second *Khyen-gsal-ba*, and the third *Khyen-shes-pa*.  
 After we three brothers had passed through the gate of the *Bon*  
 (doctrine) of the svastika, we said to the creator of thought, to the  
 Thunderbolt-Teacher \* *gTo-bu-'abum-khri-glog-gi-lee-can*: after hearing *l.2*  
 the *Bon* (doctrine) of *Srid-pa-ston-rtsis* (of the thousandfold cycle), through  
 the magic power of the cycle we met the living beings of the three  
 kingdoms (*kham*s). We examined into the works (karma) of the living  
 beings and found that they suffered much misery. \* The karma of the *l.3*  
 beings led in some cases to birth, in others to illness, in others to  
 old age, in others to death, in others to murder (or 'to be killed',  
*i. e.* in the passive voice, and so in all the following terms), some  
 to be cut up, some to be boiled, some to be roasted, some to be  
 starved, some to thirst, \* some to slavery, some to lust, some to *l.4*  
 fighting, some to flight, some to persecution. We saw that all this  
 [meant] great misery. [We] three brothers wept, and our tears mingled  
 with blood. \* The creator of thought, the Thunderbolt-Teacher said: *l.5*  
 By the forefathers! This is strange!

*Dag-pa*, *gSal-ba*, *Shes-pa*, all three,

By the measure of their great pity

Practice the four immeasurable [virtues]†.

By this fourfold immeasurable compassion \*

The beings rotating in incarnations will be freed and drawn upwards, *l.5*

May this happen for the weal of the beings! Thus he spake.

We feel compassion with all living beings,

We listened to the word of the divine teacher,

And thus we three brothers sacrificed ourselves! \*

[Our] only father *Srid-pa-Khri-'od*, and [our] teacher *gTo-khri* said: *Fol. 3b*

Ye three brothers, sit down there!

However much pity you may feel for the living beings,

Two teachers need not teach [at the same time].

However great be the number of beings [souls], \*

Two souls need not dwell in one body.

*l.2*

However deep the darkness be,

† Acc. to Jäschke: Love, compassion, self-chastisement, and tranquility.



It needs not to set two suns to rise.

All former generations, that have passed away, had each its own teacher,

All future ones will have their own teachers.\*

1.3 Go then forth, ye three brothers, as teachers at three different times.

As the nature of a teacher is something rare, it is venerable.

But if two are already too many, what then [do] with three?

*Dag-pa*, the eldest, may go into the world as teacher!\*

1.4 As many *avatāras* (*sprul-sku*) will issue from his body like rays of light,

So may he now be within the three realms of the world<sup>1</sup> as the present redeemer!

1.5 After having spoken thus, they blessed me.\* Thus I was sent out

to redeem and to teach. My two brothers returned again to the town

of *aGon-btsun-phyi*, to hear the *Bou* (teaching) of the svastika from *Ye-shes-lha*. Both the teacher and the father said to me: "As soon

1.6 as the beings in the cycle are converted,\* hasten to the sublime

place of the perfected *gShen*." Thereupon they returned to the sublime

place of the perfected *gShen*. I, then, was born as a human being and

Fol. 4a I took the name of *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhyend*.\* For I felt a yearning love for the living beings who move in the cycle.

For those to be redeemed by images

I assumed the incarnation of the image (body).

I redeemed them through the doctrine of the *Peu-tse* of images

And thus I raised more living beings from hell to paradise than can be grasped by thought

From the cycle I led them to freedom.\*

1.2 For those to be redeemed by the word,

I used symbolical words

And redeemed them by preaching the *Peu-tse* of the word.

And thus more living beings than can be grasped by thought

I raised from hell to paradise.

From the cycle I led them to freedom.\*

1.3 To those to be redeemed by the spirit,

I imparted the teaching of the spirit,

I redeemed them by the *Peu-tse* of the perfect spirit,

And thus more living beings than can be grasped by thought

I raised from hell to paradise\*.

<sup>1</sup> Or: in the three thousand worlds.

From the cycle I led them to freedom.

But there are many beings yet rotating in the cycle.

1.4

Though they were drawn upwards by body, word and spirit, how is it that some are not yet redeemed?" As he asked thus, the \* god of wisdom, *Ye-lha-sems-kyi-sgron-ma-can*, said: „Oh, thou son of the *srid-pa* of the generation of *gTo*, who thinkest over the past and the future of being born as the "Great Son," who discernest the works of virtue and sin, who discriminatetest between high and low places! Thou art right in asking about my lassitude \* in quitting the cycle. The beings redeemed by body, word and spirit had in earliest times, from the first kalpa onwards, good karma like a grain of millet. As their first origin was from good \* seed, a disposition (inclination) for wisdom dwelled in their souls. When such beings light upon the strong word of the teacher, they obtain liberation from the cycle. After misery they reach paradise. That is excellent. [On the other hand] as far as those beings are concerned that were not redeemed, although they were publicly shown the teacher's \* face bodily, oh *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhyend*, thou son of the *srid-pa* of the generation of *gTo*, they are very difficult to redeem, they are extremely \* difficult to redeem. From earliest times, from the first kalpa onwards they have committed the sin of harming [their fellowmen]. In their original nature there is not even so much virtue as a mustard-seed. They are bound tight by the whole mass of the five-fold poison. \* Oh *gTo-rgyal*, not even by the word of the *Bon* (doctrine) art thou able to redeem them. With them I also reached the limits of the mercy of the gods and I could not redeem them, on this account:

In some beings hatred burns like fire,

In others, \* lust circulates like water,

1.5

In some, ignorance rages like darkness,

In others, envy grows as if [planted in the] soil.

In some, pride whirls like the wind,

Others are of the nature \* of the *rakṣasa* or demons. This kind has no possibility whatever of being enlightened by wisdom. As the adage runs: Although the rays of the sun rise, it remains black in a dark (i.e., windowless) house! To this are the beings of this kind analagous. Though they be taught by words of truth, \* they do not listen but [rather] abuse them. After having practised all manner of vice, they are born in hell. However much one may pull, they do not



come out. Oh *gTo-rgyal*, it is certain that thou wilt not get them out! I too have felt very great pity and have had most yearning love for the  
 1.2 beings of the three kingdoms. \* But when I had pulled upward as much as a swamp amounts to, some obstacle came in between and as much as a grass-plot amounts to, dropped down again. And when I pulled up as much as a star of the heavens amounts to, as much as half of a root's fibre dropped down again. From my heart I am  
 1.3 sick \* of this cycle! Oh *gTo-rgyal* of noble birth; when thou wilt have accomplished the teaching of body, word and spirit, come back again quickly to the place of the perfect!" Thus spake *Ye-shes-lha*.

1.4 The teacher *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhyend* \* went to the country of *Srid-pa-gYun-drun-lha-rtse*, into the glass-castle of *sNow-bu-gYu-rtse*. When he arrived where *Mu-brgyud-dkar-po* was sitting, he bent his  
 1.5 knee, folded his hands, smiled and said: "Oh *Mu-brgyud-dkar-po*, king of the world! <sup>1</sup> I also reflect much on the welfare of the beings. When teaching in the incarnation of the body, I taught the *Peu-tse* of images (bodies) in the realm of bodies. When preaching in the incarnation of the word, I taught the *Peu-tse* of the word in the realm of desires, \*  
 1.6 When bringing fulfilment in the incarnation of the spirit, I taught the *Peu-tse* of the spirit in the realm of the incorporeal. Thus I accomplished in the region of the cycle of the three realms The teaching of body, word and spirit.

Even if all the sad ones of the three realms tied to karma were  
 Fol. 5b invited, yet more than the blissful ones remained unredeemed and in misery. "Oh *Srid-pa-mu-brgyud-dkar-po*, who keepest to 'one' doctrine, show me a mercy which is not small and a *Bon* [doctrine] \*  
 1.2 by which I can help the three realms and redeem them!" Thus he prayed. Thereupon spake *Mu-brgyud*: "Oh *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhyend*, son of the *srid-pa* of the generation of *gTo*,

Thou of very fine senses,  
 Of very keen wisdom,  
 Of a compassionate \* soul  
 1.3 Who art appointed as 'Great Son,'

what thou asked and prayed for is very good. Besides thee I also am such a one who thinks much about the welfare of the beings and

<sup>1</sup> or King of *Srid-pa*

who indeed thinks very much about it. A *Bon* [teaching] that would [completely] redeem the three realms \* and help the [beings] is something L 4 impossible, something utterly impossible. It is just as impossible as this: Even though the compassion of the teacher\* be like the sun and L 5 [wishes to illumine] everything equally, yet it does not rise for a cave in the rock that opens towards the north. The beings of the cycle are of evil nature; the five poisons connected with their birth are of great potency, the passions connected with suffering are so very mighty. [Hindered \*] by their power, not even the L 6 assembled pure teachers of the three periods<sup>1</sup>, however much they may try, will be able to redeem them. As soon as one has accomplished the teaching of body, word and spirit, one hastens to the seat of the truly perfect. I too have converted the three kingdoms Fol. 6a (*srid*) [of the world]. But when I had ordered all in the three realms (*kham*s) well into one system,

The white became black again,  
 Those who had possessions as those who had none,  
 The full became empty,  
 The stable as unstable,  
 The waxing as waning,  
 The born \* became dying, L 2  
 In all the three realms faith was on the decline,  
 In all the three realms discontent arose.

I am weary of the cycle and will no [longer] be ruler of the kingdom of this cycle<sup>2</sup>." Thus spake the *srid-pa*\*. Then the L 3 teacher *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkyend* reflected: "Although the three: the god (*lha*), the redeemer (*gShen*) and the ruler of the world (*srid-pa*) rested in 'one' doctrine, still the god and the ruler both got weary of the cycle, and as the result [of the thought] not to return\* they went out of the cycle and its misery. Quite at the L 4 outset [resounded] from the mouth [of my] teacher and [my] father: 'If the beings of the cycle refuse to be converted, come quickly to the abode of the perfect *gShen*!' \* thus they spake and L 5 verily this hour has come. I will now give up the happiness of the beings and go out of the cycle and its misery!" Thus he thought,

\* Or the Brahmas of the three periods.

\* King of the rulers of this cycle.



Through going out he no [longer] mercifully redeemed the beings  
 1.6 of the three kingdoms.\* But when he beheld the oppressed and  
 those yet to be cleansed he was overcome by yearning love, and  
 he wept. He wept bitterly, he wept violently.

Fol. 6b Then he wiped his tears with his hand \* and prayed:

"I am out of the cycle and out of the misery.  
 After I am out of the cycle and out of the misery,  
 Will, for the redemption of the beings,  
 As soon as an interval of time shall be over,  
 A compassionate teacher appear."

1.2 At the time when that teacher will appear, \* may ye—tormented  
 beings of the three realms—yea, at that very time may you find para-  
 disce after misery! May ye obtain liberation from the cycle! [Con-

1.3 cerning] the small portion of the miserable ones \* who still remain (?)  
 in this kingdom—*dMu-rgyal-them-pa-skas* and *Phya-hsa-nah-'abrah-ma*  
 — both are here (?). Even if I too be going out of the misery of  
 the body, I shall write the *gYu-ris-shon-mo* (blue Turquoise script  
 or drawing) on an ivory-white sheet of paper, and shall send it forth  
 1.4 into the kingdoms of this world, \* and the "Word" shall not pass away!

Then may the beings understand the letters of the "Script" and keep  
 the teaching! May virtue be spread! May sin be abandoned." Thus  
 1.5 he spake. \* And his body vanished from the cycle and its misery.

Then he spoke to his younger brother *gSal-ba* in the land of  
 'aGon-btsun-phyi: "Although I helped many beings of the three realms  
 1.6 and redeemed them, yet very many [others] remained \* below. I was

weary of the cycle and have left the kingdoms of the world and  
 their misery. Now, after an interval of time has passed, the time  
 has come for you to redeem the beings of the world by means of the  
 Fol. 7a teaching. The time for conversion \* has come! Therefore: go at this  
 time!" Thus *gTo-rgyal* also went to the lofty seat of the perfected  
*gShen* with the thought (literally: purpose) of a future conversion  
 of the beings.

1.2 This is the first chapter of the precious summary \* of the word,  
 the 'rays of the svastika' which treats of the doctrine of *gTo-rgyal-*  
*ye-mkhyend* in past times.

## II

In the language of the gods of the svastika: *Ti-ger-lha-tin-gu-ge-t. 3*  
*smar*; in human language: Chapter of \* *gShen-rab's* parents. *1. 4*

When in earliest times the loving kindness of the gods diminished, the loving-kindness of the god *Ye-lha-sems-kyi-sgron-ma-can* diminished also. When the generation of the rulers (*srid-pa*) disappeared, the generation of *Ye-mu-brgyud-dkar-po* disappeared [also].\* When *1. 5*  
the *Bon* doctrine ceased, the teaching of *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhyend* also ceased to be. When the kingdom of the world, even the small kalpa, came to an end, it perished as though something lofty was broken and laid aside (?).

If we ask who was the god, (*lha*) who encompassed this period, \* this *1. 6*  
kalpa, this cycle (*srid-pa*), this creation with his loving-kindness, which *gShen* (saviour) appeared as teacher, by which ruler (*srid-pa*) was this generation augmented, we must give the [following] tale and argument:

Looked upon universally \* the kingdoms of the world are vast *Fol. 7b*  
and large, also numerous. In the western country of the world<sup>1</sup> there is the source of the four rivers<sup>2</sup>, the horn of the fine ice which is like a spear-point, and the basis of mount *gYul-dron-dgu-brtsegs*. Between the rocks of *Sen-ge-rgyab-smol*, above the earth \* resembling *1. 2*  
a lotus with eight petals, under the sky which is like a wheel with eight spokes, we find the grove of trees glowing in luminous rainbow-colours, the forest of flowers of the most varied hues, the garden of the healing nectar-drugs and the castle of [this] wonderful place.

The name of the country \* is '*Ol-mo-lun-rins*, and the name of *1. 3*  
the palace is *Phar-po-so-brgyad*. [But] the name of the *gSas*-palace is *Sham-po-lha-rtse*.

In that place the people of '*aDsam-bu-gliu* (Jambudvīpa) dwell. They are [divided] into four castes<sup>3</sup>. Those belonging to the

<sup>1</sup> The world here means Tibet.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Tibetan geography: Indus, Oxus, Tarim and Ganges.

<sup>3</sup> This division in castes in *La-drags-rgyal-raha*.



- 1.4 royal caste \* are the great; those belonging to the princely caste are the nobles, those belonging to the brahmin caste are the pure, and those belonging to the lowest caste are the outcasts (*gdol-pa*, the excommunicated caste of fishermen). These are the four.
- 1.5 In that country everything is perfect. \* The clan [dwelling] on the height of that stronghold [is called] *dMu*. It is of the royal caste. [The ruler] is called *dMu-rgyal-lan-gyi-them-pa-skar*. He lives there as "The Great Son" (Mahāpuruṣa) and possesses
- 1.6 serenity of heart. He appeared on behalf of the beings \* and loved all creatures as were they an only son. His spouse is the daughter of *Phya-e-le-khyab-pa* named *Phya-bśa-nān'-abran-ma*. She was like her father (or husband?) of extremely kind speech, of great tranquility
- Fol. 8a of heart, and endowed with love \* for all creatures. As both parents considered the advantage of [all] beings, they transformed themselves (or: they begot), and a prince was born on the eighth day of the
- 1.2 first springmonth. At the time of his birth \* all the creatures rejoiced. Some threw [wood?] on the fire, some performed [religious] ablutions, others sacrificed to the gods, and some practised ceremonies for good luck. Uncle *Phya-kha-rje-dan-po* tied a whole arrowful [of cloth] round his head, on which a many-coloured picture of Garuḍa and the
- 1.3 Dragon \* radiant with the light of sun and moon<sup>1</sup> [was painted] as on the shell-white curtain of the heavens, and he prayed: "Oh prince, thou son of *dMu-rgyal*, who also reignest over the eight classes of gods and demons, mayest thou succeed in bringing about the benefit
- 1.4 of all beings!" \* The prince was like his parents. He was of great tranquility of heart and of extremely kind speech. *gSal-khyab'-od-lidan*,
- 1.5 the son of the brahman, gave [the child] a name, \* a very beautiful name. When giving him a name he called him *Myi-bon-lha-bon-yo-bon-rgyal-bon-thod-dkar*.

When thou learnest the *Bon* [doctrine] of the true magical words, from the teacher 'aPhrul-chen-nar-drag, mayest thou clearly discern

1.6 the *gTo-rgyud* \* and *sMran-rgyud*.

At that time there was no noble lady existing who was fit to preserve the propagation of the prince's family. Although they searched (for such a one) in a thousand kingdoms, they found none.

<sup>1</sup> Arrows with flags on the helmet. This is the way in which the Agus of the Kesarlegend are portrayed. The Nyopas, too, have such beflagged arrows on their heads at weddings.

When in his 13<sup>th</sup> year \* he mustered courage to fight the deva (asura) Fol. 8b and rākṣasa, a nobleman in his suite said: "Two men wish to meet the prince!" When this message was brought to his hearing, the prince rose and went to the two men. Then both offered [salutations] in L 2 the usual manner and said to the prince: "We two are father and son. [Our] country is situated on the shore of lake *Mu-le-ston-ldan-kad*. [Our] house is in the centre of the town of *Lai-lin*. This is [what concerns] our meeting with the prince: A proclamation was made in the kingdom for a noble lady \* to become the [future] queen, L 3 but none was found. Although our caste is the lowest, still we have among us a most excellent maiden suitable to become the prince's wife. If you wish us to bring her as wife to the prince, \* you need L 4 only give the order!" As he was speaking thus, the prince (reflected): Even though I got to see her face, she would not attract my attention. Even though I might wish to possess her, it would only lead to dissonances! \*

Then he said to the two men: "Oh, for all that it is very remarkable L 5 that the father should be blind on his right eye, and the son lame on his left [leg]side. As [your] caste is the lowest, you cannot have a daughter fit by birth to become my consort. \* Say nothing about it L 6 before the people! I should be ashamed of it! If you have a distinguished daughter, then I will come to *Lai-lin* town on the fifteenth day of the first summer month. When I then go to bathe in lake *Mu-le-ston-ldan*, I shall meet the people \* of *Lai-lin* town. Some will Fol. 9a take part in [religious] circumambulations, some bring salutations to the gods, some will offer flowers, others perform plays. Then kindle two very small fires (?) \* at the place where your excellent daughter L 2 is, and after conferring [with me] quite secretly, you must go away! If my suite hear of it, they will scold!" After having thus spoken, the prince rose and went his way. The two men felt depressed and went off. \* Then the ruler of the eight provinces of the devas L 3 (asuras) and rākṣasas and his followers said: "Oh prince, you had much to say! Who are the two men? What do they want?" Then the prince felt abashed and he invented a lie \* saying: "The men L 4 are two miserable and crippled brahmans. They worried me, and came to ask for some food. But as I have nothing to spare on the journey I told them to go home!" \* After having restored peace in L 5 the eight provinces of the devas (asuras) and rākṣasas, he returned



to 'Ol-mo-lu<sup>1</sup>-ri<sup>1</sup>s. He spake to his father in the following manner:  
 "When I was making a settlement with the eight provinces of the  
 devas [asuras] and rākṣasas, I met there men of miserable appearance."

L 6 They said, they were father and son. The father was blind on his  
 right [eye], the son lame on his left [leg]side. They said: [Our]  
 country lies along the shore of lake Mu-le-sto<sup>1</sup>-idan-had. [Our] house

Fol. 9b is in the centre of Lan-lin town. We belong \* to the low caste. As  
 the prince has yet no wife, we offer him our daughter as spouse.  
 What does it mean that they spoke thus? As I felt very much  
 abashed, I kept (the matter) secret from the nobles of my suite; but

L 2 [now] I have told it to my father." \* The father said: "By the father's  
 life! There is nothing impossible. A son of the gods may fall, and a  
 son of hell may be set free; a king can stoop to the lower caste; a

L 3 man of lower caste may obtain the king's throne. \* Those two men  
 were not of bad appearance. The right eye being blind, [means] that  
 the gate of hell is closed; the left leg being lame, [means] that the  
 benefit of [all] beings<sup>1</sup> is being sought; that they say, they will yet

L 4 become one of [our] noble relations, \* [means] that there is a way to  
 paradise, to redemption. The royal caste is also dear to me; but  
 although I performed [downright] miracles, when I sought a consort  
 for the prince, yet I have found none. That follower of the Bon

L 5 [religion] is not impossible [as a bride], \* that follower of the Bon  
 [religion] is possible [as a bride]. At the time when the prince sets out  
 to bathe in the lake, he shall enquire of the omens of luck in Lan-

L 6 lin town!" After the father had thus spoken, the prince reflected [on  
 his speech] \* and saw that it was [right]. When the time for bathing  
 had arrived, the prince went forth with his suite and with the full  
 band, after having put on beautiful garments.

Fol. 10a When, later on, \* those two men of low caste had come home again,  
 the mistress of the house asked: "Did you both, father and son, go  
 to that place before the eight provinces of the devas and rākṣasas? Have  
 you met the prince Thod-dkar? Have you succeeded in offering [him our]

L 2 daughter as wife?" \* To these questions they answered: "We went to  
 that place before the eight provinces of the devas and rākṣasas. We  
 have also seen prince Thod-dkar face to face. But when we had said  
 L 3 one word about offering the girl, the prince \* would not consent and

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a pun, as 'agro-bu also means "the runners".

said thereupon: "The father is blind on the right [eye], the son is lame on the left [leg] side; [their] caste is one of the lowest. Among you a maiden surely could not have been born that could become my wife \* You both seem to be men of little judgment. Keep the matter quite secret and go!" Thus he spoke. Then the prince got up and went his way. We two also got up and went off. Involuntarily despair \* seizes upon us and causes us grief. Now we are here!" As they spoke thus, the mother wept, because they had not succeeded in offering their daughter as wife. The daughter laughed, because she felt ashamed at the evil words of the prince. The father was grieved and moaned. \* The son said: 46

"The [being] called woman is the *rākṣasi* of *karman*†.

Being the source of violent passions, she belongs to the species  
of demons.

When the longing of love grows strong, the cause thereof is  
the womb.

Truly difficult it is to get a prince for a bridegroom.

[But] the maiden \* is too distinguished to be given to a man Fol. 10b  
of low caste.

Weep not! Laugh not! Quickly get food and water ready!"

When he thus spake, the mother bowed to the son's advice.

Next morning, the father said:

"As I fear her mixing with the low caste, I shall hide her in the  
house on the fifteenth.

It was a complete mistake to offer her to the prince \* as consort. 47

However much one hides it must come to light.

When desire arises, one fain bestows on the mother."

The daughter said:

"O, my only father!

When one goes shopping, even precious gold lies loose in our hand! \*

When the daughter is to be sold, what high price should then 48  
be paid for her?

Do I not become the king's bride, no noble will do for me.

Is it right to hide me on the 15<sup>th</sup>, so is a whole month's confinement short compared to it.

At full-moon of the last winter-month, the prince will come to  
bathe.

† Such Indian quotations are repeatedly found at the most unsuitable places.



Then the higher gods \* and the lower nāgas assemble.  
Then I too, will go to see the spectacle.

That, my only father, thou wilt not forbid me by that speech!"

When the girl spoke thus, father and mother formed the same  
L.5 resolve. \* Then the prince and his attendants, all together with  
the band of music, set out for the shore of lake *Mu-le-ston-ldan-had*  
in the land of the South to bathe [there]. From among the numerous train  
L.6 some cleansed themselves of their impurities, \* some brought offerings  
of water, some poured out hot [water?]<sup>1</sup>, others paid atonement-  
money. These mixed the lots for fortunetelling, those called down  
blessings [from heaven]; some beat the rattle-drum, some played on  
the tambourine, others blew the shell-trumpet. These carried incense  
before them; others hissed flags. \*

Fol. 11a Among the devas from above, the nāgas from below, and the  
human beings of the middle kingdom, some played on instruments, some  
performed [religious] circumambulations, others worshipped the gods,  
still others brought flower-offerings. The prince himself rode in a  
L.2 carriage, the wheels of which had eight spokes each. \* Tigers, yaks,  
lions and elephants came together from the four cardinal points and  
narrowed the horizon. [All] went to the town.

After the prince had passed round three sides of *Lan-lin*, he  
L.3 looked \* towards the centre of the town, spoke [to himself] and  
smiled more and more. The brahman *gSal-khyab-'od-ldan*, the nobleman  
in his escort, asked: "When the devas from above, the human beings  
L.4 from the middle kingdom, and the nāgas from below \* played on the  
most divers instruments; when all most humbly showed you sub-  
servience, you showed no sign of joy whatsoever. What does it mean?  
L.5 If [before] your face smiled ever so little, [now] you are smiling more  
and more when looking towards the centre of the town. What wonder-  
ful thing do you see there?" Thus he asked, and the prince said:  
"*gSal-khyab-'od-ldan*, thou noble brahman [in my] escort! From the  
top of the yellowish palace in the centre of *Lan-lin* town shines an in-  
L.6 comparably \* sublime girl. If she is not a daughter of mankind, is she  
[perhaps] a daughter of the nāgas? If she is not a daughter of the  
nāgas, is she [perhaps] a daughter of the heavenly devas? I laughed  
because I wondered at it!" When the brahman looked out over

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps: some fastened up symbols of good luck (*mitran-ma*).

the edge of the carriage, \* he beheld the girl on the top of the palace Fol. 11 b  
 in the centre of the town. "Oh prince, your words are true. She  
 seems to be an incomparable creature, not of this world! It would  
 be something wonderful, if she became the king's (*i. e.* the prince's)  
 wife. \* So too, when one discerns the outward signs! Since it looks L. 2  
 as if the sun were rising above the moon, she might belong to the  
 class of the so-called *Nyi'abar-ma* (sun-fires); since it looks as if  
 the moon were rising above the sun, she might belong to the class  
 of the so-called *Zla'od-ma* (moonlights), \* since it looks as if stars L. 3  
 were fastened on to the rain-bow, she might belong to the class of  
 the so-called *gZha'akhyug-ma* (rain-bow runners). \* As she is [*a* L. 4  
 maiden] of very good omens, you, my companions, drive the carriage  
 no farther! Stop your voices and your well-shaped instruments and  
 wait here! I am going to the castle \* to enquire about the girl!" L. 5  
 Having thus spoken, the brahman alighted from the car and went  
 away. On reaching the castle, he said: "Thou maiden on the  
 palace heights! Who is thy father? Who is thy mother? \* Who art thou L. 6  
 [thyself]? To which class [of beings] dost thou belong?" As  
 he called thus, the maiden quickly disappeared without answering.  
 Then the brahman asked the townspeople, and they said: "The  
 father [is called] *Sa-la*, the mother *'aGir-ti*, \* and the son *gSal-khyab*. Fol. 12 a  
 Such a daughter they never had until now!"

Then the brahman returned and told these words to the prince.  
 The prince said: "I will go to the lake to bathe; do thou remain  
 here. \* The father's name is known. If she does not adhere to her L. 2  
 low caste and is of very good omen, make a proposal of marriage and  
 [draw up] a contract, and come back again!" After having thus  
 spoken, the prince went to bathe.

Thereupon the brahman went again \* to the castle and called L. 3  
 aloud: "Lord of the castle, come to the door!" A boy appeared  
 who said: "Come into the castle, oh brahman!" So he entered  
 the house and looked around. The light of the maiden shone in the  
 [colours of] five different precious stones. \* In the brahman, too, L. 4  
 love stirred and he was confused. The people of the house set before  
 him remedies against hunger (?) and thirst<sup>1</sup>. The brahman said:  
 "Your daughter has wonderful omens. If she does not adhere

<sup>1</sup> Literally: food and thirst.



45 to her low caste, \* she shall become the consort of the prince!"

Thereupon [the father] replied:

"Thou old brahman, what dost thou speak?

My daughter will have no prince.

It was a real mistake that I offered her before the devas and  
rākṣasas!" \*

46 The son said:

"It is very difficult for the low caste to raise itself from the king's feet.  
Instead of giving her if the king begs with his [own] mouth,  
It is something better, if a brahman raises her from the ground!"

The mother said:

"Even if the prince should wish to have her, we shall belike not  
give her. \*

Fol. 12b If the brahman succeeds [in wooing her], that is much better".

We too are vassals and doing service.

Now the time has come. Thou brahman art an able fellow!"

The daughter said:

"The prince has entered the town; \*

47 Gods, men, nāgas and others

Formed a retinue great in number.

The prince's face is like unto the moon; the brahman looks old.

If the prince in his mercy wishes for [me], let him raise father  
and mother to the throne!

In as far as it is his due [treat] the brahman as an honoured  
guest." \*

48 After having conferred about the daughter, the brahman rose and  
went away. As soon as the brahman had come to the prince, he

49 said: "Oh prince, \* I went to-day to that castle and have met that  
maiden's father and mother. About noon I discerned her omens  
[or: her name]. The maiden is of very good form (or: birth?) and

50 endowed with excellent auspices. \* When I said she should be given  
to the king as consort, the mother was easily persuaded; father and  
son are not so easily persuaded. Whatever evil words were then  
spoken when she was offered at that place before the devas and

51 rākṣasas are forgotten. \* The maiden herself said: "If he woos me  
with his lips from his heart, let him raise father and mother to the

\* Perhaps: then the ford is crossed.

throne!" So I went, and am now here. What has the prince decided Fol. 13a  
in his mind?" thus he asked, and the prince said: \* "On the one  
hand it is so, and on the other hand it is so! Very well, even if  
she is of low birth, we ourselves are still nobles. It has been decided  
in the [family-]council, to raise them [all] to the throne. [For] if the  
maiden remains in the low caste, it is impossible [for her] to wed me.  
To-morrow father and mother \* shall both be invited to ascend the throne. This is our advice!"

After having spoken thus, they decided to leave in great haste,  
in order to avoid previous annoyances. The escort, the host of  
ministers, the host of warriors, \* and the band of musicians were divided 1.3  
into two halves. [The first half] went to 'Ol-mo-lui-rins. That led by  
the brahman went to Lai-lin town. When the prince had reached  
'Ol-mo-lui-rins, \* he told his father that the noble bride would come 1.4  
to-morrow. Father and mother were satisfied therewith, and [messengers]  
were sent out to invite the highest Bon-po-[priests], the Bon-pos who  
utter benedictions, the Bon-pos who tied the cords of the dMa<sup>1</sup>,  
and the consecrating Bon-pos. \* Also the people of that country were 1.5  
highly delighted to see the spectacle and to go and meet [the bride].

Then came the brahman gSal-khyab-'od-ltan and called the  
people of Lai- \* lin together. When they were assembled, he said: 1.6  
"It is hereby proclaimed, oh people, Sa-la has been made king; 'aGir-ti  
has been made queen; gSal-khyab has been made prince. \* The Fol 13b  
daughter will be given to the king (prince) as spouse! The ministers  
and warriors are given to king Sa-la to support the throne! Ye  
people, serve him! To-morrow morning \* the daughter will be led 1.2  
to the prince. Then some of you must accompany her as escort  
and support!" When he had spoken thus, the people of Lai-lin town  
gathered together and held council: "The king has determined, that  
we shall serve Sa- \* la; we are to supply an escort and attendants 1.3  
to the daughter!" Thus they also spoke to the brahman. Then the  
king [Sa-la?] invited also the Bon-po-[priests] of the kingdom (srid-pa), \*  
and the treasures were divided between brother [gSal-khyab?] and 1.4  
sister. Blessing was prayed for and the gods were invoked. The  
people of the town fastened chains of turquoises to each hair of the  
maiden. The brahman \* put the bride's horse to the golden chariot on 1.5

\* Presumably a custom adopted from the Hindoos.



four wheels and seated her under a canopy of silk and satin. When the people of the town saw that, they were as if ignited by a flame.

- 1.6 A man of the town, \* called *Khyen-srid-la-mkhas-pa*, spoke spitefully to the king: "King, that your daughter was born in this place, shows that father and mother are of great virtue (?), but is  
Fol. 14a also our [the subjects'] merit. \* Surely no low price will have been agreed upon, or even a loss be effected by giving away [the daughter]? It is good that she ascends to the king's throne, and [I] wish that her price be settled at the value of 100 elephant loads of jewels. If  
1.2 the human king cannot raise that sum, \* we should offer her to a king of the devas or nāgas, and it is certain, quite a number of the people of this town would make their fortunes (or: come to the throne)!" With this speech the king agreed and said: "What *Khyen-*  
1.3 *srid-la-mkhas-pa* has spoken, is very good!" \* Then he said to the brahman: "If I should offer this my daughter to a king of the devas or nāgas, then many people of the town could yet make their fortunes.  
1.4 Instead of the low price, a hundred \* elephant loads of jewels should be given [for her]!" Thereupon the brahman answered:  
"If a bride arrives on horseback, every price is wiped out!

If one of low caste ascends the royal throne, a considerable price must be paid!"

- 1.5 A king who has obtained \* the kingdom of 'pure man' is greater than the kings of the devas and nāgas by the merit of [his] body. In the treasure-houses of his kingdom there are jewels enough to fill a swamp. There are riches that all townspeople, however many  
1.6 they be, [can] get rich. \* I will send a load of the five kinds of jewels for one hundred elephants. Send the people of the town to me, and I shall give it [to them]!" So he ordered.

- Fol. 14b Then \* the pure youths and the pure virgins of the town accompanied the bride and went out to bring [her] in to the king. When they had gone a mile towards *'Ol-mo-luñ-rius*, they were met by the pure youths and the pure virgins of the low caste [of that place], who waved white silk ribbons. When they had got two \*  
1.2 miles farther, they were met by 100 pure youths and pure virgins of the nobility, burning red incense. When they had gone three miles farther, they were met by 100 pure brahman youths and maidens,  
1.3 offering water for baths (?) \* and hot water. When they arrived at *Neu'-abran-khyad*, the *Bon-po*-[priest] of happiness conquered the

devil, caused the *Sri*-[ghosts] to be suppressed, misfortune to be banished, the demons (*'adre*) to execute (religious) circumambulations and glory to be protected. \* Then they were met by the men of royal<sup>1.4</sup> caste who presented different gifts of blessing. Thereupon they entered the palace *Phar-po-so-brgyad* which was gleaming [literally: burning] with jewels, and the *Bon* priest of the gods (*lha-bon-po*) gave to the bride the name of \* *Myi-phyi-lha-phyi[-na]-yo-phyi-rgyal-shad-ma*, and<sup>1.5</sup> placed her on the blue turquoise throne. *Myi-bon-lha-bon[-na]-rgyal-bon-thod-dkar* was invited to the golden gold-throne and seated himself upon it. Then the gods offered up a prayer, \* the *nāgas* performed<sup>1.6</sup> the consecration, the *dMu* tied the cord of the *dMu*, and the *Phya* foretold the future. In this way gathered (?) . . . . . (?)

On the following day the brahman *gSal-khyab-'od-ldan* came before the prince \* and said: "Oh prince, king *Sa-la* has once more<sup>Fol. 15a</sup> fixed the price for his daughter. He has said, that he desires 100 elephant-loads of the five kinds of precious stones. I have promised [him] that and I agreed to send it to the townspeople." To that speech of the brahman the prince replied: "Well, [then go] to the north-side of *Sham-po-lha-rtse*; at the gate which is closed by an iron door [stands] \* a<sup>1.3</sup> tall iron man, from whom rays of jewel-light radiate in ten directions, [His] face is repulsive, his mouth threatening, his teeth projecting, his legs straddled. In his hand he holds the "Giant-Stone" of thunder and lightning [called] *Drag-rtsal-thog* \* *gi-thsa-'aphro-ba*. Whithersoever<sup>1.4</sup> he throws that, there everything is cleft in pieces. Go and face him and offer up to him fruits, corn, flowers, gold and silver as a morning-sacrifice, \* salute him and say:

"As price for the king's consort  
A hundred loads of jewels have been arranged,  
Both, loading and precious stones  
Shalt thou provide! This is the command.  
Should the king's family \* die out,  
What then would the riches help us?"

1.6

Thus speak to him and go! In that country, all the mountains and valleys are but one jewel-land. Earth and stone are unknown by name. If instead of one hundred loads one thousand elephant loads were fetched, where would the difficulty be? \* But as it is the price<sup>Fol. 15b</sup> agreed upon, go and fetch one hundred loads!"



Thereupon the brahman took the bride's escort [with him] and went to the north-side of *Sham-po-lha-rtse*, the castle of the *gSas*. Conformably with the king's speech, there stood at the closed iron gate of the jewel-mountain \* a very dreadful man. He (the brahman) acted according to the king's words and asked [for admission]. That man said: "I am the God of Riches, called *A-rgya-dzam-ba-la*. Though I am the *Nor-byin* (Kuvera) of the three kingdoms of the world, the ruler of the three kalpas, \* a treasurer of the four elements, [yet] I am powerless, when the king commands. I too am supported by the power of the king's prayers!" \* Thereupon he went to the 100 and to the 1000 dwarfs, the *Khyeu-cui-g Yui-sur-phud-can*, that were not like the man just mentioned, the iron gate was opened, and, as the king had said, all the mountains and valleys there consisted (only) of precious stones. The words earth and stone had no meaning there. \* The people from the town laughed with astonishment.

The *Khyeu-cui-g Yui-sur-phud-can* seized half of the jewel elephants and put on the jewel saddles. The other half filled the jewel bags with the different precious stones \* and loaded them on (the elephants). Then the brahman *gSal-khyab-'od-ldan* said to the townspeople of *Lan-lin* town: "Ye pure youths and pure virgins of *Lan-lin* town! Give this half to king *Sa-la* for his adornment and profit. With the other half ye attendants adorn yourselves!" \* At this the escort of the loads went off in great haste. When the two [transports] met at the gate of the king's castle, the towns people gathered together and were amazed. \* Some laughed, some jumped about, some rolled [on the ground], some brought congratulations, others greetings from the gods. King *Sa-la* said: "Ye youths and virgins! After so much has been sent to us, is there anything left for my daughter?" \*

*Khyeu-srid-la-mkhas-pa* answered:

"By the lives of the fathers! King *Sa-la*, what are you saying!

We were born in a poor country;

Yet we preserved a pure human body. In that king's treasure-house \*

All hills and valleys are but one land of jewels.

Even if one wishes earth and stones and searches for them, one finds none; it would be folly.

Though I was very glad, I too was very vexed.

I was glad to get a hundred loads of jewels. \*

I was vexed; for even if we had fixed 100000 loads of jewels, it *l.5* would have brought no difficulty to the king's treasure-house. Since I gave that wise counsel, I request one third for myself. Then the townspeople \* abolished [the custom of] prostration [before the king], *l.6* and instead of *dMañs-phal-po* (common, low caste) they called themselves *Mi-dban* (mighty). \* King *Sa-la* said: "Give him one fourth! *Fol. 16b* and divide the rest equally!" According to the king's word, \* the *l.2* young man received one fourth. The rest was divided evenly, and *l.3* the whole town became rich. \*

This is the second chapter of the precious summary of the *l.4* word, "the rays from the eyes of the svastika," *gZer-myig* treating of *gShen-rab's* parents.



## III

- Fol. 17a \* In the language of the *gYun-druñ* gods: *Dza-bye-gu-bi-mu-sais-phyal*. In human language: the chapter *gShen-rab's* birth. \*
- l. 2 At that time the son of the *Srid-pa* called *gSal-ba* [appeared] in the highest region of heaven, above the zenith, in the country of l. 3 *'aGon-btsun* \* *phyä*, while the moon stood in *sNar-ma-glegs*. He had l. 4 meditated much on the welfare of men \* and was full of deep compassion. He [went] into the unsurpassed castle *'Og-myin* before the god l. 5 of wisdom *gShen-lha* \* *'od-dkar* who dwelled there, \* kneeled down, his hands
- Fol. 17b folded, smiled, and spake: "Oh peerless prince *gShen* \* *la* \* *'od-dkar* ! Also empty  
Fol. 18a *Dag-pa*. *Srid-pa's* son has accomplished in the world of the living beings the teaching of body, word and spirit and has hastened to the paradise of the perfect *gshen*.
- l. 2 On his way \* he spoke to me: "May the book *brDä-nag* Come swiftly [to earth] for the benefit of the beings! Oh peerless prince, is not the time come for me to convert? If it be come, how shall I convert the beings?
- l. 3 Oh peerless prince and god, please, show me that most graciously!" *gShen-lha* spoke: "What the high-born son has asked and begged for, is very good, yea extremely good. At this time will be revealed the doctrine of the god (*lha*), of the teacher (*gshen*) and of the ruler l. 4 (*srid-pa*), of these three. \* The god am I, the teacher art thou, [these are] two; and the ruler is *Sais-po* \* *'abum-khri*; [these are] three. The teaching of these [three] is about to be revealed. Now, as the so-called sambhogakāya (body of enjoyment), I have nought to do.
- l. 5 Aforetime \* when the work of purification proceeded [from me], I was called *'Od-gsal*. As teacher of wisdom (*Yr-gshen*) or bodhisatva<sup>1</sup> (*gYun-druñ-sems-dpa*) [I] enlightened the darkness of those obfuscated through conscious sins and not able to attain a higher state. But for how many could [I] not be the teacher leading them to a higher l. 6 state! \* Thou wilt now receive the nirmāṇakāya (body of witchcraft). Thereby the conscious sins and the unconscious (= sins through adversity) will both be purified!

<sup>1</sup> Properly: *avaśīkaśatva*.

This is the time of conversion. May this (thy) birth \* not Fol. 18 b happen among those who are born in the light of the classes of gods, nor in the "illusions." These are called *Yen-pa-srid-pa-kha-saṃs*, and their redemption is but of small extension. The beings present in this cycle are hard to redeem. \* Go not to them [to be born among them].<sup>1.1</sup> Neither go to the bird-classes born from an egg! They belong to the realm called *Saṃs-pa-mu-phyo*, and are creatures hard to redeem. They obtain liberation with difficulty! \* Go not to such a birth!<sup>1.2</sup> Neither go to the worms born out of heat. They are called: Realm of the *mThon-po-skyabs-myed*. They are very hard to redeem; few obtain liberation. \* Go not into such a birth! Of the four species<sup>1.3</sup> of incarnation<sup>1</sup> the valuable human body is the most worthy origin, yea the sublimest and purest. It belongs to the province of the gate opening to liberation. Go forth to be born as a pure man! \* Go<sup>1.4</sup> forth to assume a body from the royal caste! For in the present day the royal caste has the most powerful word.

Concerning the six kinds of beings, go not as teacher into the kingdom of the gods. \* The gods are restless through their super-<sup>1.5</sup> abundance and unable to hearken to the teaching. Except some few they are hard to redeem. Go not as teacher to the *Lha-ma-yin* (asura)! They are thrown hither and thither through the misery of "he is vanquished" \* and "I have conquered" and are Fol. 19 a unable to listen to the *Bon* teaching. Except some few, they are hard to redeem! Go not as teacher among the beasts! \* The<sup>1.2</sup> beasts are confused and deranged through stupidity, wrapped in darkness. Owing to the calamity of "devouring one another" they fear and flee. Since such calamity has laid hold of them, they are unable to listen to the *Bon* teaching. \* Except those<sup>1.3</sup> few who are blessed through meritorious deeds, they are very hard to redeem. Neither go as teacher to the land of the *Yi-dags* (preta). The preta are greedy and overcome by carnal lusts, \* since<sup>1.4</sup> they are subject to the misery of hunger and thirst; since they suffer from such misery, they are unable to listen to the *Bon*-teaching. Except a few, blessed through meritorious deeds, they are very hard \* to redeem. Neither go as teacher to the land of hell! The<sup>1.5</sup>

\* Birth through the body, from the egg, through damp heat, through a miracle (lotus of the gods etc.).



inhabitants of hell are boiled and roasted in hot and cold [infernal regions], they suffer the torment of being chopped and cut to pieces; 1.6 [they suffer the torment of] blows and the filth of thralldom. \* Since they [suffer] such miseries, [they are unable to listen]. Except some blessed through meritorious deeds, they are very hard to redeem.

Among all the six classes of beings, go to the land of mankind as teacher. Men have a language, they have not mean, good thoughts. \* Fol. 19b Assume the human body! It is true, thou hast offered various prayers before, but five poisons ripen in [human] nature, and there are men whom a teacher cannot convert. It is true, [thou] hast practised the ten virtues, 1.2 but, as touching \* the attainment of liberation from the human body, there are also men who desire not (literally, need not) conversion through the teacher. Others, when meeting a sinful teacher, are led backwards and are reborn in hell. When meeting a virtuous teacher, who points out 1.3 to them the importance of virtue, \* they obtain paradise and liberation. [Of such men] there are many. Because mankind in general is exhausted through masses of obstacles, may the body of the teacher go 1.4 thither! May the *Bon-teaching* \* be spread there!" Upon this speech, the boy *gSal-ba*, son of the *Srid-pa*, asked: "Oh Teacher, God of Wisdom, what means this [word]: because misfortune is great in the three evil 1.5 kingdoms<sup>1</sup>, mayest thou go to the land \* of men?" And *gShen-lha-dkar-po*, God of Wisdom, spake: "What *Srid-pa's* son has asked, is good. Although the misery without the land of men is great, 1.6 [the beings] are converted through mankind. \* For mankind<sup>2</sup> exists not the misfortune of entire hindrance.—For instance: according to [the book] *Zo-chu-rgyul-ma* the six classes of beings migrate from one [kind] to another. But when the cycle of those born as men is cut Fol. 20a off for ever, they are reborn in the beautiful place of liberation. \* As the proverb says: "When the water comes into the gutter it does not flow down again!" Thus it is [with man]. The infernal beings 1.2 are hindered, the *Vi-dags* (preta) are also hindered \* the beasts, the *Lha-ma-yin* (asura), even the divine beings are hindered. Since they are thus hindered, [their redemption] is something impossible." Thus he spake. Then he meditated on the best of the beings which are equipped with the blessing of perfect bounty, \* with means and 1.3 wisdom.

<sup>1</sup> Hell, kingdom of the preta, animal kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: from man onwards.

The *Srid-pa Sais-po-abum-khri* spake:

"For the god, the teacher and the ruler, these three,  
Standing in one doctrine \*

1.4

And who would fain redeem the beings of the three kingdoms,

There are these thousand spheres of conversion:

By effecting many incarnations, the benefit of the beings is provided for; thus it is said. Incarnations produced by the ruler are: the genealogy \* of sons and daughters, the eighteen grandsons and 1.5 grand-daughters, moreover the incarnated *Srid-pa* of mercy arising in inconceivable [number]. Then comes to pass [as follows] to the beings in the cycle:

Out of destruction they come to life,

Out of misery they come to happiness,

Out of nonexistence \* they come to existence<sup>1</sup>

1.6

Out of the black state they come to the white.

In this wise the hundred times ten millions of incarnations effect in this world among the three-thousand worlds the benefit of the beings and their race increases.

The gods (*lha*, deva) also effect incarnations. \* The four clans 1.2 (or) of gods who themselves are incarnations of compassion, [namely:] the hosts of *dBal*, the *'aDar-gsas*, the *'aThor-gsas* and the *lHa'-akhor-smam'-akhor*, produce inconceivable [hosts] of incarnations which overcome and repel the devil (*bdud*) \* who hinders the beings of the three 1.2 thousand worlds and especially the evil-doing *gNod-skyin* (Yakṣhas).

The *gshen* (teachers) also produce incarnations. Above, from the locks of hair on the head and below from the ankles of the foot ten million times a hundred thousand rays of light proceed. \* And in this world among the three thousand worlds, the teachers in- 1.3 carnated through pity go about teaching, (i. e.) the hundred times sixty millions of converting teachers [instruct] in a hundred times forty million of continents (*adsambu-gliu*). Thus the teaching spreads. \* They 1.4 turn the wheel (of the doctrine) and they convert the beings.

*gSal-ba*, son of the *srid-pa*,

Through the teaching of the God of Wisdom,

Has purified the dark science

And has become an all pervading incarnation. \*

1. Or; from having nothing they come to possession.



2.5 Through all the former mighty prayers . . . .

Then he went into the land of men to teach. On his way he came into the land of *Bar-lha-'od-gsal*. The wise teachers (*Ye-gshen*), the 1.6 *gYun-druñ-sens-dpa* who had not yet attained to their dignity \* went to meet him and said: "Oh great son, true and only teacher of gods and men! Since thou hast discerned the innermost essence, [thy] pure Fol. 21a thoughts are like unto purified gold!" [Thy] lofty copious speech is like unto the strength of the precious earth! [Thy] equable charity is like unto the rays of the sun. [Thy] further thoughts are like unto the 2.2 phases of the moon! Thy love is like unto the shores of heaven, [Thine] innermost essence is good! If one look at the outer phenomena, then [thou] possessest 32 good signs<sup>1</sup> and 80 good marks.<sup>2</sup> [Thy] 2.3 body \* is grown like the tree of paradise. It is quite wonderful!" After having spoken thus, some of them walked round about him, some brought him divine greetings, and some strewed flowers. When 2.4 they saw the open countenance of the teacher, \* the dark spots in their minds were enlightened through the glory of their humble salutation, and in that moment they attained liberation from reincarnation.

1.5 Among those who sought the good of the beings \* and who followed the teacher, [the following were] the immediate followers of the teacher: *Nam-mkhai-ba-tan-can*, *Khyun-gi-ru-mthson-can*, *rMa-byai-* 2.6 *ldem-rgyans-can*, *rGod-kyi-'aphar-slag-can*, *Zo-bo-sbar-shad-can*, \* *rNa-* *ston-ri-'achem-ba-can*, *gShan-khri-lo-gnam-grans-can*, *Che-rgyal-bya-shu-* Fol. 21 can, *gChad-pa-khra-slag-can*, *bDud-rtsi-char-\** *slag-can*. All these belonged to the first circle. All these first ones had already in former times prayed for the good of all living beings.

To the second set of followers of *gShen-rab* belonged: *dBal-bon-* 1.2 *rom-po*, *Yogs-bon-gto-rgyal*, \* *Khri-bon-phyi-saṅs*, *gNyer-bon-gto-chen*, \* *O-bon-'abrah-plugs*, *mThsams-bon-ye-khru*, *bDud-bon-chu-leags*, *dMu-* 1.3 *bon-ye-than*, *bTsan-bon-mthsal-leags*, *Srid-bon-mu-cho*; *sKos-\** *bon-gtsug-sras*, *Phya-bon-the-legs*, *lHa-bon-thod-kar*, *Zla-bon-thses-pa*, *Nyi-bon-dran-ma*, *sKar-bon-gdāns-bkra*, *sPrin-bon-ba-thul*, *gZha-bon-khug-pa*, \* 1.4 *Dal-bon-dbud-ikar*, *Zer-bon-gdān-snyan*, *Lo-bon-thog-rje*, *rFi-bon-dan-drug*. All these belonged to the middle circle of *gShen-rab*.

<sup>1</sup> lakṣaṇa.

<sup>2</sup> anuvyūḍjana.

These of the middle had been permitted to be born of the *Srid-pa* for the good of the living beings, through the teacher's \* intervention. 1.5

To the last set of followers belonged: *Klu-bon-yar-snya*, *gNyan-bon-thaṅ-po*, *rGyal-bon-bois-pa-thog-rje*, *sMan-bon-'abrin-tan*, *gZed-bon-lag-thsa*, \* *Sri-bon-mas-pa*, \* *aDre-bon-gtud-bon-ger-mkhas*, *Sri[n]-bon-yaṅ*, 1.6 *Byur-bon-li-ri*, *gShen-rje-bon-po-gto-bon-byon-khri*, *Chud-bon-skyol-gru*. These belonged to his nearest surrounding company. These last Fol. 22a existed through the loving-kindness, the magic, the blessing and the rays of light proceeding from *gShen-rab* and went out [into the world] as lights for the benefit of the living beings.

Then he ascended to the top of [mount] *Ri-rab* (Meru). He looked upon the three grades of his followers \* and upon the four parts of 1.2 the land of men, and formed five resolutions in his mind. Although the countries are great in number, and the divisions of the world extensive, he selected '*Ol-mo-lui-rin*' in the repository of the world, belonging to its southern division. Thither he went \* Wherefore? 1.3 The last named country not possessed virtue enough to enter paradise. It possessed not sin enough to go to hell. It was a land in which the teacher's doctrine had not been spread. The [inhabitants] had, since time (the preceding kalpa) had been absorbed, \* been cast 1.4 into the cycle through the power of the *karma*. He prayed (or: meditated), turned towards the south: "If a man exercises meditation in the land '*aDzam-bu-glin*' of the south, liberation is attained. Then entering by the gate of the ten virtues, \* he is reborn in paradise. 1.5 If a man practise the five unpardonable sins, he goes to *mNar-nyed* [hell]. Then entering by the gate of the ten sins, he is reborn in hell. It will be easy to pilot living beings through the compassion of the teacher!" Thus he meditated \* and went [thither]. 1.6

Although there are many strongholds, he thought of *Phar-po-so-bryad* and went [thither]. All other strongholds are built of earth, stone, wood of fruit-trees etc. He had no desire to dwell \* therein. Fol. 21b *Phar-po-so-bryad* however was built of the [five] kinds of precious stones. He desired to dwell therein. Thus he decided and went [thither] joyfully. He thought of the riches in the treasure-house and went. Wherefore? All other wealth \* is soon exhausted, lost and 1.2 gone. But because *Arya-tsam-ba*,<sup>2</sup> the god of riches, dwells in this

<sup>2</sup> Compare *A-rya-dzam-ba-ba*, in the previous chapter.



treasure-house, such a thing is impossible. Therefore he went [thither].

As he reflected as to a father, he chose *rGyal-bon-thod-dkar*,  
 1.3 and went [thither]. \* Wherefore? All other fathers, however they may  
 be, have in their nature partaken of the fivefold original poison.\*  
 But *rGyal-bon-thod-dkar* had no particle of misery in his nature. He  
 1.4 belonged to the noble royal caste, \* and at the time when the former  
 teacher *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkyend* withdrew from the cycle and the misery,  
 he had left a will to his forefather *dMu-rgyal*. That too he  
 remembered and went [thither].

As he reflected as to a mother, he chose *Myi-phyi-lha-phyi-na-yo-  
 phyi-rgyal-zhad-ma* and went [thither]. Wherefore? While all other  
 1.5 mothers have their share of the five original poisons, \* *Yo-phyi-rgyal-  
 zhad-ma* was a goddess and of the five original poisons had in her  
 1.6 not even as much as a mustard-seed amounts to. She showed great  
 love joined with mercy. So he chose her and went [thither].

Fol. 23 a After that the teacher wandered farther \* and erected the [castle  
 of the *gSas*], *gSas-mkhar-rtse-dgu* on the summit of *Ri-rab* (Meru).  
 He spoke to the three grades of his followers: "While I go as a light and  
 teacher into the world of mankind and am born as the king's son, \*  
 1.2 ye shall all drop down like rain from heaven and grow up on earth  
 like fruit-trees! Spread the teaching of the '*aPhrul-nag-bden-ba* (of  
 the true magic) and come and give ear [to me]. Now the inhabitants  
 1.3 of mount *Ri-rab* assembled here: \* the glorious god *Tshangs-pa*  
 (Brahma), *brGya-hyin* (Indra), the four great gods of the svastika,  
 the great gods of transmutation (*rDzu-'aphrul*, Mâyâ), the seven  
 young brother-gods, the four great kings, the gods of the world  
 (*srid-pa*), the nâga from the *Rol-mthso* (Magic Lake) and the planets  
 1.4 of heaven. \* They all performed circumambulations, offered divine  
 greetings and flowers. When they besought him to remain on the  
 summit of mount *Ri-rab*, the teacher said: "I cannot break the word  
 1.5 of the god of wisdom, of the teacher *gShen-'lha-'od-dkar*! When  
 I shall have taken upon me the form of man I shall spread the  
 doctrine. Then, when I shall have become incarnate, ye shall drop  
 down from heaven like rain and come as hearers to the teaching!" \*

\* Acc. to Sarai Chandra Das' Dictionary: pride, lust, envy, jealousy, darkness.

So is the beginning of the teacher's messengers from among [his] 1.6 virtuous followers.

Then the white light was transformed into a perfect arrow and shot down to a land of the western world, where the sources of the four great rivers unite, to 'Ol\*mo-lun-rius, the eye of 'aDzam-bu-glin of the Fol. 23 b south, into the castle *Phar-po-so-bgyad*, and [finally] into the crest of the sleeping father *rGyal-bon-thod-dkar's* head. At the time when it descended the father dreamed that a white letter *A*, in a blaze of light, had descended upon his crest and had sunk into his body. 1.2 Then a light emanated from his body and filled the three-thousand worlds. Thus he dreamed. Then he awoke and felt it was well with his body, and his mind, too, was happy. He meditated on the highest perfection, but, as yet, kept it secret from his surroundings.

A red ray \*—as much as a spindle amounts to—emanated from 1.3 the light and descended on to the crest of mother *Yo-pkyirgyal-zhad-ma's* head. As it descended the mother dreamed that a red letter *H*, in a blaze of light, had descended upon her crest \* and had penetrated 1.4 into her body, so that the three-thousand worlds were illumined by lamps in her body. Thus she dreamed. When she awoke, she felt it was well with her body, and her mind, too, was happy. She meditated on the highest perfection, but kept the matter, however, strictly secret.

The ray that had emanated was the "caller into life" (incarnator) 1.5 of a being. The creator of the soul (*sems*) is called *Kun-tu-bzai-po* (Samantabhadra) and the creatrix of the spirit (*gid*) is called *Kun-tu-bzai-mo* (Samantabhadra).

Then the white light—as much as an arrow amounts to—went from within the father's \* crest into the shell-white case of the brain. Then it 1.6 went into the svastika-like steps of the vertebrae, flowed down on the river of the longstretched spinal cord and reached the father's sexual organs.\*

The red ray—as much as a spindle amounts to—went from Fol. 24 a within the mother's crest into the shell-white case of the brain. Thence it went to the heart which is like unto the [mountain] *mchon-ri-smug-po*<sup>1</sup> and into the thicket of the lungs, which are like unto an eight

<sup>1</sup> Cf. concerning this mountain: Prologue to the *Kesarsaga* (A Lower Ladakhi Version of the *Kesarsaga*, Bibliotheca Indica No. 1134).



1.3 petaled lotus-blossom. \* Then it descended to the lower valley of  
 the region of the vital vein. Having been led through the channel of  
 the vital vein, it reached the womb. Then it was felt in the father's  
 loins, as if that primary crystal of the soul which is like unto a  
 1.2 white glacier had broken, \* and in the mother's womb, as if that  
 primary vermilion of the spirit which is like unto a red Tsatila(?)  
 had been overflowed. When the two were united, a soul [was  
 created] whose light was white at the top, red at the root, green in  
 1.4 the middle, like a fine stuck up pin. \* In accordance with the power  
 of the former deeds, at the blending of white and red, driven by the  
 wind of the works connected therewith, they (?soul and mind?) were  
 rolled up together as a fishing net is rolled up in the ocean. Thus  
 1.5 soul and body \* were united in accordance with former deeds.

When a week had passed, the soul became weak and dejected,  
 and the body took form as embryo of the 1<sup>st</sup> stage (*nur-nur-po*).  
 1.6 When two weeks had passed, the soul moaned heavily \* and curved  
 itself, and the water flowed over the embryo from four, or including the  
 middle, from five directions. The body, too, blended and attained the  
 2<sup>nd</sup> embryo-stage (*nal-nal-po*). When three weeks had passed, the  
 Fol. 24 b soul trembled, struggled \* and stirred; and as the branches grow  
 on the tree of paradise, so the great arteries spread out in four, or  
 including the middle, in five directions. The body attained the 3<sup>rd</sup>  
 embryo stage (*ltar-ltar-ba, Pest*). Then the soul in the mother's  
 1.2 womb \* became tamed, confused and obscured. When four weeks  
 had passed, on the 28<sup>th</sup> [day], a god born simultaneously manifested  
 his power and it (the soul) became confused (drunken). When 30 [days]  
 had passed, a 'aDre (Piśāca) born simultaneously manifested his  
 1.3 power, and it (the soul) became obscured. \* While in the course of  
 a week it became now confused, now darkened, the body grew to  
 the 4<sup>th</sup> embryo stage (*gor-gor-po*). In the meantime also the mother  
 first felt nausea.

Now when the second month had passed, the soul became free  
 1.4 from its confusion, spread itself out and moved. \* All the arteries  
 also extended. They are the support of the four elements: fire,  
 water, earth and wind. By the second month, the outer skin  
 1.5 had grown. The compressed skin united and became the navel.  
 The life-cord of the child and the heart-strings of the mother were  
 joined together in the centre of the navel. This is called the union

of the main supports. A threefold division is caused through the navel, viz: above, below and centre, these three. Thus the navel is the first part to grow on to the trunk of the body. \* Now when 4 6 the third month had come, the soul could no longer struggle, because the outer skin had arisen. The four limbs of the body—or with the head: five—were covered by the skin. \* The mother now Fol. 24 a gave up every sensual desire. When the fourth month was reached, the soul (*sems*) swam about under the skin like a fish in a waterbag and could turn hither and thither. Meanwhile the bones took form, 4 2 first of all \* the curves of the vertebra. Then arose the tent of the ribs, the tubular bones of the limbs, and the shell of the brain. After the body had been collected from the four [elements], the four elements gathered into one mass (?). When the four had 4 3 gathered \* themselves together, they were lifted up in one mass<sup>1</sup>.

Concerning the four elements: Though in general the air pervades (lit: covers) the body, a vessel was set aside for it and blew heaving with wind. When then the fifth month had passed, the mother lost courage and wished to be delivered. Also the child's soul (*sems*) 4 4 became parted through the four great elements, and thereby the body was hurt (?). Out of the five groups of arteries the five groups of the entrails grew and the five groups of the organs of the senses. From among the five groups of the organs of the senses \* the first 4 5 to originate was the eye. From among the five parts of the entrails first the heart originated. Out of the five groups of the elements, the first to arise was the sky (air?). The sky opened up space.

The body on the whole is filled with air. [But in particular] it united itself with the lung as its receptacle among the entrails. \* To 4 6 be its gate it formed the nose. The lung and the gate [nostril] resemble each other.

The fire replenishes the body in general. [In particular] it united itself with the heart as its vessel. The eye was built as its gate. As Fol. 25 b the heart is round, so is the eye also round. \* As the cedar (*shug-pa*) is adorned and three-coloured, so the eye has, first, red flesh, then white flesh, then golden flesh (iris), then black flesh [pupil]. Thus the eye, too, is many coloured.

<sup>1</sup> Or: in the body.



L.2 The water replenishes the body in general.\* [In particular] it united itself with the kidneys as its vessel. The ears were formed to be its gate. For the kidneys and the ears resemble each other.

The earth replenishes the body in general. [In particular] it unites itself with the liver as its vessel. The tongue it has formed L.3 to be its gate.\* For liver and tongue resemble each other.

There are four kinds of inner accumulations: blood, wind, slime and gall. They in their parts correspond to the four elements and dwell in the gates (lit. through the gates) of the four vessels. The L.4 five parts of the entrails unite chiefly in the spleen-artery.\* From the spleen-artery arise the senses of the body. When the four kinds of accumulations unite, the roots(?) of the hairs on the skin grow. The outer hair on the body was formed to be their gate.

L.5 One artery of the navel went upward and the sea of the brain originated; another went to the centre and formed the sea of the blood; a third went downward and formed the sea of the water. They are called the arteries of the three bearers of misfortune.\*

L.6 Stupidity dwells in the brain, envy dwells in the blood, and desire in the sexual organs. Thus in the fifth month the parts of the body were matured.

The god of the elements first considered the parts of flesh and Fol. 262 blood,\* and up to the ninth month they went on growing. Whenever the mother ate something hot, the child also had hot food; whenever the mother ate something cold, the child also had cold food. When the mother was satisfied, the child suffered, as were L.2 it imprisoned. When the mother hungered,\* the child suffered, as if it were hanging down loosely.

When then the tenth month drew near, the sign of the soul (*sems*) appeared like unto a fire-brand in the middle of the heart. Consciousness came, as if a window were put in. The amassment of L.3 the body appeared\* like unto a house or a cave. Just as when fire one brings into a house and light shines through the windows, so the wonder of the soul, the consciousness of the mind, like unto a L.4 waterfall flowed out of the gates of the six kinds [of senses?]\* In that moment, man was ripe for birth! He resembled an ape. If something were given him, he grasped it. Thus the body clutched the soul L.5 and the soul clutched the body. Thus were soul and body\* united as one fruit; thus they were combined one with the other.

On the tenth day of the 9<sup>th</sup> month he issued through travail from his mother's womb. At that time *Yo-phyi-rgyal-zhad-ma* cried out: "Ye people of '*Ol-mo-lun-rins*; prepare the omens and the incense. \* Assemble *l. 6* before me! On the third day, at the fourth meal, a prince will come", thus she spoke and the brahman *gSal-khyab* said to the people: "If she announced that a prince will come, he comes from no one else; \* it is much more certain, that he will be born of *rGyalzhad-ma* herself!" *Fol. 26b* As he spoke thus, the people were glad in their souls, and their hearts rejoiced.

Before the gate of the castle *Phar-po-so-brgyad* they gathered together like a mass of clouds. Some played upon instruments, \* others *l. 2* hoisted flags, some again beat the drums, others burned incense, some brought offerings; some enquired of the oracles, some performed ablutions, some performed circumambulations and strewed flowers.

On the third day, at the fourth meal \* the son was born from *l. 3* the mother's body. Concerning the significance of the birth [it must be said]: *gShen-rab* himself did not need to be born. It is taught, that his birth took place for the redemption of the living beings. When like the turquoise-bird [he] cooed coo-coo, \* all creatures rejoiced *l. 4* His mother lifted him up in a silk napkin and said to his father: "This son is like unto a jewel wrapt in silk." The father also \* rejoiced heartily. At that time the three thousand worlds moved and *l. 5* trembled. There was no one in the kingdoms of the world, who could not have heard those melodious words. Whosoever till then had no opportunity, became a believer now (?) The surrounding people \* gathered together. Although the beings dwelling in the heavenly *l. 6* kingdom had also heard the good tidings, that the teacher was born in human form, the *gYun-drub-sens-dpa* came not, for this time was not their opportunity (?).

The rest \* [came], viz: *dBal-bon-rom-po* with the kingdom of *Fol. 27a* the *dBal*; *Yogs-bon-gto-rgyal* with the kingdom of the *gYogs*; *Khri-bon-phyi-sans* with the kingdom of the *Khri*; *gNyen-bon-gto-thsa* \* with *l. 2* the kingdom of the *gNyen*; '*O-bon-'abrah-zu* with the kingdom of the '*O*'; *mThsams-bon-ye-khrn* with the kingdom of the *mThsams*; *bDud-bon-chu-lcags* with the kingdom of the *bDud*; *dMu-bon-ye-tan* with the kingdom of the *dMu*; \* *bTsan-bon-mthsal-lcags* with the kingdom of *l. 3* the *bTsan*; *Srid-bon-mu-cho* with the kingdom of the *Srid*; *sKos-bon-gtsug-sras* with the kingdom of the *sKos*; *Phya-bon* \* the-legs with *l. 4*



the kingdom of the *Phya*; *lHa-bon-thod-[d]kar* with the kingdom of the *lHa*. These are called the thirteen *Ye-gshen-gnyan-po*. *dBal*,  
 1.5 *Yogs* and *Khri* are three; \* *gNyir*, 'O and *mThsams* are three; *dMu*,  
*bDud* and *mThsal* are three; *Srid*, *sKos* and *Phya* are three; together  
 1.6 like rain from heaven upon the land 'Ol-mo- \* *luh-rins*, into the  
 castle *Phar-po-so-brgyad*. Some performed circumambulations, some  
 presented divine greetings; some offered up flowers, some fastened  
 tokens of good luck; some brought water offerings, some beat the  
 Fol. 27b drums, some played on the tambourine, \* some blew the shell-  
 trumpets, some offered up incense, some brought victuals, some pre-  
 sented oil.

Thus they surrounded the castle and protested and swore that  
 1.2 they [belonged] to the first [group of] the teacher's followers. \* His  
 father was very much astonished and said to them; "To whom do  
 ye bring divine greetings, and are ye offering up sacrifices?" The  
 1.3 joyful *sKos-bon-gtsug-sras* answered him: \* "The teacher is born and  
 has assumed human shape. He is born as the king's son. Whilst  
 making circumambulations we bring offerings to him who dwells in  
 1.4 this castle. \* Since we must hasten to serve the master, we who belong  
 to the teacher's inmost [group of] followers have come to see  
 the teacher!" So they spoke and *rGyal-bon* said: "Such a thing has  
 1.5 not \* happened hereabouts at all. Do not you mistake him for  
 someone else?" Thus he spoke and passed before them into the  
 castle. He conferred with *rGyal-shad-ma*: "We need not fear all  
 these gods and 'aDre (Piśāca) from heaven, the *Bon-po* and the hosts  
 1.6 who are bringing offerings \* and making circumambulations here. They  
 wish to sacrifice to this prince. They have asserted that they belong  
 to the inmost group of his followers. I have denied and kept secret  
 Fol. 28a everything". \* The mother said: "Oh father, keeping it secret  
 is very good!" The *dMu* and *bDud* from heaven and all the *bTsan-btsan*  
 1.2 love to do us harm \* and to frighten us. But they shall have no possi-  
 bility to do us harm. After they had spoken thus, they fastened the  
 door securely. The [king's] suite placed trusty guards and tightened  
 their weapons.

1.3 When the beings that dwell in the air, \* heard it ringing  
 out loudly that the teacher had been born as a man, *Zla-bon-  
 thses-pa* came with the kingdom of the *Zla* (moons), *Nyi-bon-drah-*



*ma* with the kingdom of the *Nyi* (suns), *sKar-bon\** *thsig-gu* with the kingdom of the *sKar* (stars), *sPrin-bon-ba-thul* with the kingdom of the *sPrin* (clouds), *Zhā-bon-khug-pa* with the kingdom of the *gZhā* (rain-bows), *Dal-bon-dbu-dkar* with the kingdom of the *Dal\** (mist, glaciers?), *gZed-bon-gdān-snyan* with the kingdom of the *gZed* (rays), *Lo-bon-gto-che* with the kingdom of the *Lo* (words?), *rJi-bon-dña-drug* with the kingdom of the *rJi* (perhaps *rDzi*; winds). These together make up the nine *Bar-gYen-gdod\** *Nyi*, *Zla*, and *sKar* are three; *sPrin*, *gZha*, and *Dal* are three; *gZed*, *Lo* and *rJi* are three. They dropped like rain from heaven upon 'Ol-mo-luñ-rñis, and before the castle of *Phar-po-so-brgyad*. Some of them made circumambulations, \* some brought divine greetings, some offered up flowers, some fastened tokens of good luck, some brought water-offerings, some beat the drums, some played on the tambourine, some blew the shell-trumpets, some brought offerings of food, and some presented \* oil for lamps.

In this way they surrounded the former host outside the castle in a wider circle. *rGyal-bon* spoke to them: "What does it signify that ye surround the castle and present offerings?" \* Thereupon *Nyi-bon-drañ-ma-go-bahur* made answer: "We make circumambulations and present offerings, because the teacher has become a man and is born as the king's son. He is in this castle. \* Because we must hasten to serve the teacher, we, who are sworn as his middle followers, are come quickly to visit the teacher!" The king \* said: "Such a thing has not happened hereabouts at all. Do you not mistake him for some one else?" Thus he spoke and passed by them into the castle. He said to *rGyal-zhad-ma*: "The *Bon-po* of *Bar-snañ* and these hosts \* have come to bring offerings to the prince. They have vowed to belong to his middle circle of followers. I have denied and kept secret everything." The mother said: "Keeping it secret is very good. The *Nyi\** *zla* and other beings from *Bar-snañ* are untrustworthy people; they cause everything to fly away that one has gained." Thus they spoke and fastened the castle-gate securely. The [king's] suite tightened their weapons and placed trusty guards. \*

Now when the beings who dwell on earth heard it ringing out loudly, that the teacher was born as a man, then there came *Klu-bon-yar-snya* with the kingdom of the *Klu*; *gNyan-bon-than-than* with the kingdom of the *gNyan*; *rGyal\** *bon-bois-rgyal* with the kingdom



of the *rGyal*; *sMan-bon'-abrin-tah* with the kingdom of the *sMan*; *gZed-bon-la-thsa* with the kingdom of the *gZed*; *Srin-bon-pa-srin* with the kingdom of the *Srin*; *'aDre-bon-glud-bon-ger-'mkhan* with the kingdom of the *'aDre*; *Sri-bon-mus-pa* with the kingdom of the *Sri*; *Byur-bon-smag-bon* with the kingdom of the *Byur*; *gShin-rjei-bon-po* with the kingdom of the *gShin*; *Chud-'bon-gru-skyol* with the *lHa-'adre-skos-'adebs*. These are called the eleven great *Sa-gYen*. *Klu*, *gNyan* and *rGyal* are three; *sMan*, *gZed* and *Srin* are three; [*'aDre*, *Sri* and *Byur* are three]; *gShin-rje* and *Chud* are two.

Thus they sat in *'Ol-mo-lun-rins* like fruit-trees on the ground \* and in front of the castle *Phar-po-so-brgyad*. Some made circumambulations, as was [related] before. Thus these squatted in a circle outside and round the former throng. *rGyal-bon-thod-dkar* wondered \* and spoke as before. [They answered]: "We must hasten to serve the teacher, therefore we come to visit him so soon!" The king also spoke as before and passed them by into the castle. He said to *rGyal-zhad-ma*: \* "The beings who fill the whole world, and the *Bon-po*, and the *lHa-'adre* (spirits of evil dreams) wish to present offerings to the prince and have vowed to belong to his outer circle of followers.

We need not fear them. I have denied \* and kept secret everything!" The mother said: "Keeping it secret was very good! The *'aDre* (*Pisāca*) and *Srin* (*Rākṣasā*) of the earth, the *Klu* (*nāgas*) and *gNyan* (spirits of pestilence) are very malignant beings!" So they fastened the castlegate securely. \* The [king's] suite tightened their weapons and placed trusty guards.

Father and mother rejoiced at heart and were joyous in their souls. *rGyal-dr-ma-ma-dgu-brugs* \* prepared the bath and the cleansing, the festive [dress] and the cradle. Then the father spoke to the brahman *gSal-khyab-'od-lidān*: "When this prince entered his mother's womb, father and mother felt themselves blessed in body, and joyful in spirit. \* Now that he is born, the dwellers of heaven, earth and the middle space cannot refrain themselves: They come to bring atonement-sacrifices of the *Bon*. They make circumambulations and offerings in such wise, that they find no more room in *'Ol-mo-lun-rins*. What means all this? Come thou into the royal dwelling to discern the tokens." \* Thus he commanded.

Thereupon the brahman, the seer, went up into the king's palace and looked upon the countenance of the prince. The seer

wept \* and beat on his breast. Then he swooned and rolled on the floor. The king said: "Thou hast surely seen a sign that the prince will die soon." When father and mother wept, the seer became alarmed and said: "Father, mother, \* weep not! There is no sign, that the prince will die! But why I fainted and weep is on this account: At the time when such a prince comes to teach, I am already an old man, woe unto me! This I considered, wept and swooned! \* When this prince preaches for the first time, 100 000 rays of light will go forth from his precious human [body] in ten directions. His body will be adorned with 360 letters. Out of his spirit 9 times 24 suns will rise. \* The omens for this prince are very good! He does not appear as the son of a human being, but like unto the son of nāgas. He does not appear as the son of nāgas, but as a child of the gods from heaven! The gods themselves are his subjects, as [I] have discerned. He is higher than all beings! \* Now when this sublime, well-omened prince goes out into the kingdoms of the world, to teach, the seer is already an oldman. It is written in all the ancient books: the signs of this prince are very good! He has thirty signs<sup>1</sup> and eighty tokens.<sup>2</sup> \* Like the tree of paradise with leaves and blossoms, so is his body adorned with precious things. Now that such a sublime man as this prince appears in the kingdoms of the world, and every one rejoices, the seer is an old man. In all the ancient books . . . ." When he had said this, \* he swooned again. The prince felt great pity for him, lifted the seer's head with his hand and spoke to him:

"Son of good family, swoon not, but awake!

If a man die before he grows old, one should weep! \*

If a man reaches the limits of life it is through his [own] merit! \*

For one "of the first" there is no penalty of life.

Thou hast discerned my signs!

Now I will recognise thine!"

While he thus spoke the seer rose again, made a circumambulation around him, offered him divine greetings and bent his knee before him. The teacher said: "Thou needst by no means weep! Since [thy] first birth thou hast now \* not only attained the body of

\* lakṣaṇas

\* anurūpanas



a brahman after endless numbers of [births], but, beyond that, the work of purification will now proceed. Three days from this day, father, mother, the seer and all the people assembled in 'Ol-mo-lui-l. 6 rins \* will attain perfection." Then the seer said to the father and mother: "To-day at noon is the time to raise him to the throne. All Fol. 31a those gathered here are anxiously waiting to see him. \* This prince is to be compared with the precious stone of great price. He is like the incomparable precious stone of great price which is not divided, but is destined for everyone. It is certain that the fruits garnered l. 2 also by his father and mother \* in past times, have now come to maturity.

l. 3 The seer beheld on [him] with great joy. He crowned the prince with the crown of *Ba-ti* (?) and attired him (?) in white silk, tied on to him the tuft of power and braided his plait of l. 4 life. He took up the golden \* sceptre. The attendants of his suite spread out the *Bad-na* adorned with the svastika, and erected the tent which was [covered] with representations of sun and moon. After the precious carriage was surrounded by a numerous escort, [the child] was invited l. 5 [to take his place]. As his name \* and token he was named teacher *gShen-rab-myi-bo*. Now when the face of the teacher was exhibited, the kingdoms of the earth trembled greatly, they trembled truly, they swayed mightily, they tottered for-sooth. From heaven a lovely voice was heard, on earth a lovely voice was also heard. In the middle realm of the air there appeared a shining light. We ask, what means this? (The *Yö* were very wroth?).

Fol. 31b At that time, many beings from hell, \* *Yi-dags* (pretas), beasts, men, *lHa-ma-yin* (asuras) and gods, a very great number of beings from the three realms, were led to perfection (*Saḥs-rgyas*). When l. 2 *gShen-rab's* attendants \* and those remaining behind perceived this, some made circumambulations around the teacher, some presented divine greetings, some offered up flowers, some fastened tokens l. 3 of good luck, some performed ablutions, \* some sacrificed food to the gods, some beat the drums, some played on the tambourine, and some blew the shell-horns. Then the brahman spake to the teacher: "Oh teacher *gShen-rab*, not one of us, the heroes of l. 4 [thy] followers, \* has attained perfection. Through what virtue has it come to pass, that the beings of the three worlds have found it? How have they attained perfection? Through what error have [we]

remained behind? \* Oh teacher, if that be so, then there is neither *l. 5*  
 virtue nor sin in works then there is neither future nor past in time,  
 then there is neither high nor low in space!" The teacher answered:  
 "That is so. \* Those are the beings not yet redeemed by the former *l. 6*  
 teacher *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhyend*! When that teacher departed from the  
 misery of this world, he uttered a magic formula and prayed; „When  
 I shall have departed from this misery, [another] teacher \* will arise, *Fol. 32a*  
 in whom the thoughts of this my glowing love will spring up. As soon as  
 ye behold his face, ye beings shall attain perfection!" Thus he  
 spake, and [what now has come to pass] is the mighty power of that prayer.  
 Those remaining behind to the last are such as have not yet been *l. 2*  
 cleansed from [their] iniquities, or whom the teacher's prayer has  
 not reached, or those who, after spurring one another on to evil  
 deeds, have migrated hither from other kingdoms of the world."  
 Thus on the first day the beings whom the prayer had reached *l. 3*  
 were led to perfection.

Then, on the second day, the kingdoms of the world trembled once  
 more, they trembled greatly, they tottered, they tottered greatly. \* On earth *l. 4*  
 was heard a lovely voice. In the heavens many shining lights appeared.  
 The teacher *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhyend* had bequeathed a vast and deep  
 doctrine to the kingdoms of the world, relics, precious ashes, images *l. 5*  
 100000 fold writings; (or: the book '*aBum-sde*'), and pictures of  
 those gone to bliss. The images [now] flew away like birds, the  
 relics fled like silk spread out [in the wind]; \* the writings vanished, *l. 6*  
 as when one wipes off a shell. — *dMu-rgyal-them-pa-skas* and *Phya-*  
*za-nan'-abran-[ma]*, both, offered a sacrifice that evening to *gShen-rab*  
 in '*Ol-mo-luh-rins*. At midnight, in the rock-cave at *Sen-ge-rgyab-snal*  
 \* the black devil *Nam-rje* was redeemed. In the morning [they *Fol. 32b*  
 all] attained perfect bliss (*Saṅs-rgyas*) on the summit of mount *gYüñ-*  
*druñ-igñ-brtsegs*.

Then spake king [*Thod-dkar*] concerning *gShen-rab's* father,  
 [*i. e.* himself], his mother, the brahman, the three groups of followers  
 and the [other] remaining ones: \* "Is the time for this prince's teaching *l. 2*  
 not yet come? Has he come at an evil hour? Is the field for his  
 conquests too small? Is it yet too soon [for him] to ascend the  
 throne? What is this?

Father and mother, who are the veil of his body, \*

The brahman, the hero among his escort,



The multitudes gathered around [his] word,  
Of them all not one is redeemed,  
[Whereas:] Who not among all the beings of the three realms?

l. 4 My ancient\* father<sup>2</sup> and my old mother,  
The relics, the writings, the images<sup>2</sup>  
Have obtained liberation. This occurrence,

Hast thou discerned it, oh brahman? How can we comprehend?

l. 5 Enquire thereof through *gShen-rab*! Thus he spake.\* The  
brahman replied: "*Oh rGyal-bon-Thod-dkar*. I dwell on the earth of  
rebirths. [My] understanding is small. Although I may discern  
some things, yet this I know not!" Whilst he addressed *gShen-rab*  
l. 6 himself,\* *gShen-rab* sent from the summit of the sun a royal greeting  
to the king, his father and mother. Then the perfected multitude  
of attendants made circumambulations around *gShen-rab*, presented  
divine greetings, performed ablutions and offered up sacrifices.

Fol. 33a Then said the brahman: "Oh prince and teacher *gShen-rab*!  
Is this not the time for thy teaching? Hast thou come at an evil  
hour? Is the field for thy conquests too small? Is it yet too soon  
l. 2 [for thee] to ascend the throne?

Father and mother, the veil of [thy] body,

The brahman, the hero among thy escort,

The believing multitude,

Of them all is not one redeemed,

How is it that the others are redeemed?"

l. 3 Thereupon\* the teacher *gShen-rab* replied: "This is for me the  
time of teaching and this is the sign, that it is so: The people for

l. 4 whom the teacher *gTo-rgyal-ye-mkhend* prayed\* have attained per-  
fection. The traces of the doctrine taught [by him] have disappeared  
like a shell wiped or the spread out silk [carried away by the wind].

The propagator of that teaching, my ancestor, the pupil of *dMu-*  
l. 5 *rgyal-them-pa-skas*, and the\* grand-mother *Phya-sa-han-'abran-ma*,  
have both brought offerings to me in the evening; at noon, the  
black devil *Nam-rje* was freed, and in the morning, [they all] attained  
perfect redemption. All these results are a further trace of *gTo-*  
*rgyal's* teaching. But that they attained perfection as soon as they

\* *dMu-rgyal-them-pa-skas*.

<sup>2</sup> understood as living beings.

beheld my \* face, [signifies]: At one time two teachings do not appear. *L. 6*  
Therefore it is [now] my time for appearing. This is the time for  
[my] coming. \*

That I decided to come, however, just when the beginning of the *Fol. 33b*  
year passes-away, signifies that I shall zealously convert the beings  
and spread the doctrine in the correct way. That I have decided  
to come at the beginning of the months, in the first month of spring, *L. 2*  
[signifies that I], shall accomplish the "twelve deeds" in the kingdoms  
of the world according to their signification. Therefore have I decided  
to come at the beginning of the twelve months, in the first month  
of spring. That I come on the best of days, on the 15<sup>th</sup>, [means,  
that I] come\* to follow the track of the distinguished period of the *L. 3*  
former teachers, together with the secret of the month and the ful-  
lness of the best (of all religions). That I come with the hero of  
the stars, the [house of the moon] *rGyal-gyi-ru*, [signifies that I]  
come with five devils whom [my] power has overcome, \* in order to *L. 4*  
subdue the world through my glory. That I come at the pre-  
eminent hour, in the early morning, [signifies that] as the sun  
rises after dawn, after my coming many incarnations shall issue  
from my body, that shall seek the welfare of the living beings. The *L. 5*  
realm of my conquests is not small, but vast. My kingdom is the  
wide earth (world) among the three thousand worlds. The hour for  
ascending the throne\* is come. When one year has passed, when *L. 6*  
twelve months, or 360 days, or 720 half-days are gone, and when  
body, word and spirit are born, the throne will be ascended. \*

As already said, it is on the morning of the third day. The field *Fol. 34a*  
of my conquests, the beings whose shades are to be cleansed, are  
ye, the beings assembled \* at *Ol-mo-lun-rins*. \* Tomorrow at noon, *L. 2 L. 3*  
'*Ol-mo* will be evacuated, and not one more will be left! It is certain  
that ye will obtain liberation from the transmigration of the soul!"  
When *gShen-rab* had spoken these words, his father, \* his mother, *L. 4*  
the brahman, and their retinue, rejoiced exceedingly, made circum-  
ambulations, offered divine greetings and flowers. Then spake the  
mother *Myi-phyi-lha-phyi-yo-phyi-rgyal-zhad-ma* to her son *gShen-rab*:

"If in '*Ol-mo-lun-rins*, the lofty spot, *L. 5*

Of us, the redeemed beings,

Not one will be left, because tomorrow we all attain supreme  
felicity (*sams-rgyas*),



With whom wilt thou, oh prince, stay alone?

- L 6 Should not then from out of the lofty place, the town of *Lan-lin*,  
From the court of king *Sa-la* residing there,  
One or two boys come to thee?"

The son spake to his mother:

"Oh peerless mother princess, who thou my body and soul  
maturedst,

- Fol. 34 b I seek not for trifles; it would be sad, if the world should not  
be redeemed!

Like the Saltwater-Lake, the heart of the streams,  
At first pure, by degrees disappeareth,

- L 2 So this multitude shall  
Tomorrow be freed, and this country once more become empty.  
Those who list to the *Bon's* true magic-power  
Will be like a cloud in the evening.

- L 3 Oh peerless mother, \* who from love of thy heart hast spoken  
of bringing two helpers.

- From out of my spirit will arise the incarnation [called] *gSas-bu-rvna-lo-skyin-gyi-ral-ka-can*, and from out of my word the incarnation called *gSas-bu-gYu-lo-ral-ka-can*." Then, in seating himself  
L 4 on the svastika-throne \* in unparalleled manner, he said to his father  
and mother: "In three years, after having arranged everything with  
father and mother, I shall go to the city of *Lan-lin* to bathe in the  
L 5 lake and present [my] greetings to king *Sa-la*. For this I ask per-  
L 6 mission! \* When he had asked for this, his father and mother fully  
agreed.

- In the evening, father, mother and the rest of his surroundings  
Fol. 35 a brought offerings to *gShen-rab* in *Phur-po-so-brgyad*: \* at midnight, in the  
rock-cave of *Sen-ge-rgyab-snal*, the demon (*Srin-po*) *Mo-tran-kha-chen*  
L 2 was vanquished, and \* in the morning [they all] were redeemed on  
the summit of mount *gYun-druu-dgu-brtsegs* without any one being  
L 3 left over. \*

- L 4 This is the third chapter \* of the precious Summary of the Word  
L 5 in the Tantra *gZer-myig*, called: "The Birth of *gShen-rab*."

# NĀSAKETARĪ KATHĀ

## AN OLD-RĀJASTHĀNĪ TALE

EDITED AND TRANSLATED  
By CHARLOTTE KRAUSE

### PREFACE

The text edited below deals with the story of young Nācīketas, who, cursed by his father, visited the world of Yama, and afterwards returned, safe and sound, to our earth.

What we have before us, is but a modern recension of this well-known old apocalyptic legend, the history of which can, by means of the so-called "Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa-recension" (edited by Belloni Filippi), of the older recensions of the Varāha-Purāṇa and Mahābhārata, be traced back through about two and a half thousand years as far as time-honoured Kāthopanīṣad and even more time-honoured Taittirīyā Brāhmaṇa (III, 11, 8, 1 ff.), whereas, on the other hand, it can be followed down to the recent Hindi tale "Candrāvati athavā Nāsiketopākhyāna", which, in the beginning of the last century, Sadāśa Miśra composed as a standard of modern Hindi prose.

But interesting as our text may be with regard to its literary antecedents, and attractive as the development of its matter throughout so many centuries, and in so various stages may be to the student, all this would never justify the bringing out of a critical edition and an exact interpretation. For the recension represented here and by the parallel text partly edited by Tessitori is but a short abstract of a source closely akin to the so-called "Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa-recension", and its literary value is only small.



Much more valuable is our text from the linguistic point of view. For, written in rather an archaic shape of a modern Indian vernacular, and handed down in a good old MS. exactly dated, it allows us to study a certain earlier stage of development of a certain modern Indian dialect.

The importance of this argument is clear, if we remember that nothing is known of the time when, and the manner in which the old Prācits have been transformed into the different later vernaculars, and as little is known of the nature and causes of the motive powers that governed this development. Śauraseni, *e.g.*, forms the genitive by adding the case-termination *-assa*, derived from Skr. *-asya*, and, as the latter, amalgamated with the noun into one single word, *e.g.* *devassa*. Modern Hindi again, a descendant of Śauraseni, adds the particle *-ka*, which, being derived from an old *-kiaa*, shows, by the preservation of the initial *k*, that it was never felt as a "termination", but remained a separate "particle" (cp. Sir George Grierson's statements, "Linguistic Survey of India", Vol. IX, Part II, on p. 328): *e.g.* *deva ka*. Quite different, according to Sir George Grierson (*l.c.*), was the fate of the old *-karāṭi*, by means of which the genitive was formed in Western Rājasthānī: its development to modern *-ro* proves, by the elision of the *k*, that it has, in the course of time, become a real "case-ending", as in *devaro*. We have only the first and the last step of this change before us. We do not know when, why, and how the main part of the old inflectional system was abandoned, in favour of the new agglutinative one, by Hindi and the other Aryan languages of the "Central Circle" (by Gujarātī and Rājasthānī with the exception of the genitive and dative), nor do we know when, why, and how the languages of the "Outer Circle", as well as Gujarātī and Western Rājasthānī in the case of the genitive and dative, came to proceed even farther, and began to develop a second synthetical system of declension and conjugation.

Another unsolved problem is why and when the vast stores of more or less late tatsamas and tadbhavas were introduced into the modern dialects, driving out their old Prācrit equivalents, that had been developed by manifold early phonological changes, so that *e.g.* (Beames, "Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India", Vol. I, 1872, p. 14) "Hindi has *rāt*, *rāg*, *nāgarī*, *gaj*

for Skr. *rātri*, *rāga*, *nāgarī*, *gaja*, where Prācrit has only *rāī*, *rāū*, *naāri*, *gaū*. Thus, we have, on the one hand, the pure, regularly developed Prācrit dialects, and on the other hand, the modern vernaculars with their enormous mass of words newly borrowed from Skr., but we know nothing whatever of the causes of those innovations.

It is evident that problems of that kind can only be solved by means of critical editions of well preserved and exactly dated texts, together with thorough investigations of their peculiarities. A series of such monographs treating texts of different ages and dialects will finally lead to a truly historical grammar of the Indian languages. In spite of all that has been done by Beames (l. c.), Sir R. G. Bhandarkar ("Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Derived Languages Delivered in 1877", ed. by Shridhar R. Bhandarkar, Bombay 1914), and Tessitori ("Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī with Special Reference to Apabhraṃṣa and to Gujarātī and Marwārī", Indian Antiquary Vol. XLIII, Part. DXL ff.), we are yet far from such an achievement, because their researches were based on but incidentally chosen and in themselves insufficient materials.

In the following study it has therefore been my principal aim to correctly edit and interpret my text, subordinating the treatment of all other questions and problems under this point of view. The chapter on grammar as well as the vocabulary are therefore merely descriptive and without an attempt of comparison. Equivalents from the modern vernaculars, or from Skr. or Prācr., etc., have, consequently, only been cited as a means of control.

In terminology, I have generally followed the use of the L. S., which must, for many years to come, be our leader in all studies concerning modern Indian dialects. In transcription, however, I could not persuade myself to try to follow the system of Sir George Grierson, who necessarily aims at an exact rendering of all possible shades of pronunciation occurring in his (modern!) texts. With a text like ours, such a course would be impossible. For 1) we do not know the general linguistic character of the text: that is, we cannot say for certain to which subdivision of Rājasthānī it



more especially belongs. If it were, *e. g.*, written in a Thāḷī<sup>1</sup>-dialect—as I suppose it really is (cp. p. 362)—the old unstressed final *a* would still be audible (as it often is in modern Thāḷī: cp. Linguistic Survey Vol. IX, Part II, p. 109), and, therefore, "inherent *a*" would have to be expressly transcribed in many cases in which it is mute (or nearly mute) in every other modern (?) Rājasthānī-dialect. 2) But even if the dialectal origin of our text were proved beyond a doubt, it would be a *petitio principii* to assume all the phonetic peculiarities of a modern vernacular to have existed in an old one already, the special phonetic character of which has yet to be found out. Thus, the values of ऐ, ए, and औ, ओ, of ष, of anusvāra etc. in earlier texts are not yet exactly known, nor do we know where and when *e. g.*, "inherent *a*" means a kind of svarabhakti-vowel or a remnant of an old unstressed *a* respectively, or is mute<sup>2</sup>. 3) Several words (especially names of hells: cp. VII 83 Note) are, in the MS., given in so corrupted forms that sometimes neither their meaning can be guessed at, nor their Skr. (or other) equivalents ascertained, nor yet their proper phonetic shape. 4) In some proper names (*e. g.*, विसनोपाय, चित्रगुपति), popular etymology may have exercised an influence, but we do not know how far, nor whether on their actual pronunciation or merely on their spellings (cp. the name of the hero and its explanation in adhyāya 1-2!).

Transcription, in the following study, is, therefore, merely used as a substitute for the nāgarī-letters of the original, without regard to the solution of phonetic problems (such as the questions of "inherent *a*", or of anusvāra-mark, or of ष, etc.): written "inherent *a*" is consequently always represented by a printed *a*, anusvāra always rendered by *m*; ष always by *sa*; व by *va*; च, as usual, by *ca*; छ by *cha*. Spellings like "*Nāśaketarī Kathā*", "*Gangā*", "*Uravanṣī*" ought, therefore, not to be too offensive to the reader used to the present Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and their phonetics.

<sup>1</sup> *J. A.*, "Western Marvārī".

<sup>2</sup> Questions which, according to my opinion, cannot be finally decided without a thorough investigation of the general phonetic character of numerous similar texts. As to the methods to be employed here, it may suffice to refer *e. g.*, to Professor Sievers' treatment of the relations between Otfrid's spelling and phonology in "*Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte* I. W. Brauns", Dortmund 1920, p. 148 ff.

From this system of transliteration, I have deviated only on p. 19—23, where rendering a portion of my text in juxtaposition with Tessitori's, I accommodated my transliteration to that of Tessitori. Quotations, of course, retain the transliterations of the respective authors.

The below study, together with a Grammar and a Glossary, but without the Translation, was accepted, in June 1923, as a "Habilitationsschrift" by the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Leipzig, and has been published, in that shape, as a separate booklet, under the title of "Nāsaketarī Kathā, an Old-Rājasthānī Tale, Edited with Notes, a Grammar, and a Glossary by Charlotte Krause", Leipzig 1924, Asia-Verlag.

All references to the chapter on Grammar as well as to the Glossary refer to that separate publication.

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Charlotte Krause.



## ABBREVIATIONS

a	= adjective
Ab.	= the Sanskrit text of Naunidhirāma's Sāroddhāra in the German translation of Emil Abegg "Der Preta-kalpa des Garuḍa-Purāṇa", Berlin und Leipzig 1921
adv.	= adverb
Ap.	= Apabhraṃśa
Beames	= see p. 4
BeFi	= the Skr. text edited by Belloni Filippi under the title "Il Nāsiketopākhyānam" Firenze 1902
bel. to	= belonging to
Bhav.	= Bhavisatta Kahā von Dhaṇavāla. Eine Jaina Legende in Apabhraṃśa, herausg. von Hermann Jacobi (AKBAW., ph.-ph. & h. Kl., XXIX. Band, 4), München 1918
comp.	= compound
Gu.	= Gujarātī
He.	= Professor Hertel's Glossary of Old Gujarātī (MS.)
Hem., Deś.	= Hemacandra, Deśināma-mālā
Hertel, "Pañcatantra"	= Johannes Hertel, Das Pañcatantra. Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung, Leipzig und Berlin 1914
Hi.	= Hindi
Ho.	= Hindostānī
indep.	= independently
Jaip.	= Jaipuri
L. S.	= Linguistic Survey of India, collected and edited by Sir George Grierson, Vol. IX, Part II
L. S., st. w., No.	= resp. number of the "List of Standard Words and Sentences in Rājasthānī" in L. S., p. 304 ff.
Mārw.	= Mārwārī
Mew.	= Mewārī
Molesworth	= A Dictionary, Marāṭhī and English, Compiled by L. T. Molesworth, Bombay 1857
n. p.	= nomen proprium
Pc. V.	= Pañchākhyānavārttika: see p. 363

- Platts = A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English by John T. Platts, London 1884
- p. p. = past participle
- p. pres. = present participle
- Pkr. = Prākṛit
- p. w. = Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung, bearbeitet von Otto Böhltingk.
- Rāj. = Rājasthānī
- San. = Sanatkumāracaritam, . . . . . herausg. von Hermann Jacobi (ABAW., ph-ph. & h. Kl., XXXI. Band 2), München 1921
- Sb. = Suvābahuttarikathā (Hertel's copy of the text which he has treated in "Festschrift für Ernst Windisch", Leipzig 1914, p. 138ff.)
- Si = the text of "Nāsaketarī Kathā" of the MS. described on p. 357
- Te = the text of "Nāsaketarī Kathā" partly edited by Tessitori: see p. 363
- Tisdall = A Simplified Grammar of the Gujarātī Language by Clair Tisdall, London 1892
- ts. = tatsama
- V. P. = "The Varāha Purāṇa, ed. by Paṇḍit Hrishikeśa Śāstrī, Calcutta 1893" (B. I.)
- = a word under discussion is to be repeated with inclusion of the last syllable.
- o = a word under discussion is to be repeated with the exception of the last syllable





## INTRODUCTION





## I. THE MANUSCRIPT

Our "Nāsaketarī Kathā" is contained in the MS. fully described by Hertel on p. 51f. of his "Pañcatantra": I refer to this description more essentially, as I have not been able to see the Ms. myself. My text is edited from an earlier copy of the original, made by Professor Hertel, and kindly placed at my disposal.

The colophon runs as follows: "Written by Śivavarddhana in Jaitāraṇa, on the first day of the dark fortnight of Bhādra, of the samvat-year 1786", i. e., in August-September 1729 A. D. The situation of Jaitāraṇa, even if known, could not help to define the home of the copyist, as the latter was (see Hertel l. c.) a Jain monk, and Jain monks are known to migrate from place to place. Śivavarddhana's colophons of our Nāsaketarī Kathā, of "Hitopadeśa-paṃcākhyāṃna" (cp. Hertel l. c.), of Suvābahuttarī Kathā (cp. Hertel, "Festschrift für E. Windisch", Leipzig 1914, p. 138 ff.), and other texts, show two grammatical peculiarities also characteristic of the language of the text itself, and therefore treated below (p. 358): viz. the genitive in -ro, -ri, and the third person pres. indic. of the verb substantive *chai*.

The spelling shows the manner common to devanāgarī MSS. of modern vernacular texts coming from North-Western India: the old compound letters are generally avoided; virāma is never written (cp. spellings as *hoya*, *asatari*, *aganaparāsana*, *vandsapati* etc., and see p. 349 and 350; vocalic *r* replaced by vowel + *r*, or *r* + vowel; anusvāra used to mark the different nasal consonants as well as vowel-nasalizations, and often put without having any etymological value (cp. spellings as *Uravamsi*, *addhinke*). Other peculiarities are: the use of ष for ष and ष; of ञ for ञ and ञ (cp. Hertel, "Indische Erzähler" VI, p. 185, note 1); of a different type for ह (ह does not occur); of the letter which Sir George Grierson transcribes by "d"



(L. S., p. 20) for both cerebral consonants "r" as well as "d"; of **चै** for **ऐ**; of a special different type for **jha**, also occurring in combination with **य**; of a special type for **सु**; for **द** (see Jacobi in his edition of the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, Leipzig 1879, p. 19, foot-note); and some special combinations of letters, such as **ख** (besides **य**), **डा**, **झ** etc.

All such peculiarities of spelling have been retained in my edition, as far as possible; also a kind of kolon employed by the copyist as a general mark of punctuation.

The wording of Śivavarddhana's text is good and complete, and almost free from blunders. The copyist has even probably well preserved the linguistic features of his original, as all the various texts contained in his Ms.—Professor Hertel told me so—are each truly rendered in their respective different (North-Western) dialects.

(As to literal faithfulness, some passages seem to show that he has slightly deviated from the original: such as I, 14—15 [cp. Te and Si IV, 43!], I, 37—44, or IV, 34 [see note].)

The numerous glosses received into the text, show that the source of Śivavarddhana was not the archetype.

## II. THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXT

### 1. THE VERNACULAR TEXT

#### a) Accidence

The grammatical forms of our text offer the main characteristics of Modern Rājasthānī (described by Sir George Grierson, "Linguistic Survey of India", Vol. IX, Part II), as in various agreements not only in the general paradigms of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, and verbs, and in the absence of the neuter gender; even the shapes of the single classes of pronouns and the way of forming the past of transitive verbs are essentially the same.

But we cannot say for certain to which of the various Rājasthānī dialects the language of our text more especially belongs, as it does not fully coincide with any of the dialects treated in the L. S. Thus, the genitive in **-र**, **-रि**, the nominative of the pronoun of the first person **हूय**, and the imperfect tense formed by combining the pres. part with the past of the verb substantive are characteristic of Modern Mārẁārī and Modern Mālvi. A future tense like **māras** occurring in singular as well as in plural (Modern Mārẁārī

knowing only the singular) and the formation *hoya* of the present of the root *ho* are peculiar to Modern Jaipurī. Other features are found in Modern Mār-wāṛī only, such as the accusative-dative in *-rai*, the infinitive in *-na*, the two adverbial participles in *-āṃ*. On the other hand, the third person present of the verb-substantive *chai* occurs in Modern Jaipurī, and, in the shape *che* also in Nīmāḍī and certain subdialects of Mār-wāṛī, i. e., in the Dhātākī Thāḷī of Jaisalmer, in Sirōhī and Bikanērī, whereas the past *tho*, *thī* occurs in Mālvi, Ahīrwāṭī, Nīmāḍī, and the Sirōhī and Thāḷī subdialects of Mār-wāṛī.

And, finally, there are a few grammatical forms now only appearing in dialects adjacent to the territory of Rājasthānī, such as the sporadic Gujarātī genitive in *-no*, *-ni*, the Gujarātī conjunctive participle in *-i*, or the Bundēlī and Hindī forms *mo-*, *to-* of the pronouns of the first and second person singular (with the *-nai* accusative), whereas forms like the sporadic accusative in *-nu*, a pronominal formation like *titarai*, etc., have no modern equivalents at all.

But apart from such sporadic forms, or heterogeneous peculiarities, the main store of the grammatical forms point towards Mār-wāṛ, and, within Mār-wāṛ, towards the territory of Jaisalmer, if we may judge from the short specimens given in the L. S.

A number of characteristics of our text point to an earlier stage of linguistic development: e. g., the distinction between the locative in *-ai* and that in *-e* and *-i* (the former being confined to strong, the latter to weak nouns, whereas the modern vernaculars have dropped the i-locative, and employ the forms in *-e* and *-ai* promiscuously, but only with strong nouns); or the formation of the present and imperative of vowel-stems. In our text, the latter are not yet reduced (as in the modern dialects) to a uniform type, but still show the following formations:

The case-ending added to the stem 1) without any modification as with consonant-stems: *jāu*, *nāu*; 2) the vowel of the stem becoming a semi-vowel: *dyūu*, *dyo*; 3) a semi-vowel being developed: *jāvai*; 4) the stem itself being, if possible, modified by the latter: *dyai*, *huvai*; and 5) there are even some remnants of the old Prācrit forms which had been regularly developed out of the Sanskrit paradigms, such as *jāya* from Prācr. *jai* from Skr. *yati*; *de* from Prācr. *dei* from Skr. *dadati*; *hoya* from Prācr. *hoi* from Skr. *bhavati*.



Of these types, the first has been generalized throughout Modern Rājasthānī with regard to the first person singular, as *e. g.*, *houn*, *jāun*, whereas, in the other persons, Modern Mār-wāṛī has generalized the third, as *e. g.*, *hovai*, *jāvai*, most of the other Rājasthānī dialects, however, the fifth, *cp. e. g.*, Jaipurī *jāy*; of the second type, only the Jaipurī forms of the imperative plural *dyo* and *ho* have been preserved as special "irregularities".

Of past participles, our text, similarly, shows the parallel types *dye* (and *hunvo*) and *aye* (and *joyo*), of which the latter survives in Modern Mār-wāṛī. Of the types *hunto*, *jāto* and *jāvato* of the pres. part., the latter has been carried through in Mār-wāṛī (with the exception of the "irregular" *koto*), the second in the other modern dialects. In the modern Thāṛī dialect spoken in Jaisalmer, also the root *ko* forms a "regular" pres. part. *hovato*.

These verbal stems ending in vowels show the interesting phenomenon of the final *-va* which we have *e. g.*, in our *avato*, *jāvai*, *hovai* etc., and which originally (like the *ya* in *dhyai* etc.) was a sort of glide, becoming, in the course of time, an element of inflection, nay even of stem-formation, as in Modern Mār-wāṛī, Nīmāḍī, and, partly, in Jaipurī, too (*cp. e. g.*, the shape of the stem *a*, or *ava* resp. in the different dialects, L. S., st. w. No. 80). Whereas, in our text, this *-va* is still absent before most terminations beginning with a consonant (as *e. g.*, *lena[nai]*, *deva[hāra]*), it has been generalized throughout the modern paradigms (the corresponding forms of which are *levaya*, *devaya*).

#### b) Syntax

The chief characteristic of Modern Rājasthānī syntax, viz. the mixture of the Hindi and Gujarātī impersonal construction of the transitive verb, is peculiar also to our text: *cp.* what has been said below in § 34, iv of our grammar. In the formation of reflexive verbs by *uro*, our text agrees with Modern Mār-wāṛī (*cp.* grammar § 32). But whereas, in the latter dialect, the root *raha* always adds a negative sense to a preceding pres. part., (as *e. g.*, *gate rahayo* "not to sing", (*cp.* L. S. p. 29), it has, in our text, kept its old meaning "to remain" (*cp. e. g.* XII, 29 *sadai bhamata rahai* "they remain constantly roaming"). Another difference between the modern vernacular and the language of our Nāsaketarī Kathā appears in the treatment of the

attributive adjective, which, if qualifying a noun in the locative or agent, commonly coincides with the latter throughout Modern Rājasthānī, in opposition to what has been stated in our § 24, 1, c (see also L. S. p. 7).

### c) Phonology

Most of the (spelling, or rather) phonological<sup>1</sup> phenomena observable in our Nāsaketarī Kathā, are common to several groups of vernaculars, as shown by a comparison with the materials given in Beames' Comparative Grammar: as *e. g.*, the fact that the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*, that long and short vowels interchange; that cerebrals are substituted for dentals; mediae for tenues; *h* for aspiratae; *s* for *ś*, and in some cases also for *ṣ*; the arbitrary vowel-nasalizations; the substitution of *j* for *ṣ*; *i* for final *-ih*; the dropping of final *y*; the substitution of *kḥ* for *ṣ*; the dropping of medial *k* and *t*; the numerous assimilations in consonantal groups; the development of svarabhakti-vowels, of a prothetic *a* before *s*, and of various glides, and other changes of more or less frequent occurring.

The frequent dropping of *h* (before all in the aspiratae of younger tadbhavas), however, especially agrees with Modern Mārwārī and Eastern Rājasthānī (cp. L. S., p. 20 and 33). But the other phonological characteristics of Modern Rājasthānī do not occur (such as the confusion of *c*, *ch*, and *s*), whereas *e* and *ai*, *o* and *au* are only occasionally interchanged.

The substitution of *gy* for *jñ* agrees with Modern Gujarātī. Besides, there are, in our text, some special peculiarities, such as the substitution of dentals for cerebrals, aspiratae for mediae, and even tenues for mediae, and of *ḍ* and *ḍḍ* for *v*.

### d) Vocabulary

In the vocabulary, it was impossible to compare Modern Rājasthānī throughout, owing to the absence of materials available. With regard to the sense of the individual words, I have chiefly depended on dictionaries of Modern Gujarātī, in many cases also of Hindī, Hindostānī, and Mārāṭhī, all these languages in most cases offering homonymous, or nearly homonymous, equivalents. Some results could only be obtained by tracing certain words

<sup>1</sup> Cp. p. 359, note 2.



directly back to Skr., Prākr., Persian, or Arabian. For information about the words marked, in the below glossary, by He, I am indebted to the Old Gujarātī glossary of Professor Hertel, which has been at my disposal.

A comparison of our vocabulary with the "Lists of Standard Words" of Rājasthānī in the L. S., shows certain agreements with different groups of Rājasthānī dialects at the same time, as *e. g.*, with regard to<sup>1</sup> *ṛk*, *tin*, *chyar*, *pāch*, *das*, *pachas*, *hū*, *māro*, *tū*, *tū*, *thāro*, *hat*, *mūḍo*, *ākh*, *kān*, *jibh*, *pēt*, *loh*, *sono*, *rupo*, *bap*, *mā*, *bhai*, *minakh*, *lugaī*, *bālak*, *bēṭi*, *pāṇi*, *ghar*, *ghoro*, *gay*, *gadho*, *pākhērū*, *jā*, *kha*, *ā*, *mār*, *mar*, *dē*, *upar*, *kanāi*, *agai*, *pāṭi*, *pāchhai*, *kuy*, *kāl*, *pin*, *pau*, *haya*, *bhalo*, *ūcho*. On the other hand, there are some agreements with single dialects only, as *e. g.*, with Mār-wāṛī in the case of the words *doy*, *hēṭi*, *nūt*, *bahu*, *unā* (*ro*), *jim*, *jal*, with Thālī in the case of *chha*, *o*, *māyas*, and with Mālvi in the case of *abho rē*, with several Rājasthānī dialects except Mār-wāṛī and Thālī in the words *ag*, *dūr*, *kyū*. In some cases, words of our text appear, in the above lists, in different shapes: cp. our *tu*, *tum* with a short *u*, *hatha* and *mamḍho* with aspiratae, our *bahin*, etc.

Certain younger tadbhavas and tatsamas may be registered as characteristic features of our text (cp. *e. g.*, *pita*, *mata*, *devata*, *putra*, *asatri*, *tatha*, *agna*, etc.) in opposition to Grierson's lists.

### e) General Result

We have seen that the grammatical forms as well as syntax, phonology and vocabulary of our Nāsaketarī Kathā show distinct characteristics of the modern language of Mār-wār. Of the different modern Mār-wāṛī dialects, it seems to be closest akin to the Thālī as spoken in the territory of Jaisalmer, as far as our materials admit of comparison.

On the other hand, we have seen that a number of peculiarities distinctly point towards an earlier stage of linguistic development.

The heterogeneous linguistic features occurring in our text, such as certain agreements with Gujarātī, Western Hindi, etc., cannot be

<sup>1</sup> I give the "standard words" without changing the transcription of the L. S.

elucidated without comparing similar texts (written in earlier modern vernaculars). But as thorough monographs of such texts do not yet exist, such an attempt would go beyond the intentions of this study.

## 2. THE SANSKRIT PASSAGES

The few Skr. passages occurring (I, 2—5; XIII, 1; 3; XV, 1; 11; XVII, 1; XVIII, 1; 18; 19; and the final passages of the *adhyāyas*) show peculiarities similar to those of the Skr. stanzas contained in "Pañcākhyānavārttika" (cp. Hertel's edition in "Sächsische Forschungsinstitute in Leipzig, Forschungsinstitut für Indogermanistik, Indische Abteilung, No. 3", and Hertel's Preface). The usual spelling (sometimes also the phonology) of the vernacular, have here been carried over to the Sanskrit passages, the language of which is very bad, and abounds in grammatical forms taken from the former. It is, therefore, often difficult to say, whether we have to deal with corruptions, or phonologically exact spellings of what was really spoken. Consequently, I have restricted myself to correcting manifest blunders, and, if necessary, giving explanations in the notes. Into the glossary, these hybrid forms have not been received.

## III. TESSITORI'S TEXT

The parallel Rājasthānī Nāsaketarī Kathā of the Florentine MS. Pav. 759, could only be utilized as far as edited by Tessitori (*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Vol. VI, Fasc. I, p. 113 ff.): viz. for the three first and for part of the fourth *adhyāya*. I have, therefore, restricted myself to referring to variants of special importance.

The relationship of the two texts I have tried to illustrate by a list of parallel passages, retaining Te in the transcription of its editor, and accommodating my own to that as far as possible. (Viz.: anusvāra I have transcribed by *m*, without regard to its various phonetical values: *म* (see p. 358) and *म* with *ai* and *au*, whereas Tessitori marks differences of modern pronunciation. A difference between *ḍ* and *ḍʰ* could not be marked, as our MS. has only one letter for both.)

1 = "ḍ" and "ḍʰ" of the L. S.



Si.

Te.

1. <i>rajesvara baitha chas</i>   <sup>14</sup>	<i>eka rajesara Udalaka nāmāi</i>
<i>tike piṇa [eka rajesvara] nāṇma</i>	
<i>Udalaka-ji</i>   <sup>15</sup>	
<i>Vrahma-ji-ro putra</i>   <sup>16</sup>	<i>tikān Vrahma-ji-ro putra</i>
<i>moṣe rajesvara</i>   <sup>17</sup>	<i>moṣe tapasi</i>
<i>deha-ro damanahāra</i>   <sup>18</sup>	<i>deha-rau damanahāra</i>
<i>veda sāstra-no jāṇanahāra</i>   <sup>19</sup>	<i>veda-ro jāṇanahāra</i>
<i>tiya-ro ācrama chāi</i>   <sup>20</sup>	<i>tiyā-ro ulama ācrama chāi</i>
<i>taṭhai biṇa piṇa bhala-bhalā rajes-</i>	<i>taṭhāi biṇa piṇa rajesara bhela rahi</i>
<i>vara rahai chai</i>   <sup>21</sup>	<i>chāi</i>
<i>aṇṇaḍa kuṇja vana chai</i>   <sup>22</sup>	<i>bohata ālara kiyo</i>
	<i>aṇṇaḍa vana chāi</i>
	<i>Gaṇḍa-ji vahāi chāi</i>
	<i>pahaiṇa ghaṇa chāi</i>
	<i>ramanika jāyaga chāi</i>
<i>ghaṇṇa mora cinṇora koyala sārasa</i>	<i>mora cikora sārasa koyala suka</i>
<i>aneka paṇṇerūṇi jiṇa rahai chai</i>   <sup>23</sup>	<i>aneka jinavara bolāi chāi</i>
	<i>vana-mi aṇṇa kela aneka vriṣa</i>
	<i>suvanna virājamāna disāi chāi</i>
<i>tiya-rai ācrama Pipalāda rajesvara</i>	<i>tiya-rāi ācrama Pipalāda rajesara</i>
<i>āya</i>   <sup>24</sup>	<i>āya chāi</i>
<i>āya-nai gosati kari</i>   <sup>25</sup>	<i>āya-nāi Udalaka-ji-sū gosata karai</i>
	<i>chāi</i>
<i>itara-mai Pipalāda rajesvara dittho</i>	<i>gosata karatā Pipalāda dittho</i>
<i>ja astri nahi</i>   <sup>26</sup>	<i>asa-</i>
<i>tarai Udalaka-ji-nai puchyo</i>   <sup>27</sup>	<i>rama-māhi asatari nahi</i>
<i>maharāja thūṇrai astri nahi</i>   <sup>28</sup>	<i>tarai Udalaka-ji-nā puchāu</i>
<i>so kisai vāsai</i>   <sup>29</sup>	<i>thūri-asatari nahi</i>
<i>tarai Udalaka-ji boliya</i>   <sup>30</sup>	<i>so kaṣāi vāsai</i>
<i>mai tapasyā vramacari thokai kroi</i>	<i>tarai Udalaka-ji boliya</i>
<i>chai</i>   <sup>31</sup>	<i>nihe tapasyā vramacari-thakā kari</i>
<i>tarai Pipalāda-ji kalye</i>   <sup>32</sup>	<i>chāi</i>
<i>vivaha karo</i>   <sup>33</sup>	<i>tarai Pipalāda kaho</i>
<i>astri vīṇa agnahotri na hūvai</i>   <sup>34</sup>	<i>the saccu kaho chāi</i>
<i>piṇa pitradevatā caina pavai nahi</i>   <sup>35</sup>	<i>piṇa asatri vīṇa agnahotra upajāi</i>
	<i>nahi</i>
	<i>pitara devatā cesa pavai nahi</i>

Si.

Te.

tarai Udālaka-jī bolīya |<sup>36</sup>  
 mo-nāi kumua paravāvasi |<sup>37</sup>  
 mai to chayāsihajāra varasa vram-  
 hatari thakai tapasya kint |<sup>38</sup>  
 vale Pipalāda-jī bolīya |<sup>39</sup>  
 putra vīna kulanāsa hoyā |  
 pitradevatā dūṣṣa pāvai |  
 veda kamhai chai |<sup>40</sup>  
 |tarai Udālaka bolīya |<sup>41</sup>  
 mo-nai kumua paravāvasi |<sup>42</sup>  
 phera Pipalāda-jī bolīya |<sup>43</sup>  
 putra vīna kulanāsa hoyā |  
 pitradevatā dūṣṣa pāvai |<sup>44</sup>  
 asatri-nai ritadāna diyā-ro doṣa  
 lagai nahi |<sup>45</sup>  
 aganaparāsana karasyo to astri  
 ānuasyo |<sup>46</sup>  
 tarai Udālaka-jī bolīya |<sup>47</sup>  
 mai tapasya kint chai |<sup>48</sup>  
 dehadamāna kiyo chai |<sup>49</sup>  
 tina-ro nāsa host |<sup>50</sup>  
 phera Pipalāda-jī bolīya |<sup>51</sup>  
 thānirā mana-mai samdeha upano  
 chai | to the Vramā-jī-nai pucha-  
 nai aro |<sup>52</sup>  
 Vramā-jī kahai so kiyo |<sup>53</sup>  
 itaro kaha-nai Pipalāda-jī āpa-rai  
 ārama āya |<sup>54</sup>  
 pachai Visvanopāya rāṣṭhvara-jī  
 rājā Janamai-jī-nai kahai chai |<sup>55</sup>  
 Udālaka-jī-ri tapasya-māhe bhāṅga  
 padyo |<sup>56</sup>  
 Udālaka-jī bohata soca karai chai |<sup>57</sup>  
 mo-nai kanyā kumā paravāvasi |<sup>58</sup>

tarai Udālaka-jī bolīya |  
 mo-nāi kumā paravāvasi |  
 me to chayāsihajāra varasa tapasya  
 kint chāi |  
 tarai Pipalāda-jī kaho |  
 putra vīna kulanāsa host |  
 putra devatā-ja ceta na pāvi |  
 dukha pāvi |  
 asatri-nā ritadāna diyā-ro doṣana  
 lagāi nahi |  
 aganaparavasa karaso to asatri  
 āvaso |  
 vale Udālaka-jī kahi |  
 mhe tapasya karā chā |  
 dehadamāna karā chā |  
 tina-ro nāsa host |  
 tarai phera Pipalāda-jī bolīya |  
 asatri-nā ritadāna diyā-ro doṣa  
 nahi |  
 nāi thārāi to mana-māi buro upajāi  
 chāi | the Vramā-jī-nā puchāu |  
 Vramā-jī kahi sūn karo |  
 itaro kahāi-nāi Pipalāda-jī āpa-ri  
 ārama gayā |  
 pachai Visvanopāya-jī rājā Janā-  
 mai-ja-jī-nā kahi chāi |  
 Udālaka-rāi tapasyā-māi bhāṅga  
 padāu |  
 Udālaka mana-māhāi be[ha]ta soca  
 karāi chāi |



## Si.

tarai Vrahmā-jī-ro dhyāṃna kiyo |<sup>59</sup>  
 Vrahmā-jī-kanai jāya-nai astuti kiwi  
 chai |<sup>60</sup>

hatka joḍa-nai kahyo |<sup>61</sup>  
 marai ācramai | Pipalāda-jī ācrama  
 aya-nai kahyo |<sup>62</sup>  
 thāmrāi astri nahi |<sup>63</sup>  
 so aganahotri na hoyā |<sup>64</sup>

pitra devatā tripata na hoyā |<sup>65</sup>  
 tu astri āṃṣa |<sup>66</sup>  
 sarai mai kahyo chai |<sup>67</sup>  
 tapasyā kiwi chai |<sup>68</sup>

tiya-ro nāsa host |<sup>69</sup>  
 tarai Pipalāda-jī kahyo |<sup>70</sup>  
 tu Vrahmā-jī-nai pucha |<sup>71</sup>  
 Vrahmā-jī kahai so kiyo |<sup>72</sup>  
 tarai hūṃ rāja-kanai āyo chu |<sup>73</sup>  
 tarai Vrahmā-jī bolīyā |<sup>74</sup>  
 tharai putra paḷā āvati |  
 nai bhāryā pachai āvati |<sup>75</sup>  
 tarai Udālaka-jī kahyo |<sup>76</sup>  
 mai tapasyā kiwi chai |  
 tiya-mai bhāṅga paḍīyo chai |<sup>77</sup>  
 so rāja masakari karo cho |<sup>78</sup>  
 tarai Vrahmā-jī bolīyā |<sup>79</sup>  
 re putra Vrahmavāyaka mithyā[ta]  
 na hoyā |<sup>80</sup>

tharai Rughavanisari asatri āvati |<sup>81</sup>  
 itaro kahi-nai Vrahmā-jī anta-  
 radhyāṃna huva |<sup>82</sup>  
 Uṇḍālaka-jī pāchā āya |<sup>83</sup>

## Te.

Udalaka-jī Vrahmā-jī-kanāu gayā |  
 jāya-nāi ghaṇi astuta karavālāgo |  
 Udālaka Vrahmā-jī-nū kahai |  
 māre āsrama Pipalāda raṣesara  
 āyo tho | tiya mā-nū kaho |  
 jo thārāi asatari nahi |  
 asatari vinā aganahotra upajai  
 nahi |  
 deva pitra tripata nahi hoyā |  
 tū asatari āna |  
 tarai māi kaho |  
 me tapasyā vramasāri-thakā karti  
 chāi |

tiya tapasya-ro nāsa host |  
 tarai Pipalāda-jī bolīyā |  
 tū Vrimhā-jī-kanai ja |  
 to-nū Vrimhā-jī kahai so karo |  
 tarai hū rāja-kanai āyo chū-jī |  
 tarai Vrimā-jī kaho |  
 bhārājya pūti putra āvati |  
 pasai bhārājya āvati |  
 tarai Udālaka bolīyo |  
 pitā-jī māi tapasya bohata karti chāi |  
 tiya-mi bhāṅga paḍati |

tarai Vrimhā-jī bolīyā |  
 re putra tiya-mahai doṣana nahi |

tharai Rughavanisa-ri asatri āvati |  
 itaro kahi-nai Vrimhā-jī antara-  
 dhyā huva |

Uḍālaka opa-rāi ācrama āyo |

As these two texts show, their linguistic character is nearly identical. Thus, the grammatical peculiarities of p. 358 foll. are found in Te too. But besides the accusative in *-nai*, there occurs (and far more frequently) one in *“nā”*, which is characteristic of

Western Mārwarī and of Thālī of Jaisalmer (cp. L. S. p. 110 and St. W. No. 103), and one in “-nū”. Moreover, a genitive in *-ko*, *-kī* appears besides that in *-ro*, *-rī*, as in Modern Mārwarī, and the old form *nān* has been replaced by the modern “*āvū nahī*”.

As to syntax, there are no differences, except that the verbs of speaking and asking are sometimes construed with the ablative case in the Hindi-manner.

Phonology in most cases agrees with Si. Wherever there are differences, Te shows a closer relationship to Modern Mārwarī. I here quote some of the statements of Tessitori's on p. (5): “I dittonghi *āi, āu* hanno un' applicazione larghissima. Non solo sostituiscono *ē, o* come in: *lāi* (per *le*), *dāyāi* (per *devār*): *sāu* (per *so*), *tikāu* (per *tiko*); ma perfino *a, i*, come in: *sāiha* (per *saha*), *māinaṣa* (per *manuṣa*), *sāihāisa* (per *sahasa*), *kahāi-nāi* (per *kaha-nāi*), *rāihāiti* (per *rahati*); *vāiṣāi* (per *viṣār*), *pāita* (per *pīta*). Spesso *āi* diventa *i*, es.: *chī* (per *chūi*), *mī* (per *māi*), *rī* (per *rāi*), *pāvī* (per *pāvāi*). Frequentissime sono gli scambi di . . . , *e, ch* e *s*, come in: *ichaṭi* (per *isari*), *dilachā* (per *dilāsā*), *vaṇca* (per *vaṇsa*), *cū* (per *sū*), *sadhīyo* (per *caḍhiyo*), *pasāi* (per *pachāi*), *sī* (per *chī* = *chūi*); *ḍ* e *r*, come in: *isado* (per *isaro*), *nagaṭi* (per *nagari*), *parāi* (per *paḍai*)”. A spelling like “*cena, peli, vrama, raṣesara*” seems likewise to point to a stage of development posterior to our **चैन, पैली, ब्रह्मा, रषेसर**.

Thus, the linguistic character of Te is completely in agreement with the younger age of the MS., which, according to Tessitori, is dated samvat 1857.

The text itself shows marks of a younger tradition. Not only have descriptive passages been amplified (such as I, 21 ff.; II, 14; IV, 1; 32, 1), but also have single terms which in the source were and in Si are still somewhat vague or even ambiguous, been (in Te) brought into a more concise, but less appropriate shape (such as I, 105; or I, 107)<sup>1</sup>. In some cases of disagreement, the reading of Si is borne out to be correct by BeFi (see p. 368), whereas that of Te, on the contrary, in some cases directly contradicts BeFi: (cp. I, 33; 38; 40; 46; 61; 80; II, 1)<sup>1</sup>.

In other respects also, Te is inferior to Si, showing disfigurements (as I, 76, cp. Si I, 56)<sup>1</sup>, and even heavy corruptions, which

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the respective notes.



render the text unintelligible without the aid of Si, or the Sanskrit text (as I, 46; 89—91, III, 8 ff.)<sup>1</sup>. Elsewhere, Te has inserted absurd passages (such as III, 38 ff.)<sup>2</sup>, or left out important ones (such as the opening passages I, 1—13; III, 68 ff.; IV, 29; or the description of the battle XII, 32 ff., cp. Tessitori, l. c. p. [3])<sup>3</sup>.

Besides the numerous glosses that have crept into Si particularly, already the common archetype of Si and Te must have contained marginal glosses, one of which has been inserted into both texts: in Si in the right place, in Te in a wrong one, making the whole passage totally unintelligible (cp. I, 90 and note).

#### IV. THE MATTER

As remarked before, the matter and its history will not be dealt with in detail here, especially as Belloni Filippi has summarily discussed the earlier recensions in his book "Il "Nāsiketopākhyānam"" (Firenze, 1902).

BeFi is the only Sanskrit text containing the story of the hero's birth, the motif of which Belloni Filippi believes to have been suggested by the modern form of the name "Nāsiketu", into which the old name "Nāciketas" had been transformed in popular tradition. Of this Nāsiketopākhyāna" (or of a text very closely akin to it), our Rājasthānī recension, as represented by Si and Te, is a very short and rather bad abstract. Cp. the following table of contents of Si, compared with that of BeFi:

Si	BeFi
I History of Uddālaka . . . . . I	
Candrāvatī's conception . . . . . II 1—30	
II The repudiation of Candrāvatī and the birth of Nāsiketu . . . . . II 30 ff.; III 1—18	
III The exposure of N. by Ch. and his adoption by U. . . . . III 19 ff.	
Ch.'s coming to the hermitage of U. . . IV 1—47	
IV U.'s wooing. His wedding with C. . . IV 48 ff.	
N.'s disobedience and U.'s curse. N.'s going to Yama . . . . . V	

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the respective notes.

Si

BeFi

V	N. visits Yama and Chitragupta . . .	VI 1—25
VI	N. visits the hells and returns home. The ṛṣis come and praise him. . . . .	VI 26 ff.; VII 1—8
VII	Questions of the ṛṣis. N. describes the city of Yama. Enumeration of the hells	VII 9 ff.
VIII	Enumeration of the sinners . . . . .	VIII
IX	A trial of Yama's court of justice. The condemnation of the sinners. The differ- ent punishments of the different classes of sinners . . . . .	IX
X	Continuation. . . . .	X
XI	The burning tree and other tortures. A speech of the messengers of Yama. Continuation of IX and X . . . . .	XI
XII	Description of the messengers. The battle of the messengers with the Daitya . . .	XII
XIII	The re-births of the sinners . . . . .	(XVIII 28—49)
XIV	The celestial joys. The virtuous people and their rewards . . . . .	XIII, XIV
XV	Puṣpodaka . . . . .	XV
	The fate of the soul immediately after death . . . . .	XVII 1—8
	The paths in Yama's world . . . . .	XVII 9 ff. (XVI)
XVI	Nārada visits Yama. The appearing of the celestial cars. Yama's fear . . .	XVIII
	Yama's explanation of his fear. . . .	XIX 1—28
XVII	Re-births of female and of male sinners	(XVIII 28—49)
XVIII	The ṛṣis praise U. and N. . . . .	—
	Śravaṇaphala . . . . .	XIX 29 ff.

(As to details, I must refer the reader to my notes on the single passages.)

That the Nāsaketarī Kathā, however, cannot directly go back to the version of the Nāsi ketopākhyāna published by Belloni Filippi, is especially proved by the XVIth adhyāya of Si, and by the abstract Tessitori has given of the corresponding chapter of Te. As to the passage of Te corresponding to Si XVI 20 ff.,



Tessitori says: "L'episodio finale della visita di Nārada a Yama ha un' aggiunta di cui non vi è traccia nel testo purāṇico. Nārada, dopo aver ascoltato da Yama l'elogio di Janaka e della sua casta consorte, gli domanda perchè egli abbia il corpo lucente come l' oro e il viso nero. Yama risponde: i peccatori comuni che vengono a me, mi stanno ritti di fronte e io impartisco loro la pena. Ma i devoti di Viṣṇu mi mettono i piedi sul capo. Perciò il mio viso è nero." Now as I have shown in my note on XVI, 20 ff. of Si, a correct interpretation of the whole passage of the Rājasthāni recension as well as a solution of the problem of its origine is possible by the aid of the Nāciketa-episode of the Varāha-Purāṇa, which also helps to explain some more discrepancies between Nāsaketarī Kathā and Nāsiketopākhyāna. I refer to the respective note.

A further argument in favour of the assumption of relations to the V. P., is the fact that the prominence of the Viṣṇu worship (which plays so important a part in our kathā) has a parallel in the V. P., whereas throughout BeFi, the worship of Śiva is predominant, as Belloni Filippi has shown (l. c. p. (54)).

Thus we come to the conclusion that the text from which our Rājasthāni recension is derived, was, in general, closely akin to BeFi, but in certain features agreed more closely with the V. P.

It is uncertain, how far some other differences between the Rājasthāni recension and BeFi (as e. g., the different adhyāya-division) are due to this source, or to the compiler of the Rājasthāni recension, who, by the way, has worked rather arbitrarily, and, sometimes, rather stupidly, as shown in my notes on I, 97; IX, 10; X, 2. These passages make it even probable that the compiler knew his source only from oral communication: a hypothesis which is borne out by the shape in which some of the Sanskrit names (especially of the hells and of the judges of the lower world) appear (see the notes on VII, 83 and IX, 8), as well as by the confusion of some special features in the text of the Nāsaketarī Kathā (such as of the punishments of all the respective sinners, or of the tortures and characteristics of the respective hells).

That the shape of the Nāsaketarī Kathā text to which Si and Te go back had undergone corruptions, is obvious from I, 107 and II, 16.

In contradistinction to our Rājasthānī recension (contained in the Jaina MS. of Si and in the younger, Vaiṣṇava MS. of Te), the Hindi recension of Sadala Miśra (see p. 348)<sup>1</sup> goes straight back to BeFi. It agrees with BeFi not only generally, but even in its passages of especially śivaitic character, although Sadala Miśra himself is a representative of the Vaiṣṇava school of Carāṇa Dāsa (see Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*), and though his booklet belongs to the scriptures of the Vaiṣṇava sect just mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Nagari Pracharini Granthamala Series — No. 2, Allahabad 1901.





TEXT





The original punctuation of the MS. which is—in a very inconsequent manner—marked by a kind of visarga, has been preserved. Besides that, the European marks of punctuation have been carried through—for the sake of clearness—

Passages added to the wording of the MS. are enclosed in < >, whereas glosses, dittographies, and other, probably, unoriginal passages are enclosed in [ ].

अहे ॥<sup>१</sup>

श्रीसद्गुरुभ्यो नमः!<sup>२</sup> नासकेतरी कथा लिपतेः<sup>३</sup>

1

सरसति महामागेः! वरदे, कामरूपिणी!

विस्वरूपी, विमालाङ्गी! देवि वा परमेश्वरी!<sup>४</sup>

एकदंतो महाबुधीः, सर्वगुणो गुणनायकः!

सर्वसिंधकरो देवः गवरीपुत्र विनायकः!<sup>५</sup>

इति सरस्वतीजीरी नै विनायकजीरी स्तुतिः<sup>६</sup> अये कथासंबन्धनः<sup>७</sup>

प्रथम श्रीगंगाजीरै तटि विसनोपाय रपेस्वर [ ] वारै वरसरी दिथा जेनै  
बैठा हैः<sup>८</sup> तठै राजा जनमै आय नीसरीयाः<sup>९</sup> तरै राजा जनमैजी विसनो-  
पाय रपेस्वरजीनै कह्योः<sup>१०</sup> "महाराज रपेस्वरजी! कारैक पापमोचनी कथा  
सुणावोः!<sup>११</sup> तरै रपेस्वरजी बोल्हाः<sup>१२</sup> "राजा, पिण सांभलोः!<sup>१३</sup>

रपेस्वर बैठा है<sup>१४</sup> तिके पिण [एक रपेस्वर] नाम उदालकजीः<sup>१५</sup> ब्रह्मा-  
जीरो पुत्र,<sup>१६</sup> मोटो रपेस्वरः<sup>१७</sup> देहरो दमनहारः<sup>१८</sup>, वेद सास्त्रनो जांमण-  
हारः<sup>१९</sup> तिणारो आश्रम हैः<sup>२०</sup> तठै बीजा पिण भला भला रपेस्वर रहै हैः<sup>२१</sup>  
अजायब कुंजवन हैः<sup>२२</sup> घणा मोर, चिंकोर, कोयल, सारस, अनेक पंफेहजीव

1 1 in the shape of the mutilated diagram: see note 11 9 जनमे ॥

14 : om. at the end of the line ॥ 15 उदालकजी corr. from 'को' ॥



रहे हैः<sup>32</sup> तिहारै आश्रम पिपलाद रवेस्वर आयाः<sup>34</sup> आयनै गुमटि करोः<sup>35</sup> इतरा मे पिपलाद रवेस्वर दीठोः<sup>36</sup> न अस्त्री नहीः<sup>37</sup> तरै उदालकजीने पूछी-योः<sup>38</sup> महाराजा! थारै अस्त्री नहीः<sup>39</sup> सो किसै वासीः<sup>40</sup> तरै उदालकजी बोलीयाः<sup>41</sup> 'मे तपस्या ब्रमचारी थकै कीवी हैः'<sup>42</sup> तरै पिपलादजी कह्योः<sup>43</sup> 'विवाह करोः<sup>44</sup> अस्त्री विना अपहोवी न ऊँवैः<sup>45</sup> पिण पिचदेवता पैन पावै नहीः'<sup>46</sup> तरै उदालकजी बोलीयाः<sup>47</sup> 'मोने कुण परणावैः<sup>48</sup> मे तो छ्यासी हजार वरस ब्रमहचारी थकै तपस्या कीनीः'<sup>49</sup> बले पिपलादजी बोलीयाः<sup>50</sup> 'पुत्र विना कुलनास होयः, पिचदेवता दुष पावैः वेद कहै हैः'<sup>51</sup> [तरै उदालक बोलीयाः<sup>52</sup> 'मोने कुण परणावसीः'<sup>53</sup> फेर पिपलादजी बोलीयाः<sup>54</sup> 'पुत्र विना कुलनास होयः, पिचदेवता दुष पावैः<sup>55</sup>] असचीने रितदान दीयारो दोष लागै नहीः<sup>56</sup> अगनपरसण करखो, तो अस्त्री आणखोः<sup>57</sup> तरै उदालकजी बोलीयाः<sup>58</sup> 'मे तपस्या कीवी हैः'<sup>59</sup> देह दमण कीयो हैः<sup>60</sup> तिहारो नाम होसीः'<sup>61</sup> फेर पिपलादजी बोलीयाः<sup>62</sup> 'थारा मन मे संदेह उपनो है, तो ये ब्रमहाजीने पुछनै आवोः<sup>63</sup> ब्रह्माजी कहै, सो कीज्योः'<sup>64</sup> इतरा कहनै पिपलादजी आपरै आश्रम आयाः<sup>65</sup>

पहै विस्वनापाय रवेस्वरजी राजा जनमीजीने कहै हैः<sup>66</sup>

"उदालकजीरो तपस्या माहे भंग पड्यो.<sup>67</sup> उदालकजी बोहत मोच करै हैः<sup>68</sup> 'मोने कन्या कुण परणावसीः'<sup>69</sup> तरै ब्रह्माजीरो ध्यान कीयोः<sup>70</sup> ब्रह्माजी कनै जायनै असुति कीवी हैः<sup>71</sup> हाथ जोडनै कह्योः<sup>72</sup> 'मारै [आश्रम] पिपलादजी आश्रम आयनै कह्योः<sup>73</sup> 'थारै अस्त्री नही,<sup>74</sup> सो अगनहोवी न होयः<sup>75</sup> पिचदेवता चिपत न होयः<sup>76</sup> तु अस्त्री आणः<sup>77</sup> तरै मे कह्यो हैः<sup>78</sup> 'तपस्या कीवी हैः<sup>79</sup> तिहारो नाम होसीः'<sup>80</sup> तरै पिपलादजी कह्योः<sup>81</sup> 'तु ब्रह्मजीने पुछः<sup>82</sup> ब्रह्माजी कहै, सो कीज्योः'<sup>83</sup> तरै हं राज कनै आयो कुः<sup>84</sup> तरै ब्रह्माजी बोलीयाः<sup>85</sup> 'थारै पुत्र पैला आवसीः, नै भायां पहै आवसीः'<sup>86</sup> तरै उदालकजी कह्योः<sup>87</sup> 'मे तपस्या कीवी हैः तिण मे भंग पडीयो हैः<sup>88</sup> सो राज नसकरी करो कोः<sup>89</sup> तरै ब्रह्माजी बोलीयाः<sup>90</sup> 'रे पुत्र, ब्रह्मवायक मिध्यात न [1b] होयः<sup>91</sup> थारै रुधवंसरी असची आवसीः'<sup>92</sup> इतरा कहनै ब्रह्माजी अंतरध्यान ऊँवाः<sup>93</sup> उदालकजी पाछा आयाः<sup>94</sup>

पहै मन मे असचीरी अविजेषणा करण लाग्योः<sup>95</sup> 'इसडी असची आवै,

46 उठा at the end of the line. || 46 परसरसण (cp. IV 48) ||

56 : om. at the end of the line. ||

तो भलीः, अतिरूपवतीः, सीलवतीः, उदारचित्तवतीः, निपण मुधर बोलीः, बाहिर भीतर सुचवतीः, भरतार सु प्रीतवतीः, भरतारनी [कथन] आग्या लोपै नहीः.<sup>85</sup> उदालकजी मन मैं ईसड़ी चिंतवणा करै हैः.<sup>86</sup>

एक दिवसरै विषै गंगाजी सनांन करणरै वासै गया थाः.<sup>87</sup> तरै अपहरारा रघ दीठाः.<sup>88</sup> तरै मन चालीयो, नै वीरज पिंसीयो.<sup>89</sup> सो तपस्यारो वीरज धरती मैं मेलीयो न जायः.<sup>90</sup> कमलरो फूल तोड़नै, माहे वीरज घातीयोः.<sup>91</sup> उपर डाम लपेटायोः.<sup>92</sup> पछै गंगाजी माहे प्रवाह दीयोः.<sup>93</sup>

सो फूल तिरतो राजा रुघ[वंस]री नगरी हेठै आय नीसरीयोः.<sup>94</sup> तठै राजा रुघ[वंस]री बेटी दस हजार सहेलीयां सु [ः] गंगाजी निव्व सनांन करणनै आई थीः.<sup>95</sup> एक ईद्ररी अपहरा, तिणनै सराप हवो थोः.<sup>96</sup> सो राजा रुघरै दासी ऊई.<sup>97</sup> सो दासी थकी, चंद्रावतीरा हीडा करै हैः.<sup>98</sup> नाम उरवंसी है.<sup>99</sup> तिणनै चंद्रावती सनांन करती कह्योः.<sup>100</sup> 'कमलरो फूल तिरतो जाय हैः,<sup>101</sup> सो तु ने आवः!<sup>102</sup> तरै उरवंसी ल्याई.<sup>103</sup> चंद्रावती सूधीयोः.<sup>104</sup> तरै वीर्य नासका <पेड> होयनै प्रवेस कीयोः.<sup>105</sup> [वीर्य] एक महीनो नै दुजो महीनो ऊईः.<sup>106</sup> तठै चंद्रावती फूल[समीतुल]ती थी.<sup>107</sup> सो फूल अडिंका चढण लागोः.<sup>108</sup>

इति प्रथमोऽध्याय संपूर्णः.<sup>109</sup>

वाई चंद्रावतीनै दोष लागोः.<sup>1</sup> तरै राजाजीनै रांजी कह्योः.<sup>2</sup> तरै रा- II  
जाजी कह्योः.<sup>3</sup> तरै चंद्रावती कनै दस हजार सहेलीयां रहती,<sup>4</sup> तिणनै काई ऊवोः?<sup>5</sup> तरै राजाजी उरवंसीनै बुझीयोः.<sup>6</sup> 'थानै जतन करणरै वासतै राखी थीः सो थानै काई ऊवोः?'<sup>7</sup> तरै उरवंसी बोलीः.<sup>8</sup> 'महाराजा! कोई मांगसरो प्रवेस होय, तो मारी जावांः!<sup>9</sup> पिण परमेश्वरजीरी मतिं जानी न जायः.<sup>10</sup> तरै राजा कह्योः.<sup>11</sup> 'मारवा, तो पाप ऊईः!<sup>12</sup> वनपेड माहे मेल आवोः!<sup>13</sup> तरै राजाजीरा चाकर वन मैं मेल आयाः.<sup>14</sup>

सो चंद्रावती वन मैं रंदन करती फिरै हैः.<sup>15</sup> तठै तिणबंध रपेखर आया - कंद मूलरै वासै आया थाः.<sup>16</sup> तरै चंद्रावतीनै रंदन करती दीठीः.<sup>17</sup> तरै रपेखर बोलीयाः.<sup>18</sup> 'हे कन्या! तु कुण हैः?<sup>19</sup> रंदन क्युं करै है?<sup>20</sup> तरै

85 सोलवंती ॥

101 dardja instead of : ॥

106 हुवे तठैः ॥

109 सं ॥ (sic) ॥



चंद्रावती बोलीः<sup>21</sup> 'जं राजा रुघ[वंस]री बेंटी कुः<sup>22</sup> मोने आगला भवरी  
कमाई [कर्म] करने दीप लागोः<sup>23</sup> अबकै भव तो पोटो कमाई कोई कीवी  
नहीः'<sup>24</sup>

तरे रपेखर दिलासा देने, आपरे आश्रम ले आयाः<sup>25</sup> बेंटी करने रा-  
पीः<sup>26</sup> महीना पुरा जंवाः<sup>27</sup> जठे नामिका सु पुचरो जन्म जवोः<sup>28</sup> नाम ना-  
सकेत दीधोः<sup>29</sup>

इति श्रीद्वितीयोऽध्याय संपूर्णः<sup>30</sup>

III महीना तीनरो जंओः<sup>1</sup> जठे रंदन करण लागोः<sup>2</sup> तरे चंद्रावती क्रोध  
करने, बालकने कंठ पीजरा मे घातिने, गंगाजी माहे प्रवाह दीयोः<sup>3</sup> तरे  
रपेखर बोलीयोः<sup>4</sup> 'रे बालक! तु थारा बाप कने जाः'<sup>5</sup> तरे उदालकजीरो  
आश्रम गंगाजीरे तटि कैः<sup>6</sup> सो पिंजरो सार्मि पांणी चालीयोः<sup>7</sup> सो उदाल-  
कजी गंगाजी निंय सनांन करणने आवै कैः<sup>8</sup> तठे सनांन करतां पिज[23]रो  
आयने पगे लागोः<sup>9</sup> तीनुही विरीयां पगे लागोः<sup>10</sup> मध्य सनांन पगे लागोः<sup>11</sup>  
संझ्या सनांन पगे लागोः<sup>12</sup> तरे उदालकजी दीठोः<sup>13</sup> [तरे उदालकजी जो-  
योः<sup>14</sup>] पिंजरो उरो लेने पोलीयोः<sup>15</sup> माहे देपे, तो अनोपम बालक कैः<sup>16</sup>  
तिणरे आपरा सा चैन कैः<sup>17</sup> सो देपने ब्रह्माजीरो बोल याद आयोः<sup>18</sup> कह्यो  
थोः<sup>19</sup> 'असजी पैली बालक आवसीः'<sup>20</sup> तिको बोल पुगोः<sup>21</sup> पकै बालकने  
आपरे आश्रम ले आयाः<sup>22</sup> पाल पोस करता जंवाः<sup>23</sup> मोटो जंवो.<sup>24</sup>

एक दिनरे विपे चंद्रावती दलगीर जंईः<sup>25</sup> तठे तिणबंध रपेखर बोली-  
योः<sup>26</sup> 'बेंटी! तुं दलगीराई क्यु करै कैः?'<sup>27</sup> तरे चंद्रावती बोलीः<sup>28</sup> 'पिताजी!  
एकलां आवडै नहीः'<sup>29</sup> डावडो जंवो थोः<sup>30</sup> तिको गंगाजी माहे प्रवाह दी-  
योः<sup>31</sup> नही, तर आजने मोटो जंओ जंतोः<sup>32</sup> तरे रपेखरजी बोलीयोः<sup>33</sup>  
'जठेने पिंजरो जातो दीठो कैः<sup>34</sup> पुची, तुं तठी सोझ, लाभसीः'<sup>35</sup>

तरे पिंजरो जातो दीठो थोः<sup>36</sup> तठीने चंद्रावती चालीः<sup>37</sup> आगे देपे,  
तो उदालकजीरे आश्रम बेंटी कैः<sup>38</sup> तरे चंद्रावती पूछीयोः<sup>39</sup> 'रे बालक! तु  
कुण कैः?'<sup>40</sup> थारो पिता कुण कैः<sup>41</sup> थारो माता कुण कैः<sup>42</sup> ओ आश्रम किं-  
जरो कैः?'<sup>43</sup> तरे नामकेत बोलीयोः<sup>44</sup> 'ओ आश्रम उदालकजीरो कैः<sup>45</sup> मारे  
पिता उदालकजी कैः<sup>46</sup> मोने मातारी पवर नहीः'<sup>47</sup>

तरे चंद्रावती बोलीः<sup>५४</sup> 'रे पुत्र! इं थारी माता कुः<sup>५५</sup> रपेखर कठै गयो  
हिः?<sup>५६</sup> तरै नासकेत बोलीयोः<sup>५७</sup> 'कंद मुलनै गया हिः<sup>५८</sup> मोनै नैसांग गया  
हिः<sup>५९</sup>

तरे चंद्रावती बुहारो दीधोः<sup>६०</sup> चोको दीधोः<sup>६१</sup> हंडवाई मांसीः<sup>६२</sup>  
पई गंगाजी सनान करण गया चंद्रावतीजीः<sup>६३</sup>

इतरा माहे उदालकजी पिण आयाः<sup>६४</sup> देखनै कह्योः<sup>६५</sup> 'रे पुत्र! बुहारो  
किण दीयोः<sup>६६</sup> चोको किण दीयोः<sup>६७</sup> हंडवाई किण मांजीः<sup>६८</sup> तरै नासकेत  
बोलीयोः<sup>६९</sup> 'पिताजी! माहरी माता आई घीः<sup>७०</sup> तरै उदालकजी बोली-  
याः<sup>७१</sup> 'रे पुत्र! थारी माता आई घी<sup>७२</sup> तो कठै गईः<sup>७३</sup> तरै नासकेत क-  
ह्योः<sup>७४</sup> 'गंगाजी सनान करण गया हिः<sup>७५</sup> तरै नासकेतनै रपेखर कह्योः<sup>७६</sup>  
'थारी मातानै बुलाय ल्यावः<sup>७७</sup> मारो पिता तोनै बुलावै हिः<sup>७८</sup>

तरे चंद्रावती बोलीः<sup>७९</sup> 'रे पुत्र! थारी बुलाई कोरै नाउः<sup>८०</sup> इं तो  
कन्या कुः<sup>८१</sup> मोनै पिता कै भाई देसी, तो आवसुंः<sup>८२</sup> तरै नासकेत आयनै  
कह्योः<sup>८३</sup> तरै उदालकजी नासकेतनै फेर पाछो मेलीयोः<sup>८४</sup> 'वले जाइनै पुछुः<sup>८५</sup>  
थारो बाप कुण हिः<sup>८६</sup> नै पूव खुं करनै ऊवो हिः<sup>८७</sup> तरै नासकेत आयनै  
पुछीयोः<sup>८८</sup>

तरे चंद्रावती कह्योः<sup>८९</sup> 'इं राजा रुघरी बेटी कुः<sup>९०</sup> इं गंगाजी दस  
हजार सहेलीयां सुं गई घीः<sup>९१</sup> तठै कमलरो फूल तिरतो थको आय नीस-  
रीयोः<sup>९२</sup> सो मै मंगायनै सुधीयोः<sup>९३</sup> तिण सु मारि आधान रह्यो<sup>९४</sup> तरै मोनै  
वन मै मेल आयाः<sup>९५</sup> तरै इं रुदन करती घीः<sup>९६</sup> तठै तिणबंध रपेखर आय  
नीसखाः<sup>९७</sup> तिणां मोनै दिलासा देनै, आपरि आश्रम ले आयाः<sup>९८</sup> तरै महीना  
पुरा इंवा,<sup>९९</sup> जठै नासका पेंड होयनै पुत्र ऊखो,<sup>१००</sup> नांम नासकेत दीधोः<sup>१०१</sup>  
महीना तीनरो इंवो, जठै रुदन करण लागोः<sup>१०२</sup> तरै मै कठपिजरा मै घातनै  
गंगाजी माहे प्रवाह दीयोः<sup>१०३</sup>

थै समाचार नासकेत उदालकजी अगि कह्याः<sup>१०४</sup> तरै उदालकजी कह्योः  
'फेर पाछो [2b] जायनै कहजेः<sup>१०५</sup> इं राजा रुघ कनै कन्यादान मांगणनु जाउ  
कुः<sup>१०६</sup> तुं थारि आश्रम जाः<sup>१०७</sup> तरै नासकेत चंद्रावतीनै कह्योः<sup>१०८</sup> तरै  
चंद्रावती आपरि आश्रम गईः<sup>१०९</sup> नै उदालकजी राजा रुघ कनै कन्यादान  
मांगणनै गयाः<sup>११०</sup>

इति तृतीयोऽध्याय समाप्तः<sup>१११</sup>



IV रघुवर आवता देखै, राजा रूघ सांसो बहत अकुति कीनीः.<sup>1</sup> आसन दीयोः.<sup>2</sup> प्रदिशना देनै पुछीयोः.<sup>3</sup> 'महाराज रघुवरजी! किंतरेक कामय धारीया होः?<sup>4</sup> तरै रघुवर बोखोः.<sup>5</sup> 'मोने कन्यादांन होः!<sup>6</sup> तरै राजाजी कह्योः.<sup>7</sup> 'कन्या थी, पिल मर गई [ः] जंतोः.<sup>8</sup> तो उजर कोई करता नहीः.<sup>9</sup> तरै उदालकजी मांडनै वांत कहीः.<sup>10</sup>

'हं गंगाजी सनांन करण गयो थोः.<sup>11</sup> तठै अपहरारा रघ दीठाः.<sup>12</sup> तरै मन चालीयो नै वीरज पिंसीयो.<sup>13</sup> सो तपस्यारो वीर्य धरती मेखो न जायः.<sup>14</sup> तरै कमल तोड़, वीर्य माहे घातिनै, गंगाजी माहे प्रवाह दीयोः.<sup>15</sup> सो तिरतो चको, आय नीसरीयोः.<sup>16</sup> सो चंद्रावती उरवंसी कना सु गंगा-यनै सुधीयोः.<sup>17</sup> तरै नासकारा पेड़ मै होयनै, वीर्य प्रवेश कीयो.<sup>18</sup> तरै राजाजी क्रोध करनै, वन मै मेल आघाः.<sup>19</sup> तठै चंद्रावती रुदन करण लागीः.<sup>20</sup> फिरती आय नीसरीः.<sup>21</sup> तठै तिणबंध रघुवर आय नीसरीयाः.<sup>22</sup> तिण पुछीयोः.<sup>23</sup> 'कन्या! तु कुल हैः?<sup>24</sup> तरै चंद्रावती कह्योः.<sup>25</sup> 'हं राजा रूघरी बेटी हूंः.<sup>26</sup> मोने विगर कीयां दोष लागोः.<sup>27</sup> तरै रघुवर दिलासा देनै, बेटी कहिनै, आपरै आश्रम ले गयाः.<sup>28</sup> सो उठै है.<sup>29</sup>

राजाजी बोहत राजी जवाः.<sup>30</sup> वधाई बांटी, घणा उछाह कीयाः.<sup>31</sup> कवरानै मेलनै, चंद्रावतीनै उरी बुलारैः.<sup>32</sup> विवाह भली भांत सु कीयो.<sup>33</sup> मांशीया, सो डायजो दीयोः.<sup>34</sup> बेटीनै, डाहिचो, दोहितानै भली भांत सु देनै, आपरै आश्रम पोहचायाः.<sup>35</sup>

नासकेत मोटो जखोः.<sup>36</sup>

एक दिनरै विषि नासकेतनै कंद मूलरै वासतै अगनहोचीरै वासतै मेलीयो थोः.<sup>37</sup> सो नासकेत वन मै गयोः.<sup>38</sup> तठै देखै, तो वनो वन हैः.<sup>39</sup> सरोवर भरीयो हैः.<sup>40</sup> वन फल फूल रह्या हैः.<sup>41</sup> दरपत मोरीया हैः.<sup>42</sup> मोर, चिकार, मारस, कोयल, अनेक भांतिरा जीनावर रहै हैः.<sup>43</sup> रमणीक जायगा देखनै, नासकेत जोग अभ्यास करण लागोः.<sup>44</sup> जोग अभ्यास करता, छ महीना लागोः.<sup>45</sup> पाछो आयो, जरै उदालकजी क्रोध करनै बोलीयाः.<sup>46</sup> 'रे पुच! अगनहोचीरी भली पवर लीधीः!<sup>47</sup> आपणी तो अगनहोची परसन कीधी चाहीजैः!<sup>48</sup>

9 उतर ॥ 10 anusvāra in वांत blotted out ॥ : om. at the end of the line ॥ 13 the passage has been completed according to I 89 ॥ 41 रसो ॥ 42 फुंम ॥

तरै नासकेतजी बोलीयाः<sup>49</sup> 'पिताजी! ये कह्यो, सो भलाः<sup>50</sup> पिस जोग मारग है, सो मोटो पदारथ हैः<sup>51</sup>

तरै उदालकजी क्रोध करनै, नासकेनै सराप दीयोः<sup>52</sup> जेः 'पुत्र! अगननै निदैं है, तो जमलोक जाः<sup>53</sup>

तरै चंद्रावती मन भै दलगीर झंईः<sup>54</sup> 'रघीसुरजी! ये बोहत बुरी कीनीः<sup>55</sup> आपणै एकहीज पुत्र है<sup>56</sup> तरै उदालकजी बोलीयाः<sup>57</sup> 'तु दलगीर मती झंईः<sup>58</sup> जम आपणै आवै नहीः<sup>59</sup> मोनै म्हाारी तपस्वारो भरोसो हैः<sup>60</sup> जेः जम आवै, तो घाली जायः<sup>61</sup> मारी पुत्र जमलोक जावै नहीः<sup>62</sup> तरै नासकेत बोलीयोः<sup>63</sup> 'पिताजी! हं धारो सराप साचो करसुं<sup>64</sup> जमलोक माहे जायनै, पाको आवसुं<sup>65</sup> ये मन भै दलगीर मती झंईः<sup>66</sup> मारी काया रुडां रायजीजीः<sup>67</sup>

इतरो कहिनै, जोग अर्था[34]स करनै, देह माहिं सुं जीव नीसरीयोः सो जमलोक गयो है जीव.<sup>68</sup>

इति चतुर्थोऽध्यायः<sup>69</sup>

नासकेत राजा जम कनै गयो.<sup>7</sup> असतुति करीः<sup>8</sup> 'सहस्रबांह, सहस्रचप, V सहस्रपद राज!<sup>9</sup> असतुति सुणनै, जम राजा राजी झंई बोहतः<sup>10</sup> जम राजा पुकीयोः<sup>11</sup> 'तोनि चठै कुण ज्ञायौ?<sup>12</sup> धारी आव पुरी कोरै न झंई कइं!<sup>13</sup>

तरै नासकेत बोलीयोः<sup>14</sup> 'मोनै पिताजीरो सराप झंई हैः<sup>15</sup> तिस वासतै हं चठै जायो कुंः<sup>16</sup>

राजा जम राजी झंई नै कह्योः<sup>17</sup> 'तु पाको जा!<sup>18</sup> धारी कथा सुणसी, जिण नै जमदुत कोरै आवै नही, नारकी माहे आवै नहीः<sup>19</sup> नासकेत बोलीयोः<sup>20</sup> 'मोनै जमपुरी दिपावोः<sup>21</sup> तरै राजा जम दुतानै कह्योः<sup>22</sup> 'नासकेतनै चित्रगुप्त कनै ले जावोः<sup>23</sup>

सो जमदुत चित्रगुप्त कनै ले गयाः<sup>24</sup> नासकेत असतुति करीः<sup>25</sup> 'सरव धरमरा जाणगहारः<sup>26</sup> बोहत तेजरा धरगहारः<sup>27</sup> पाप पुन्यरा जाणगहार!<sup>28</sup> इतरो कहै, नै असतुति करीः<sup>29</sup> इतरो कहिनै, उभो रह्यो हैः<sup>30</sup>

इति पंचमोऽध्याय संपूर्णः<sup>35</sup>

IV. 55 'सुं' in रघीसुरजी corr. from 'म' ॥ 57 'या' in भोलोवा corr. (gamb.) from 'यो' ॥ 69 ४ after चतुर्थोऽध्याय ॥ V 7 : om. at the end of the line ॥ 22 : the same ॥ 23 'त' in इतरो corr. (gamb.) from 'ति' ॥



## VI विसानोवाचः

"चित्रगुप्त नासकेतन कहै हैः<sup>१</sup> 'तु मांगि, सो मांगः'<sup>२</sup> जं तोनै सुप्रसन  
जंवोः<sup>३</sup> तरै नासकेत बोलीयोः<sup>४</sup> 'मोने थारी नगरी दिपावोः'<sup>५</sup> तरै दुतानै  
कह्योः<sup>६</sup> 'दिपावोः'<sup>७</sup> तरै दुतां पाप पुनरा करता दिपालीयाः<sup>८</sup> वतरा करता  
दिपालीयाः<sup>९</sup> तलाव, नीवांरा करता दिपालीयाः<sup>१०</sup> कुंड दिपालीयाः<sup>११</sup>  
सगला सहर मै फेरनै ले आयाः<sup>१२</sup>

तरै राजा जम कह्योयोः<sup>१३</sup> 'नासकेत! तु पाछो जाः'<sup>१४</sup> थारी कथा सो-  
पसी नै सुणसी, तिणनै जमदुत कोई आवै नहीः<sup>१५</sup> सो जमलोक न आवसीः<sup>१६</sup>  
थारा मादंत दुचीताई करता जंसीः<sup>१७</sup>

तरै नमसकार करनै, पाछो आयोः<sup>१८</sup>

आयनै, मातापितानै नमसकार कीयोः<sup>१९</sup> इतरा माहै रघेस्वरां सुंणी-  
योः<sup>२०</sup> तरै रघेस्वर आया<sup>२१</sup> तिके रघेस्वर किसड़ायक हैः<sup>२२</sup> केईक पवन  
साझी है,<sup>२३</sup> केईक तो मासपारणो करै हैः<sup>२४</sup> केईक तो पपपारणो करै हैः<sup>२५</sup>  
ईसडी तपस्यारा करणहार अनेक रघेसर भेला होयनै, आया हैः<sup>२६</sup> तिके  
कहै हैः<sup>२७</sup> 'उदालकजी! थारो बडो भाग,<sup>२८</sup> तिणारै नासकेत सरीपा पुत्रः<sup>२९</sup>  
आज पैहली दीठो न कोई सुंणीयोः<sup>३०</sup> जमलोक जायनै, पाछो कोई आवै  
नहीः<sup>३१</sup> सो नासकेत जायनै आयोः<sup>३२</sup>

रघेस्वरां ईसडी कह्यो<sup>३३</sup>

इति षष्ठमोऽध्यायः<sup>३४</sup>

VII आसपूरण कथा राजा जनमजी आनै विसनोपाय रघेस्वर कहै हैः<sup>१</sup>

"हिंवै नासकेतनै रघेस्वर पुछै हैः न कहै हैः<sup>२</sup> 'जमलोक किसडोक हैः<sup>३</sup>  
जमदुत किसडाक हैः<sup>४</sup> जम किसड़ायक हैः<sup>५</sup> चित्रगुप्तनै किसड़ायक हैः<sup>६</sup>  
पैडो किसडोयक हैः<sup>७</sup>

तरै नासकेत कहै हैः<sup>८</sup> 'मोने पिताजी सरापन दीयोः<sup>९</sup> क्रिपा कीवी,<sup>१०</sup>  
तिण सुं जमलोक जायनै, पाछो आयोः<sup>११</sup> हमै उठारी कथा दीठी,<sup>१२</sup> तिसडी  
कहं कुंः<sup>१३</sup> ये एकाय होयनै, सोभलो!<sup>१४</sup>

प्रथम तो उठै जाय हैः<sup>१५</sup> तरै राजाजी जमनै चित्रगुप्तनै नमसकार  
कीजै हैः<sup>१६</sup>

जमपुरी सहस्र जोजन उची हैः<sup>१७</sup> पचास जोजन चोडी हैः<sup>१८</sup> चार दर-  
वाजा हैः<sup>१९</sup> चार घुला हैः<sup>२०</sup> तई नाना भांतरा लोक रहै हैः<sup>२१</sup> वाग, वगीचा,

तलाव, नदी हैः.<sup>22</sup> चंदनारा कपाट हैः.<sup>23</sup> सोनारा घर हैः.<sup>24</sup> लाल झीरा जडा हैः.<sup>25</sup> मोतीयारी झालर हैः.<sup>26</sup> ईसडो सहर हैः.<sup>27</sup> तिण माहे देवता रहै हैः.<sup>28</sup> गधर्व गावै हैः.<sup>29</sup> मृगतगांमीः,<sup>30</sup> तलावर करताः,<sup>31</sup> उपगार करताः,<sup>32</sup> वावडी कुवा करता,<sup>33</sup> भूपाने अनरा देणहारः,<sup>34</sup> ईसा मनष पूरवरे दरवाजे प्रवेक करता दीठाः.<sup>35</sup>

हिर्वे पक्खिमरा दरवाजारा कडं कुंः.<sup>36</sup> तांबारो दरवाजो हैः.<sup>37</sup> तांबारी धजा हैः,<sup>38</sup> तांबारा घर हैः.<sup>39</sup> तठे एहवा मनष तांबारै दरवाजे प्रवेस करता दीठाः.<sup>40</sup> उपगार करता दीठाः,<sup>41</sup> सतवादी दीठाः,<sup>42</sup> मातापितारी सेवा करता दीठाः,<sup>43</sup> माहरा महीना माहे सीयां मरतांन तपावैः.<sup>44</sup> थाकांन वि-सरांम दे, कुल पुईः.<sup>45</sup> पग धोवाडै [3b], पावडी दीथैः.<sup>46</sup> इतरा पक्खिमरै दरवाजे प्रवेस करता दीठाः.<sup>47</sup>

हिर्वे उतररा दरवाजारा कडं कुंः.<sup>48</sup> सोनारो दरवाजो हैः,<sup>49</sup> सोनारी घंटा हैः.<sup>50</sup> सोनारो चमर हैः.<sup>51</sup> तठे एहवा लोक प्रवेस करता दीठाः.<sup>52</sup> देवतारी सेवा करता, गउ प्रांमणन पुजैः,<sup>53</sup> यटदरसणरां अतीतांन पुजैः,<sup>54</sup> विसनभगतां, नै अगनहोवी देः,<sup>55</sup> गांम दे,<sup>56</sup> गऊं दान देः,<sup>57</sup> सुंच रहैः,<sup>58</sup> सहस देवल देः,<sup>59</sup> [जिग] होमसांमयी दे,<sup>60</sup> व्रत करैः,<sup>61</sup> मास उपवास करै,<sup>62</sup> पप उपवास करै,<sup>63</sup> असवी सु गमन न करैः,<sup>64</sup> तीरथ करै,<sup>65</sup> नित्य धर्म करै,<sup>66</sup> जीवदया पालैः,<sup>67</sup> मोन न करैः,<sup>68</sup> मारग मै चालैः.<sup>69</sup> तिके तो उतररै दरवाजे प्रवेस करता दीठाः.<sup>70</sup>

हिर्वे दिचणरै दरवाजे प्रवेस करता कडं कुंः.<sup>71</sup> कालाभमंगः,<sup>72</sup> कुचीतो, इधक पैडोः,<sup>73</sup> कुरीधार, कांटा घणाः,<sup>74</sup> सीझण है.<sup>75</sup> पापी तिण पैडै आय हैः.<sup>76</sup> मुदगरां सु मारीजे हैः.<sup>77</sup> हाय हाय करनै रह्या हैः.<sup>78</sup> ईसडा पापी दिघणरै दरवाजे प्रवेस करता दीठाः.<sup>79</sup>

एक अचंभो बले दीठोः.<sup>80</sup> नरकरा कुड दीठा.<sup>81</sup> तिणरा नांम कडं कुंः.<sup>82</sup> कुभोपाक, अमीच, महारोरवंतः, पतीपाकः, अंगारारी रामः, कुरीधारः, केपलकैल, अमिमोचनः, अगनधार, महानंदीः, करमपुदांणः, कुंदणवसीक-कैलः, धीरतपाकः, गुलपाकः, महाभयांनकः, तपतवेल, कीडारो कुडः, तल-जंत, दुपजंतः, विंषकुपः, जमचोलीः, एवीतरोहणः, सुररोहणः, संयांमरोहणः, लोहकारः, [महारोरवंतः] तथा मूलः.<sup>83</sup>

30 'गां' = 'रां' ॥ 44 'ना in महोना' = 'ता' ॥ 48 हमें ॥ 73 कुचीतो ॥  
81 : om. at the end of the line ॥ 83 अमिमोचन ॥ कीडारो कुड ॥ 1 is



पराई लुगाई दीठां, नेच फोडैः.<sup>81</sup> जुठ बोले,<sup>82</sup> जिलरी जीम काटैः.<sup>83</sup>  
सीह, मिचांला, बघेरा, खान, कुतरा, सुई, मुसा, विरह, [वाराह,] इसे  
उणां हारै जमदुत हैः.<sup>87</sup>

मै तो संपिप माच कहा है.<sup>84</sup>

इति सप्तमोऽध्याय संपूर्णः.<sup>85</sup>

VIII हिवै मै पाप करता दीठा. तिके कऊ कुंः.<sup>1</sup>

ब्रम्हहिताः;<sup>2</sup> गउहिताः;<sup>3</sup> पुत्रहिताः;<sup>4</sup> असचीहिताः;<sup>5</sup> मित्रहिताः;<sup>6</sup> वे-  
सासघातीः;<sup>7</sup> बालघातीः;<sup>8</sup> पराई असची करै जायः;<sup>9</sup> विरामण होयनै, दास  
पीवै;<sup>10</sup> कुलरो नास करै;<sup>11</sup> देवतांरो मानरो राखणहारः;<sup>12</sup> अभय भयै;<sup>13</sup>  
अगमरो बात करै;<sup>14</sup> झूठी माय भरै;<sup>15</sup> अणदीठी कहै;<sup>16</sup> पराई थापण  
राषिः;<sup>17</sup> व्रतभंग करै;<sup>18</sup> आपरी त्वामि, पराई सु लामिः;<sup>19</sup> कपट बोले;<sup>20</sup> रस-  
भेद करै;<sup>21</sup> पापभेद करै;<sup>22</sup> गाम, असची मारैः;<sup>23</sup> ईसा तो मै अनेक पापो  
दीठाः.<sup>24</sup>

अधरमी राजा दीठाः;<sup>25</sup> धरमी दीठाः.<sup>26</sup> सीम भाजैः;<sup>27</sup> कुडो बोले;<sup>28</sup>  
बाजा हरैः;<sup>29</sup> अभिमान करैः;<sup>30</sup> ईसा तो मै अनेक दीठाः.<sup>31</sup>

नासकेत कहैः.<sup>32</sup>

इति अष्टमोऽध्याय संपूर्णः.<sup>33</sup>

IX धरमराजाजी दरबार मांडि बैठा हैः.<sup>1</sup> पापी दूराचारीयांनु बुलावै  
हैः.<sup>2</sup> मुदगरां सु मारीखै हैः.<sup>3</sup> चाहि चाहि कर रह्या हैः.<sup>4</sup> रघेस्वर बैठा हैः.<sup>5</sup>  
तिके पिण कहर घका बैठा हैः.<sup>6</sup> त्वारा नाम कहै कुः.<sup>7</sup>

अंतकजीः, भारद्वाजीः, धीचः, मुनि नारदः, मारकंडजीः इतरा रघेस्वर  
धर्मराजाजीरा मुहडा आगि आय बैठा हैः.<sup>8</sup> पाप पुन्यरो न्याय कीजै कहैः.<sup>9</sup>  
वारि सूर्य संक्रांत तपै हैः.<sup>10</sup> धरमरा, वेद साखना जाणणहार, चिकानदरसीः  
इतरा धरमराजाजी आगि बैठा हैः.<sup>11</sup> मार्थ मुगट हैः.<sup>12</sup> हाथे डंड हैः.<sup>13</sup> कानि  
कुदल हैः.<sup>14</sup> देवता सगला बैठा हैः.<sup>15</sup>

used instead of : after कुभोपाक and अभीच ॥ the third name reads  
महारेखेत ॥ 'रो' in संगोम रोहण partly on gamb., it looks like 'रो' ॥

87 <sup>1</sup> instead of our commas ॥ उणां ॥ IX ॥ दरबार in the margin  
(cop.) ॥ २ कुंनावे ॥ ३ मारकंडजी ॥

तटं व्रमहित्वारानि कुभी नरक मे नाधि हैः.<sup>16</sup> गोहित्वारानि कुसटलकुड मे नाधि हैः.<sup>17</sup> असवीघातीने, वरतहीशने घांगी मे घालने पीलीजे हैः.<sup>18</sup> मातापितारो घाती, तिणने कुरी सुं काटीजे हैः.<sup>19</sup> परनारी सुं गमन करे, तिणने लोहरी पुतली उंनी लाल करने, खाती सुं भीडीजे हैः.<sup>20</sup> पापी दुरा-  
चार्यानि मुदगरां सुं मारइ हैः.<sup>21</sup> कन्यानि झूठो दोष लगावे, तिणने वीतरणी नंदी मे नाधि हैः.<sup>22</sup> ॥ [4a] गुरपतनीने दोष लगावे, तिणने कुशलकुड मे नाधि हैः.<sup>23</sup> वेसासघातीने तेल माहे नापीजे हैः.<sup>24</sup> ने वडारी नाई तले हैः.<sup>25</sup> पराई घापण राधे, तिणने कुभी नरक मे नाधि हैः.<sup>26</sup> डुष्टी होय, तिणने कुतां कना सुं फडाईजे हैः.<sup>27</sup> गुरने न माने, तिणने करमकुड मे नाधि हैः.<sup>28</sup> अभिंय भये, तिणने वीतरणी नंदीरो लोही राधे, महादुरगंध मनघने पाईजे हैः.<sup>29</sup> बहिन माटी परणी, तिणने हजार जनम नरक मे नाधि हैः.<sup>30</sup> कपडो चोर, तिणने तपत सिला उपर बेसांगी हैः.<sup>31</sup> कन्यादांन माहे भंग करे, तिणने नरुक्षाम नरक माहे नाधि हैः.<sup>32</sup> व्रतभंग करे, तिणने घडगधारा नरक माहे नापीजे हैः.<sup>33</sup> गुररी असतरी सुं गमन करे, तिणने नारकी मे नाधि हैः.<sup>34</sup> मित्रघातीने पेट फाडने, नरक माहे नापीजे हैः.<sup>35</sup> सोनो चोर, मोती चोर, जिणने जमपरबत सुं नापीजे हैः.<sup>36</sup> गरीबरो, दलद्वीरो धन चोर, तिणने नरक मे नापीजे हैः.<sup>37</sup> विगर दीठी साय भरे, तिणरी आंय फोडे हैः.<sup>38</sup> दांन करतां वरजे, तिणरो मुंडो विसटा सुं भरे हैः.<sup>39</sup> असवीरी नंवा करे, ब्रम्ह-  
चारीरी नंवा करे, तिणने जमपोल सु नाधि हैः.<sup>40</sup> आपरी त्वागे, पराई सुं लागे, ज्यां माहे मोटो जंवे तिणारो वुरो चाहे. तिणने सूनी दीजे हैः.<sup>41</sup> एकलो पाय, तिणने नरक मे नाधि हैः.<sup>42</sup> धरमसास्त्रने नंदे, तिणने कुतरां कना सुं फडाईजे हैः.<sup>43</sup> असतरीने विगर पुन छाई है, तिणने लोहयंत्र मे घालने, पीले.<sup>44</sup> दण भांत सुं चितार चितार सझा दीजे हैः.<sup>45</sup>

इति अनीनवमोध्याय समाप्तः.<sup>46</sup>

एक मे अचरज दीठोः.<sup>1</sup>

X

उरधकेसीः,<sup>2</sup> मेकदंताः,<sup>3</sup> पडगदंताः,<sup>4</sup> मोटा नयः.<sup>5</sup> इसा जमदुत दी-  
ठाः.<sup>6</sup> जिके पापी दुराचारीयांनि पकड लावे हैः.<sup>7</sup> पैलाने धाह दे, तिणने पडग सुं मारता लावे हैः.<sup>8</sup> पराई जुगाई कने मांडाई जाय, तिणने लोहरां



तवां उपर उन्हा करनै विसांणी छैः.<sup>9</sup> जिसडी कमाई करै, तिणनै सभाल २  
तिसडीहीज सझा दीजि छैः.<sup>10</sup> मिच भाईरी तघा सगा सोईरी असवी सुं  
बुरो देखै, तिणनै कुतरा कना सुं फडावै छैः.<sup>11</sup> मुहडो आगि सुं भरै छैः.<sup>12</sup>  
सास असुई छैः.<sup>13</sup> पड़ग धप्पा माहें नापि छैः.<sup>14</sup> आतमघातीनै नरक में नापि  
छैः.<sup>15</sup> एई पंपेह अवतार देः.<sup>16</sup> देवतारो माल चोरै, तिणनै कुभी नरक में  
नापि छैः.<sup>17</sup> हंडवाई चोरै, तिणनै चक्र सुं मारै छैः.<sup>18</sup> पो<य> पांसीरी भांगै,  
तिणनै कुलपासां सुं बांधि छैः.<sup>19</sup> बांधनै, नरक में नापि छैः.<sup>20</sup> तलांव फोडै,  
तिणनै जोककुड माहें नापि छैः.<sup>21</sup> वाग वनासपति, नीलो रूप काटै, तिणनै  
बककलैस नरक माहें नापि छैः.<sup>22</sup> बडेरा न मानै, तिणनै रोरव नरक माहें  
नापि छैः.<sup>23</sup> गांव बालै, दव दे, तिणनै अगनकुड माहें नापि छैः.<sup>24</sup> आपरा  
पुरपनै त्वागि, पराया पुरप सुं लागै, आपरा पुरपरो माल पराया पुरपनै  
पवाडै, तिण असवीनै लोहरा तवा ऊना करनै उपरै विसांणी छैः.<sup>25</sup> सांसद्रो-  
हीनै, गुरद्रोहीनै, मिचद्रोहीनै, जिणरा हाथ पग बाढिनै, मुंडो विसटा सुं  
भरनै, नरक माहें नापि छैः.<sup>26</sup> अन चोरै, तिणनै मुंडो विसटा सुं भरनै, नरक  
में नापि छैः.<sup>27</sup> हम तचाड जंवि, तिणनै अंधतास नरक में नापि छैः.<sup>28</sup> असवीनै  
लोभ दिपायनै गमन करै, तिणनै दाहकुंड माहें नापि छैः.<sup>29</sup>

इति श्रीदसमोध्यायः.<sup>30</sup>

- XI एक अचरज वलै दीठोः.<sup>1</sup> एक त्रय दीठोः.<sup>2</sup> पांच जोजन चौडोः.<sup>3</sup> दस  
जोजन उचोः.<sup>4</sup> तठै पापी छै, तिके बो[4b]हत अचिन पावै छैः.<sup>5</sup> उनी वेल्ल  
छैः.<sup>6</sup> तठै दाजीजि छैः.<sup>7</sup> कालगांसी छै.<sup>8</sup> बोहत रुदन करै छैः.<sup>9</sup> मुदगरां सुं  
मारीजि छैः.<sup>10</sup>

‘रे जीवां धमं क्युं कीयो नहीः?’<sup>11</sup> तीरघवत क्युं कीया नहीः?<sup>12</sup> ग्रन्ह-  
चारी अतीतरी, भूषा तिसीयारी मन, का, चिपत न कीधीः?<sup>13</sup> पटदरसगनै  
कटेई दांन न दीयोः?<sup>14</sup> सो जम राजानै ओलपता कना नहीः?<sup>15</sup> अतीत  
यासः, गउ यासः, स्वांन यासः, बीली यासः, काग यासः ए पांच यास न  
दीयाः.<sup>16</sup> चाकानै विसराम न दीयाः.<sup>17</sup> सो जमदुतानै ओलपता कना नही?  
ओलपता नही?<sup>18</sup>

तिहानै कहि[कहि]नै, मार दीजि छैः.<sup>19</sup> नारकी में नापीजि छैः.<sup>20</sup> दांन

देने गिणावे, सो नारकी में पड़े: काग, कुतरां कना फडावे है: २३ अमावसर दिन भोग करे, सुतक में पावे:, सरब भयि, तिण प्रांणी [जीवन] आधा कुवा में नापि है: २४ वावरीने लोहजंच में घातने पीले है: २५ जलने, अगनने नंदे, देवतां साधाने नंदे, राजा अतीतने नंदे, ब्राम्हणने नंदे, पुजनी कने नंदे:, पारकी निंदा करे, पराई आयो: तिणने कमकुड में नापि है: २६ अनेक भांति भांति सुं सझा दीजे है: २७

इति इस्वारमोध्याय. २७

जमकिकर भयांक दीठा: १ तिके कज कु: २ थे सकोई एकाय चिंत XII देने सांभलो: ३ गोहीडे चढीया, सरप चढीया, गोह चढीया, वीकु चढीया:, कुतरां उपर चढीया, सूर उपर चढीया, नाहर उपर चढीया: इसा तो में अनेक जमदूत दीठा: ४ उरधकेसा, करालदंता है: ५ काले वरण, मोटा नप है: ६ मोटा हाथ ने पग है: ७ मोटा पेट है: ८ स्थालमुपा है, ९ ग्वालीमुपा है: १० आगा सु रुधर लपेटीया है: ११ हाथां माहे साप है: १२ काला कपडा है: १३ कांहीरे हाथां में घडग, चिसूल है: १४ बरखी है, १५ [हाथां] तोमर है, १६ फरसी है, १७ मुदगर है, १८ पासी है: १९ चक्र, आकुस है: २० वज्र है, २१ डंड है: २२ इसा हाथां माहे आवध है: २३ त्वारे घरबार नही: २४ सदाहे भमता रहै: २५

त्वां माहे एक जमदूत बलवंत है: २६ तिणरे अगन सरीया नेत्र है: २७ घडी घडी में चिचगुपत कने कहै है: २८ 'जिणरी आव पुरी होय, सो वतावो: २९

केई तो जम राजारा जोडायत है: ३० तिके जम राजारा जंकम सुं पापीयारे मार दे है: ३१

एक में वले अचंभो दीठो: ३२ एक दैत जमदूत सूं लडार कीवी: ३३ [राजा जम] काल पास [जमने] सेल २ पकड, <राजा जमने> मंशायो: ३४ दैतने अधार वन में उधोमुप नापीयो: ३५

जिसडी कमार्ड कीजे है, तिसडी सझा [मार] दीजे है: ३६ जमदु-तारा समाचार है: ३७ मात लोक में दिन में तीन वेला पापी अधरमीयारी



पवर ले छिः<sup>29</sup> प्रातः समि, मध्याह्न समि, सध्या समिः ए तीन काल नित्य पवर  
लेखनै आवि छिः<sup>30</sup>

इति बीबादसमोध्याय संपूर्णः<sup>30</sup>

XIII रपेखरोवाचः<sup>1</sup> किमो भ्रमः, किमो पापः, किमो पैडोः, किमो तीरथः[  
मिनया देइ पावै? सो कहौः!<sup>2</sup>

वासकेतोवाचः<sup>3</sup>

‘ब्रह्महिन्दारो चंडाल होयः<sup>4</sup> गुरुपतनी सुं गमन करै, सो वावरी होयः<sup>5</sup>  
पिताघातीरै मूलरोग होयः<sup>6</sup> बहिनद्रोहीरै कोमो होयः<sup>7</sup> पासी सुं मरैः<sup>8</sup>  
वंसधाती क्षीपो होयः<sup>9</sup> भाषारी पीडा सुं मरैः<sup>10</sup> पंथी मारै, सो ज्वाली  
होयः<sup>11</sup> भाणैज मारै, सो खाल होयः<sup>12</sup> बालघाती गड मूरो होयः<sup>13</sup>  
भिसो मारै, सो कुबो होयः<sup>14</sup> उपगार करतां बरजै, सो चंडाल होयः<sup>15</sup>  
पेट मारनै मरै, सो मीडो होयः<sup>16</sup> चोरी करतां मरै, सो काग होयः<sup>17</sup>  
सोनो चोरै, सो कोड्यो होयः<sup>18</sup> ब्रध बालकरो धन चोरै, सो मुसो होयः<sup>19</sup>  
[5a] अन चोरै, सो घण होयः<sup>20</sup> झूठ बोलै, सो किर कांको होयः<sup>21</sup>  
कुडी साय भरै, सो नोन्को होयः<sup>22</sup> दुष्ट कमाई करनै मरै, सो जगर होयः<sup>23</sup>  
तीरथरी नंदा करै, सो ज्वाली होयः<sup>24</sup> असतरी भरतार सुं वाद करै,  
सांमी बोलै, तिकाज मारो गोह रारो पावैः<sup>25</sup> बालकनै मारै, सो बोलो  
होयः<sup>26</sup> आंधानै मारै, सो कोड्यो होयः<sup>27</sup> जनम जनम नरक मै जायः<sup>28</sup>  
तलाव, वावडी, कुंवा फोडै, सो पांगलो होयः<sup>29</sup> गुररो, कृतीतरो भाल  
पाय, सो नरक मै जायः<sup>30</sup> पैडो भाजै, सो पथररी गति पावैः<sup>31</sup> देनै उरो  
ले, सो कागलो होयः<sup>32</sup> गुररी, पितारी आग्या न जानै, सो जड [मूरप]  
होयः<sup>33</sup> पुस्तक चोरै, सो गुगो होयः<sup>34</sup> गायनै ठोकरवावै, सो वाघ होयः<sup>35</sup>  
पछै नरक जायः<sup>36</sup> गुरुपतनी सुं गमन करै, सो मोर होयः<sup>37</sup> पराई असवी  
हरै, सो घोडो होयः<sup>38</sup> पत चोरै, सो कोड्यो होयः<sup>39</sup> अगन नदैं, सो  
कीडो होयः<sup>40</sup> व्रतभंग करै, सो वीकु होयः<sup>41</sup> विस दे, सो जलसाय होयः<sup>42</sup>  
कंवा देनै नदैं, सो प्रेत होयः<sup>43</sup> भाई बहिन मारै, सो नरक मै जायः<sup>44</sup>  
पारकी असवी सुं कटुवरी असवी सुं, बडा भाईरौ बड़ <सु> भोग करै, सो  
गधो होयः<sup>45</sup>

इति चयोदसमोध्यायः<sup>46</sup>

धरमरा करता दीठा.<sup>1</sup> तिके कहं कुः<sup>2</sup> घतरि नंदीः, सैतरी नंदीः, XIV  
 दुधरी नंदीः, सेलडी रसरी नंदीः, सीतल जलरी नंदीः, ईसडी नंदी वई  
 हैः.<sup>3</sup> अजाव कुंड हैः.<sup>4</sup> पकवानं सु भरीया हैः.<sup>5</sup> मैहल सोनारा हैः.<sup>6</sup> आकी  
 विहायत हैः.<sup>7</sup> सपरी असवी हैः.<sup>8</sup> अपकरां सु भोग विलास करे हैः.<sup>9</sup> अनेक  
 भांति भांतिरा सुं भोगवै हैः.<sup>10</sup>

अठे दीजि, सो उठे सहसगुणो पारंजि हैः.<sup>11</sup> भोमदानं, गजदानं, धरदानं,  
 सोना रूपारो दानं, आपनै भावै सो दानंः अनेक जिके दानं दीजि हैः, सो  
 धरमराजारा झंकम सु सहसगुणो पारंजि हैः.<sup>12</sup>

अतीत अभ्यागतरी, पटदरसगरी सेवा करे, तिण सु देवता बोइत राजी  
 होयः.<sup>13</sup> सरव देवता चैन पावैः, अगनहोवी देः, रितदानं देः, कुलरो  
 कल्याण वांछेः, धीरजवंत, नै सतवादी नै विमांण आवैः.<sup>14</sup> पंच अगन साष्टे,  
 तिणनै पदमण विमांण बैसांणनै, इंद्रलोक ले आवैः.<sup>15</sup> अतीतनै, गउनै, का-  
 गनै, खाननै, बीलीनैः ए पांच यास नित्यां दे, तिके काम भोग विलास  
 करे है सुरग लोकरे विषैः.<sup>16</sup> अवला अन दे, सो सुरग लोकरे विषै विमांण  
 पावैः.<sup>17</sup> दही दूध पावैः.<sup>18</sup> एक यास रोजीनो दे, सो मनोहर सागर पावैः.<sup>19</sup>  
 नीपनो घेत ब्राम्हणनै दे, सो स्वर्ग लोक पावैः.<sup>20</sup> उनाला मै पैजार दे, सो  
 सीतल जल पावैः.<sup>21</sup> अतीतनै, अनाथनै दे, सो स्वर्ग लोक पावैः.<sup>22</sup> धरमी है,  
 सो रय बैठा आवै हैः.<sup>23</sup> धरमराजाजीरा झंकम सु लील विलास करे हैः.<sup>24</sup>

इसा धरमी तो अनेक दीठा.<sup>25</sup>

इति चतुर्दसमोऽध्यायः.<sup>26</sup>

नासकेतोवाचः.<sup>1</sup>

XV

एक नंदी, जिणरो नाम पुसपोद हैः.<sup>2</sup> तिणरो फूलां सरसो जल हैः.<sup>3</sup>  
 सोनारी वेलु हैः.<sup>4</sup> विध विधरा दरपत हैः.<sup>5</sup> तिके सदा फल फूलां सुं लूव  
 रह्या हैः.<sup>6</sup> तठे धरमराजाजीरी नगरी हैः.<sup>7</sup> तठे रुपवंती असवी हैः.<sup>8</sup> नांना  
 भांतरा आभूषण हैः.<sup>9</sup> धर्मजुगत हैः, पुन्यवंत जीव रहै हैः, श्रीपरमेश्वरजीरी  
 भक्त करे, जिके उठै रहै हैः.<sup>10</sup>

रपेखरोवाचः.<sup>11</sup> [5b] संसार तिरणरो भारग वतावोः!<sup>12</sup>

XIV 9 after भोग, a superabundant f at the end of the line ॥

16 तित्यां ॥ 25 : om. at the end of the line ॥ 26 १४ after अध्याय ॥

XV 2 कुसपोद ॥

Aśa Major, Apr.-Oct. 1921



नासकतीवाचः<sup>13</sup>

‘जीव देह कोडि, तरै भारी, बंध, सगा, सोई, सर्व अठि रहै हैः<sup>14</sup> पाप पुन्य कीया होय, सो साथे आवैः<sup>15</sup> जममारग सारो चालतां बोहत कठण हैः<sup>16</sup> तठै एक वन है<sup>17</sup> तपती वेलू हैः<sup>18</sup> वैतरणी नंदी है<sup>19</sup> अंगारारी रास हैः<sup>20</sup> सुलां वीछाई हैः<sup>21</sup> अठि पुन्य करै, सो उठै आडो आवै हैः<sup>22</sup> गड दांन दे, सो उठै वैतरणी नंदी में आडी आवै हैः<sup>23</sup> सो उठै पृष्ठ पकड़नै, पार उतरै हैः<sup>24</sup> पांच सहर हैः<sup>25</sup> तठै एक तलाव हैः<sup>26</sup> तठै एक वन हैः<sup>27</sup> तठै तपती वेलू हैः<sup>28</sup> पैजार जोड़ी दांन दे, तिका उठै आडी आवै हैः<sup>29</sup> पैहरनै, पार उतरै कईः<sup>30</sup>

जिको दांन दीजि है, तिको उठै आडो आवै है<sup>31</sup>

इति पनरमोध्यायः<sup>31</sup>

XVI राजा जमरायजी बैठा हैः<sup>1</sup> रपेसर बैठा है<sup>2</sup> इतरा माहे नारदजी बोहत तेज धारीयां थकां आय नीसरीया<sup>3</sup>

तिण समै एक विमांण आय नीसरीयोः<sup>4</sup> तिणरा मुढा आगे हाथी हैः<sup>5</sup> इदररो विभो कई<sup>6</sup> सो विसन लोकरै विपै जाय हैः<sup>7</sup> राजा जमजी पुह-चायनै आया<sup>8</sup>

तरै नारदजी पूछीयोः<sup>9</sup> ‘गयो [है] इंद्र कना ओर कोई मोटो देवता है?’<sup>10</sup> तरै राजा जम कहीयोः<sup>11</sup> ‘ओ राजा जनक हैः<sup>12</sup> सो स्वर्ग लोकरै पिपै जाय हैः<sup>13</sup> तरै नारदजी पूछीयो[ः] जम राजाजीनै<sup>14</sup> ‘थाहरी देह सो-नारी हैः<sup>15</sup> मुढो कालो<sup>16</sup> किसि वासते?’<sup>17</sup> तरै राजा जम कह्योः<sup>18</sup> ‘तीन लोक हैः<sup>19</sup> सो मारा मुढा आगे आय उभा रहै हैः<sup>20</sup> कमाई करै, तिसडी सझा बुं कुः<sup>21</sup> पिण विसन भगत है<sup>22</sup> सो मारा माथा उपर पग देनै जाय हैः<sup>23</sup> तिण वासी मुढो कालो हैः<sup>24</sup> देह सोनारी हैः<sup>25</sup> राजा जनकरै जमजी हैः<sup>26</sup> सो पतिभरता हैः<sup>27</sup> तिण राजारी धरती में काल पडै नही हैः<sup>28</sup> आ उधा विगर मरै नही हैः<sup>29</sup> राजा अस्मेद जाग कीयो<sup>30</sup> तिण पुन्य करनै, विसन भगत लोकरै विपै जाय हैः<sup>31</sup>’

इति षोडसमोध्यायः<sup>31</sup>

XV 31 १६ after ‘ध्याय ॥ XVI 7 कोकरै ॥ 10-: om. at the end of the line ॥ 14 राजारोनै ॥ 16 कालो corr. from कोलो (gamb.) ॥ 29 उतर ॥ 31 १६ after ‘ध्याय ॥

नासकेतोवाचः<sup>1</sup>

XVII

‘बुरी कमाई करै है, तिखरी मैं सझा कही छईः’<sup>2</sup>

हिवै असवीरा चैन कइ छईः<sup>3</sup> भरतार पैली जीमै, सो सुपणी कहीजै हैः<sup>4</sup>

भरतार सुं धोह करै, सो कोयल होयः<sup>5</sup> सामू सु लई, तिका टीटोडी होयः<sup>6</sup> नित्यरी कलहो करै, सो कांगली होयः<sup>7</sup> भरतार सुं कामण करै, सो मीडकी होयः<sup>8</sup> पकै जनम जनम वेस्वा होयः<sup>9</sup>

ब्रामण क्रीया हीण होय, सुंच न रहै,<sup>10</sup> काम कुतरीरी जौन पावैः<sup>11</sup> फूल, वड, पीपल काटै, सो बोलो होयः<sup>12</sup> दांन देतां वरजै सो आंधो साप होयः<sup>13</sup> भोही होय, सो भिल होयः<sup>14</sup> गर्भपाती होय, सो कसाही होयः<sup>15</sup> मिनष देह पायनै, श्रीपरमेश्वरजीरी, महादेवजीरी, वासदेवजीरी, माता-जीरी, तीरथरी, गुररी, मातापितारी, देवी देवतारी सेवा न करै, सुंच मैं न रहै, सो जनम २ नरक मैं पडैः<sup>16</sup> इतरां देवतारी सेवा करै, तीरथ करै, व्रत करै, दांन पुन्य करै, सो मनुष मुगतगामी होयः<sup>17</sup>

इति श्रीसतरमोधाय संपूर्णः<sup>18</sup>

रपीखरोवाच, ‘राजा जनमैजी(नै) कह्यो हैः’<sup>19</sup>

XVIII

‘नासकेत जमलोक जायनै, पाखो आयो हैः’<sup>20</sup> पितानै रपीखरानै ओ विरतंत सुणायोः<sup>21</sup> सकोई सांभलनै राजी हवाः<sup>22</sup> नासकेतनै रपीखर कहै हैः<sup>23</sup> ‘आ कथा थां विगर कुण सुणावैः’<sup>24</sup> धन थे!<sup>25</sup> उदालकजी धन्यः, जिणरै थां सरीपा पुत्रः!<sup>26</sup>

तितरै नासकेत कहै हैः<sup>27</sup>

‘आ कथा सांभलै, सो नरक जाय नहीः’<sup>28</sup> मुगतरो इधकारी होयः!<sup>29</sup> जम रा[6a]जाजीरो जंकम हैः<sup>30</sup> आ कथा पापमोचनी हैः<sup>31</sup> सुगै, सांभलै सो बिकुठ जायः!<sup>32</sup>

नासकेत रपीखरां ईसो जिम लोकरो विरतंत सुणायोः<sup>33</sup> पाप, पुन्य, धरमी, दुष्टातमाः त्वारी वातां कहीः<sup>34</sup>

इति श्रीनासकेतरी कथा संपूर्णः<sup>35</sup>

लिपतं शिववर्द्धन, जैतारण मठे, सं १७८६ रा भाद्रवा वदि १ दिनेः<sup>36</sup>

XVII 11 कुतरीरी ॥

18 संपूर्णम् ॥

XVIII 8 थे on gamb. ॥

16 the colon above the beginning of था in सुणायो ॥ 19 रा भाद्रवा वदि १ दिनेः in the right margin (cop.) ॥





## NOTES





I 1) On the Jain diagram, see Hertel, *Indische Erzähler* 6, Anh. 2, p. 2.  
The passages 1-13 om. Te.—

2-5) In grammatically correct Skr., the text would run as follows:

*“śrī-saṅgarubhyo namaḥ | nāśaketarī katha likhyate |  
sarasvatī mahābhāge | varade kāmaraṇṇī ||  
cīṣvarāpe viśālākṣī | devī yā paramādevī || 1 ||  
ekadanto mahābudhīh | sarvajño gaṇanāyakaḥ ||  
sarvasiddhakarō devo | gaurīputro vināyakaḥ || 2 ||*

On the spelling see p. 363.

21-23) Cp. the more detailed description in Te, on p. 364, as well as its different reading of 21.

33) The reading of Te (see p. 364) is probably corrupt, not only because of its inferior sense, but as contradicting BeFi 122: “*ayuktam uktam bhavata pippalādas tam ābravit*.”

38) Te “*bayāsikajara*” blunder: cp. BeFi 1 “*paḍasittisakastrāṇī*”.

40) Si “*veda kahai chai*” absent in Te: cp. BeFi 124 “*smṛtir eṣa sanātani*”.

41-44) Absent in Te. The copyist of Si inadvertently repeats the text of 36-40 with slight variations.

46) The text of Te “*aganaparavisa karaso to asatṛi ānaso*” is nonsense. The translation of Tessitori “Entrate nel fuoco (e, se non vi brucerà), conducete moglie” would presuppose 1) a lacuna in the MS. from which Te is derived, 2) the use of *paravisa* (“entrance”) in the sense of Skr. *praveśana* (“introducing”), and 3) a custom of examining the bride by an ordeal before making her one’s wife (which Tessitori assumes, stating: “Si tratta evidentemente di una specie di *agniparikṣā*”). From the reading of Si, it is evident that the “*aganaparavisa*” of Te must be a corruption of *aganaparasana*.

52) Te “If bad thoughts arise in your heart, ask Brahman!”. Tessitori wrongly makes the two clauses coordinate in his translation.

59) Absent in Te.

61) “*kātha joṣanaṁ*”, which is absent in Te, agrees with BeFi 134 “*kṛtāṅgalipūṣo bhāvā*”.



77) Te's reading is inferior: cp. Si (and Te) I 56!

78) Absent in Te.

80) Te different. Si agrees with BeFi I 38 "*madrace nānyathā bhavet*".

84) Beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter in BeFi.

85) See Te! In Te, the *daṇḍa* must be put before, not after "*bhara-sāra-sā*." The text of Te proves that the *kathana* of Si is a gloss upon *āgya*.

88) Te "*apacharā dīkṣit*".

89-91) Te: "*so mana caṣiyo | tarāi tapasī-rāu binda dharaī-nā maṣiyo jāya | tarāi Uddālaka-jī-ro vīraja khariyo | tarāi kāvaṣa-ro phūla teḍi-nāi* |" "His heart was moved. Then, the semen (see Molesworth as well as Platts s.v. *binda*: the translation of Tessitori by "fascia" is impossible!) of the ascetic fell to the ground. Then, the semen of Uddālaka slid away. Then, he plucked off a lotus."

The passage in Te is evidently corrupt: whereas the corresponding passage of Si is good and clear. Probably, I 90 of Si "The semen of the penance could not be sent to the earth" had originally been added in the margin in order to explain why Uddālaka puts the semen into a flower and makes it float away (namely, because, by dropping the semen to the earth, the ground of the hermitage would have been polluted, and the well-known prescriptions, such as Manu IV, 151 etc., would have been violated). Afterwards, the gloss mentioned was taken into the text, in Si in the right place and without alteration of the sense, in Te in a wrong place, viz. before 89, and without the negative particle (as otherwise the passage would have directly contradicted the following one).

94-95) Te "*Rugha-ri*".

97) Te "*eka apasara-nū devatī-ro sarāpa huvo*". BeFi knows nothing about this *apsaras*, and, later on, BeFi II 26, a "*sakhi*" is ordered to fetch the flower. Perhaps, the *apsaras* Urvaśī owes her textual existence to the celestial being to whom, in BeFi II 13, the mother of Candrāvati is compared.

98) Tessitori conjectures *kṛtā* for *hṛtā*, which would agree with BeFi II 24 "*kṣanam kṛtādikam kṛtvā*".

105) "Then the nose serving as (literally: becoming) a womb, the semen entered". Te: "*tarāi nāsaka-rāi pāṭi bīja peṣa-māḥai paraveṣa kiyo*" "Lo sperma per la via delle narici (le) entrò nell' utero". In Te, an original *peṣa* (for *peṣu*) "womb" was probably mistaken for *paṭo* "path". The passages III, 94 and IV, 18 speak in favour of this hypothesis. Cp. also the reading of Te II, 28!

106-107) Te "*/eka māsa / doya māsa / tījāu māsa huvo | tarāi Candrāvati phulātula thi* |" (MS. "*phulātula*"). Tessitori does not stoop to

justify either this latter conjecture of *phullātula*, for *phulātula*, nor his translation of the word by "gravidā", although no dictionary knows either of the two forms. The difficulty arises again from a corruption in Te, whereas Si is correct: it reads "*phūla sami tulati*". Now "*sami*" is a gloss upon *tulati*, and "*phūla tulati*" means "like a flower": this "*phūla tulati*" must have been in the archetype of Te and Si. In Te it was afterwards corrupted into "*phulātula*", which the copyist even perhaps mistook for a corrupted compound of "*phūla*" pl. "pregnancy", and "*ātura*" "ill", "sick". The reading "*phūla tulati*", however, of the common archetype of Te and Si, is itself nothing but a corruption of a pres. part. of the verb *phal* "to be pregnant", the meaning of which is, at all events, necessary here, especially as the then following passage refers to "*so phūla*", "that pregnancy".

II Te before 1: "*tarāi Uraṇāsi rāṇi-nū kahāi*", against BeFi, which says that the queen becomes herself aware of the state of Candrāvati.

3-9) Te different. Te 9: "*mahārāja iṭṭāmata | kaṇḍ mānasa-ro saṃcāra nahī hute | garadana mārt jāvā*".

11) Absent in Te.

14) Te: "*tarāi kavari-nāi pālakt-māi bāisaṛ vana-māi meḷa aya*".

16) The name of the ṛṣi *Tiṇabandha* occurs four times in Si, and always in the combination "*Tiṇabandha rājesvara*" (II, 16; III, 26; 91), or "*Tiṇabandha rājesara*" (IV, 22). In Te, the name occurs five times, and in the following variations: 1) *Tiṇavida rājesara*; 2) *Tāṇavida rājesara*; 3) *Tiṇabada rājesara*; 4) *Tiṇavōda rājesvara*, and 5) *Tāṇavōdida rājesvara*. BeFi III, 2 merely speaks of "*kaścid tapodhanaḥ*", nor does Sadala Miśra mention a name of this ṛṣi. The explanation of Tessitori, who thinks the name as given in his MS. to be a corruption of "*Tiṇavēda*", is impossible for phonological reasons. We have again to start from our MS. The *tiṇabandha* of Si is a regular Rājasthānī formation, consisting of *tiṇa*, the oblique sg. of the anaphoric pronoun, and of the masc. substantive *bandha* = Skr. *bandhu*, which still occurs in Si. Thus, the name means "related to him (or: to her)", or "a friend of his (or: of hers)". In this sense, the expression *tiṇa bandha rājesvara* must originally have been employed as an epithet of the ṛṣi who protects the girl, which (later on) was mistaken for the proper name of this ṛṣi. The spelling of Te makes no difficulty (see p. 367).

22) Te "*Rugha-ri*".

23) Te "*mo-nai agala bhava-ri kamai kari-nai* etc".

28) Te "*tarāi nāsaka-nāi pālāḍi* (MS.: *paḍai*) *putra huyo*", "per la via delle narici nacque il figlio".

III 1) Te "*tina cyāra-ro*".



2) Te "*kaṣa-rā*". Cp. BeFi III, 22: "*iti roṣat tam ādāya tṛṇair dvitya bharibhiḥ*", on which Sadala Miśra depends (p. 11): "*eka ghāsa ke bojhe para rakha*".

8-14) The text of the corresponding passage of Te is in a very bad state. Te too says that Uddālaka used to bathe thrice a day: in the hours of twilight (*siṃyo*) and at noon (*majha*), but does not say that the cage thrice attached to his feet.

17) Te "*bālaka-māhāi āpa-rī dehi-kā sā ceta chāi*".

19) Absent in Te.

21) Te "*so putra ayo*".

23) Te "*pāla poto-ndi*".

25) Beginning of chapter IV in BeFi.

25-35) Absent in Te.

29) Te "*ho pita-jī mā-nāi akhī ālagāi nahī*", "Oh padre! A me non garba (star) sola." (?) (?) ("*ālagāi*" might be a corruption of the *avaḍai* which we find in Si!).

After 38) Te: "*putra-ndi uṣakhiyo*" which is against the following passage.

51-53) Absent in Te.

54ff) Cp. BeFi IV, 10: "*toyāharanam āleṣam agnicālasvahan suta karomi tvam sukham tiṣṭa . .*" (Sadala Miśra correspondingly).

56) Te "*haṇḍi vāyana* (MS.: *vācana*) *māji-ndi* |" "*Lavò la scodella di terra e il mortaio di pietra*".

59) Te "*āgāi dekhāi to buhāro | coke | haṇḍi | vāyana* (MS.: *vāina*) *Nāsaketa-rī māji nahī*".

62) Te: "*āja putra buhāro | coke | haṇḍi | vāyana kīna-rī māji chāi*".

68-71) Te "*tarī Nāsaketa jāya mā-nāi kahāi*".

74) Te: "*avū nahī*".

After 77) Te repeats 75 and 74.

81) Te "*kīna vāna-rī chāi*".

94) "Then, the nose serving as a womb (lit.: the nose becoming a womb), a son was born" (cf. also I, 105; II, 28; IV, 18).

89-97) Te not published by Tessitori.

98) Te IVth chapter. "*tarī Nāsaketa kahāi | pita-jī mā-rī mā iṣṭ kahāi chāi | kū rāja Rugha-rī beti chū | nāi mā-rāi pūṣṭa bho-ro pāpa-sū putra ho-nāi | sari hakikata mātā kahī | so pita-āgāi Nāsaketa kahī*".

IV 1) Te "*sāmo āya page lago | pūjāracina* (MS.: *pūjāracinā*) *kari-ndi | āpa-ro sigatona dendi | raṣi-nū pūchiyo | jai mahārāja kīdī kārāja padhāriya chāi*".

9-10) Te "*kū rāja-sū ujara karū nahī | tarī rāji Uddālaka māḍinai jheḥ-sū varata rāja-sū kahī*".

13) Te "*māhārāi bīja khaṣiyo* |": this, or a similar passage, must have been omitted in Si (Cp. I, 89).

18) "Then arriving at the womb of the nose" (*i. e.* at the nose which served as a womb): cp. I, 105; III, 94. Miss. in Te.

27f.) Te "*Candravattī māhāro nāma chāi / mo-nāi āgala bhava-rā ka-māt līchana lago chāi* | so *mo-nāi vana-māi meṭṭi gāya chāi* | tarāi Tāṇa-vāida raṣṣavara kara beṭṭi āpa-rāi āgrama le-nāi āya |". For "*kara beṭṭi*" one would expect "*beṭṭi kari-nāi*"!

29) Te om.

32) Te, after 32: *raṣi-nu ghaṇa alānūla kalasa karāya-nāi*, "lece fare al santo molte fresche tazze (di legno)".

34) Here Tessitori has completely misunderstood his text. The MS. of Te reads "*cāhijāi so ḍayaso diyo*". According to the spelling of Te (which confounds c, ch, and s) *ḍayaso* stands for *ḍayaso* "dowery", and the meaning of the passage is "he gave the dowery which was wished for", or: "which was necessary (*i. e.* suitable)". As the former conception would be against BeFi (IV, 80), the latter will be right here. It is even probable that Te is more authentic here than Si: the copyist of Si, may have taken "*cāhijāi*" in the former sense and accordingly replaced it by *māṅgiyau*, so that Si now is in direct opposition to BeFi, which makes Uddālaka, on the contrary, refuse all those gifts.

Tessitori's publication ends here.—

36) Beginning of the Vth chapter in BeFi.

43) Cp. Te's text of I, 23.

45) BeFi "*sārdhasamvatsara gataḥ*" (V, 8).

48) BeFi V, 11: "*agnihotrasya me loṇo jāto tu tvām pratihīṣaḥ*". Sadala Miśra just so.

52) Very detailed in BeFi.

V Beginning of the VIth chapter in BeFi.

3) Instead of this vedic reminiscence, BeFi has a long stotra.

13) This anticipated śravanaphala is absent in BeFi. In BeFi, Yama bids Nāśiketu utter a wish, and the latter asks to be shown the regions of Yama.

VI 15f.) This second śravanaphala is also absent in BeFi. But there Yama grants a second wish to Nāśiketu, who wishes for his father's pardon. Yama adds: "*ajaraḥ śamaraḥ caiva sarvadoṣavivarjitaḥ / bhava yakṣaḥ ca vipreṇ draṇyogabalād iha* | |".

17) "Your family will be in sorrow"?

20) Beginning of the VIIth chapter in BeFi.

23) BeFi "*vāyubhaksāḥ*" (VII, 4).

VII 15f.) BeFi "*stutibhis toṣito deṣo mayā dr̥ṣṭo 'tisundaraḥ*" (VII, 18).



17-18) BeFi "*catayojanavistṛṇam puram durgaparīṣṭitām*" (VII, 22). In the following passages, there are many differences between Si and BeFi.

30) Cp. BeFi VII, 26 "*duḥsthitāṇaṃ duḥkṣhitāṇaṃ āgramāṃ vitaranti ye* (and Sadala Miśra p. 24 "*duḥkṣi jan ko palte haiṃ*").

72) Cp. the description of the paths in BeFi XVII, 27f.

*"mahāniṣṭa tathā meghair andhakāro bhayāvahāḥ ||  
tatra tat sthānam atulaṃ kṛṣṇameghasamaprabham |  
dṛcyate tatra pāpānāṃ darśanādarśanam kvacit ||"*

83) The passage in BeFi enumerating the hells is, according to the editor, "*di disperata emendazione*". The series of names given there does not seem to agree with any puranic or epic text treated by Kīrfel in his "*Kosmographie der Inder*" (Bonn und Leipzig, 1920), nor is there any agreement between Si and BeFi. Indeed the list of names in our Rājasthānī text seems to be even more arbitrary and unoriginal than in BeFi. The original list can no more be restored.

But there are several classes of names distinct with regard to their origin. Considering, throughout Si, 1) all the names which are distinctly marked as designations of "*narakara kuḍa*" (=k.), or of "*naraka*" (=n.), and 2) all the names which are not distinctly marked as proper names, and part of which can also be taken for appellatives, we may distinguish the following groups:

1) Sanskrit names (as known from different texts: cp. Kīrfel, l. l.), given in their original shapes, or somewhat corrupted or modified by phonology, popular etymology etc., such as:

a) distinct proper names:

1 <i>Andhatāsa</i> (n.)	for	<i>Andhatamas</i> or <i>Andhatāmīra</i>
2 <i>Abhīca</i> (k.)	"	<i>Avīci</i>
3 <i>Kuḍhī</i> (n.)	"	<i>Kumbhīpaka</i>
4 <i>Kuḥkīpaka</i> (k.)	"	"
5 <i>Gulapaka</i> (k.)	"	<i>Gulapaka</i>
6 <i>Churadhāra</i> (k.)	"	<i>Kṣuradhāra</i>
7 <i>Samacult</i> (k.)	"	<i>Yamacult</i>
8 <i>Tapata Velu</i> (k.)	"	<i>Taptavāluka</i>
9 <i>Naruchāsa</i> (n.)	"	<i>Nirucchāsa</i>
10 <i>Mahābhayāṇaka</i> (k.)	"	<i>Bhayāṇaka</i>
11 <i>Mahāroraṇṭa</i> (k.)	"	<i>Mahāraurava</i>
12 <i>Rorava</i> (n.)	"	<i>Raurava</i>
13 <i>Lohakāra</i> (k.)	"	<i>Lohacāraka</i>
14 <i>Sūla</i> (k.)	"	<i>Śula</i>

b) designations not marked as proper names:

- |    |                       |     |                               |
|----|-----------------------|-----|-------------------------------|
| 15 | <i>Amḍhāravana</i>    | for | <i>Andhatāmisravāṇa</i>       |
| 16 | <i>Karama Kuḍa</i>    | "   | <i>Kṛmikuṇḍa</i>              |
| 17 | <i>Krama</i> "        | "   | "                             |
| 18 | <i>Kusāla Kuda</i>    | "   | <i>Kaimāla (+ kuṇḍa)</i>      |
| 19 | <i>Kusajala Kumda</i> | "   | <i>Kūṣajalavālī (+ kuṇḍa)</i> |
| 20 | <i>Jamaparabata</i>   | "   | <i>Yamalaparvata</i>          |

II) names representing attempts to translate or transcribe Sanskrit names in order to make them generally intelligible for the native speaker: originally, perhaps, nothing but marginal glosses:

a) distinct proper names:

- |    |                            |     |  |
|----|----------------------------|-----|--|
| 21 | <i>Angārāmṛt Rāsa (k.)</i> | for | <i>Angārārāsibhavana</i> or <i>Angāropacaya</i>    |
| 22 | <i>Kṛlāmro Kuḍa (k.)</i>   | "   | <i>Kṛmikuṇḍa</i>                                   |
| 23 | <i>Mahānandī (k.)</i>      | "   | <i>Mahāhrada</i>                                   |
| 24 | <i>Tulajānta (k.)</i>      | "   | <i>Taptajantu</i> (cp. glossary s. v. <i>tal</i> ) |

b) designations not marked as proper names:

- |    |   |                      |
|----|---|----------------------|
| 25 | <i>Angārāmṛt Rāsa</i>                     | cp. No. 21           |
| 26 | <i>Āpāho Kumṇo</i>                        | for <i>Andhakūpa</i> |
| 27 | <i>Tupatt Velā</i> (or: <i>— Velayā</i> ) | cp. No. 8            |

III) names originally expressing only certain characteristics, or tortures, of certain hells, but reminding the reader, by form or meaning, of proper names of hells, and thus mistaken and handed down as such:

a) distinct proper names:

- |    |                                   |              |   |
|----|-----------------------------------|--------------|---|
| 28 | <i>Aganadhāra (k.)</i>            | reminding of | <i>Agnijvālā</i> and <i>Kṣuradhāra</i> etc.     |
| 29 | <i>Asimocana (k.)</i>             | "            | " <i>Asipatravāṇa</i>                           |
| 30 | <i>Ghīratapāka (k.)</i>           | "            | " <i>Tailapāka</i>                              |
| 31 | <i>Dūṣajānta (k.)</i>             | "            | " <i>Dūṣikakuṇḍa</i> and <i>Taptajantu</i>      |
| 32 | <i>Patipāka (k.)</i> <sup>1</sup> | "            | " <i>Pūṭikuṇḍa</i> " <i>Tailapāka</i> etc.      |
| 33 | <i>Viṣṇa Kupa (k.)</i>            | "            | " <i>Viṣṇakuṇḍa</i> and <i>Andhakūpa</i> etc.   |
| 34 | <i>Śaḍagadhāra (n.)</i>           | "            | " <i>Khaḍgakuṇḍa</i> and <i>Kṣuradhāra</i> etc. |

b) designations not marked as proper names:

- |    |                                  |              |   |
|----|----------------------------------|--------------|---|
| 35 | <i>Agana Kuḍa</i>                | reminding of | <i>Agnijvālā</i> and <i>Viṣṇakuṇḍa</i> etc. |
| 36 | <i>Joka Kuḍa</i>                 | "            | " <i>Jalaukākhyā</i> "                      |
| 37 | <i>Śaḍagadhaptā</i> <sup>2</sup> | "            | " <i>Asipatravāṇa</i>                       |

IV) a stock of names which seem to be hopelessly corrupted from Sanskrit names (or their translations), whose original forms can no longer be ascertained:

<sup>1</sup> cp. V. I. 203, 32: "*pūṭipākaḥ paçyati*" — <sup>2</sup> cp. Glossary.



## a) distinct proper names:

- 38 *Karamasudāṃṇa* (k.) (= *karama* [Skr. *kṛmi*] + *sudāṃṇa* [Gu. *khodāṇa*, n., ground washed away by a current?])  
 39 *Kumdanavasthachaila* (k.) (-*chaila* corrupted from Skr. -*śalmali*?)  
 40 *Kegalachaila* (k.) " " " " "  
 41 *Pavitarohāṇa* (k.) (-*rohāṇa* corrupted from Skr. -*nīrodhanā*)  
 42 *Saṅgrāmarohāṇa* (k.) " " " " "  
 43 *Surarohāṇa* (k.) " " " " "  
 44 *Bakakalesa* (n.) (perhaps *baka*, a crane, + *kaleśa*, torture,; in the sense of "a hell where people are tortured by cranes": cp. the tortures of Sulaprotā in the texts mentioned by Kirfel.)

## b) designations not marked as proper names:

- 45 *Janapola* (see Glossary s. v. *pola*)

83–89) The corresponding Sanskrit passages in BeFi are absolutely corrupt.

VIII Throughout the adhyāya, the agreement with BeFi is evident, although many single items differ.

10) *hayanai*, "having become", viz. in the course of *samsāra*. Cp. Ab. IV, 21.

21–22) *rasabhala* (Skr. *rahasyabheda*) "disclosure of a secret" being mistaken for Skr. *rasabhala* "a species of *rasa*", the following expression "*pāpabhala*", "a species of crime" was perhaps added in analogy<sup>1</sup>.

25 ff.) absent in BeFi.

IX On the whole corresponding to BeFi IX.

8) BeFi mentions far more names: on the other hand, the names *Antakajit* (Antaka as a servant of Yama occurs in yet other texts: cp. Ab. p. 191; note 1), *Dakṣa* (probably = *Dadhīci*, who is mentioned only in Sadala Miśra's text, on p. 26), and *Muni Nārada* (who, later on, plays a part in all the different recensions) are absent in BeFi. *Bharadvājī* is *Bharadvāja* in BeFi (in Sadala Miśra *Bharadvāja*), and *Mārkaṇḍajī* is *Mārkaṇḍa* there.

10) This passage looks like a mechanical transformation of the Skr. source: cp. BeFi IX, 9 (and 11) "*dvādaśadityasamkṛāṇ*" (20 respectively), which is an epithet of the judges (and of Yama resp.) The sense of the Rājasthānī passage is: "There were burning, (i. e.: they were burning like) twelve united suns." In Sadala Miśra's text, the Sanskrit passage has been rendered correctly (p. 26).

<sup>1</sup> Professor Hertel supposes that *pāpa bheda* might be corrupted from an original "*pādapa bheda*".

16f.) In the list of the different sinners and their punishments, there are but few agreements between BeFi and our text, which is much fuller here, nor does Sadala Miśra exactly agree with BeFi.

18) BeFi "tailoyantre".

20) Cp. BeFi X 6: "*tatra lohamāyā rambhā surūpa ca subhūṣita | agnir jvalarati ca dūtā papino 'grataḥ ||*".

25) Cp. Ab. III, 52 and notes.

39) Cp. BeFi IX, 32: "*kanyāpradānasamaye ye nara vighnakārinah*".

39) Cp. BeFi IX, 33: "*dāne pradīyamāne hi yas tu vighnam samācare*".

41) *jyām māṃhe moto hūṃvāi* "those amongst whom he is growing up" (cp. III, 24; 32; IV, 36).

44) "even without killing her".

#### X Corresponding to BeFi X.

2-5) The epithets of the different classes of sinners in BeFi X, 3 have, in our text, wrongly been connected with those of the messengers of Yama.

3-4) BeFi X, 3 "*ukṣpadamṣṭra*".

14) Cp. BeFi X, 13 "*niyamāṇas tato dūtair dātṛuṇaiḥ ca vanāntaraṃ | patadbhiḥ tālavṛkṣaiḥ ca gātraśchedaḥ prajāyate ||*".

22) BeFi X, 20 "*āramam chelayed yas tu agnimadhye kṣipanti tam*". Cp. Ab. IV, 29. As to *bakakaleśa*, see note on VII, 83.

24) BeFi X, 22 "*agnido hi*" etc., Cf. Ab. IV, 52.

25) BeFi X, 25 "*mṛte kānte parāsakta palidrohakārī ca yā | jvalantam agnisamkṣaṇam stambham lohamāyam tathā || taptam ālingayati sā . .*".

28) BeFi X, 31 "*dūṣakāḥ sarvaśāstrāṇām brahmaṇāṇām ca mūdakāḥ*".

#### XI Corresponding to BeFi XI.

4) BeFi XI 4 "*pañcayojanavistīrṇa ekayojanam ucchritāḥ*".

5) BeFi gives a detailed description of this burning tree, and of the various tortures the sinners have to undergo there.

16) Belloni Filippi has not edited this part of his text. There is, however, a parallel speech of the messengers of Yama, in BeFi XVI, 25, which supports my conception of the clause as an interrogative one (do. Si XI, 19) "*na crutam yamalokasya dātṛuṇaṃ vartma durgamam ||*".

17) Belloni Filippi's summarizing of the corresponding passage of his text by: "... la mancata offerta del resti sacrificati ai cani ed ai corvi ...", and his note.

19) see note on 16.

22) Cp. Ab. IV, 18 and note.

25) *parāt āyo* "after having come to another woman": probably a marginal gloss on the adjective *parāḥ*, which, by the glossator, was mistaken for a substantive in the sense of *parāt* (see Glossary) "the



wife of another". The original sense of *pārakt nimda karai tinanai...* was most probably "he who blames (or: offends) another person".

## XII Corresponding to BeFi XII.

4) As to *goṭṭai* cp. Belloni Filippi's summary of BeFi XII, 1-6 "...dei messi infernali, che a cavallo di bufali e gazzelle...", as well as Sadala Miśra p. 29 "... *hiṣko dekho to bhaimse par...*".

26) Cp. Belloni Filippi's abstract of BeFi XII 21ff. "A tutte presiede Kāla, il fero ministro di Yama dagli occhi goccianti sangue, che cavalca un gran bufalo".

32-35) These hints refer to the great battle between Kāla and the Asura, described in detail in BeFi XII, 32-47. The same episode occurs in Varāha-Purāṇa CCI, with full particulars. In the recension of Sadala Miśra, it is missing. As to relations between Si and V.P. see below, XVI. In Te, the whole episode is missing: cp. Tessitori l. c. p. [3].

34) "Kāla flung his lasso, caught him, and ordered him to be brought before King Yama." Cp. BeFi XII, 42.

*"kiṅkarais tu mahāghorair nirjitā danavādhipaḥ |  
kālakṣipati tan pāpāir baddha daitya mahābalaḥ ||  
dandamudgaraghātana vaṣṭhṛtās tataḥ kṣyāt |  
ataḥ (taiḥ) kiṅkarair nīta dhormarājagratas tataḥ ||"*

The corruption of this passage in Si is perhaps due to the fact that the idea of Kāla as of a servant of Yama was not very familiar to the common reader, Kāla being chiefly known as a name of Yama himself. Thus, in XII, 26 the name of Kāla is omitted, though his person is described there (see note), and the passage XII, 38ff seems to be corrupted from what is told in ślokas XII, 49ff. of BeFi, which contain a praise of Kāla's power: for, in 39 of Si, the copyist, mistaking the proper name *Kāla* for a synonym of *vela*, omitted an original *vela* after *āṅga*, whereas in 38, an original *Kāla* was omitted for the same reason.

## XIII The XIII<sup>th</sup> adhyāya of BeFi contains a description of the celestial joys, which are treated in the next chapter of Si. About the states of saṃsāra of the different sinners, which form the subject of Si XIII, some hints occur in BeFi XVIII, 28-49, a passage of which Belloni Filippi has edited only 9 ślokas. In Sadala Miśra's text, this chapter about the sinners is completely missing. Compared with the just mentioned passage of BeFi, as well as with the chapters of V. P. dealing with this subject (CC, 68ff, CCII, 34ff, CCIII, CCIV), most particulars of Si are different.

5) The babul-tree reminds one of the śālmali-tree, which is often mentioned as an instrument of torture, especially for adulterers. See Kirfel. That a man who interferes with the wife of his guru becomes a plant, is related in other texts too: cp. Ab. V, 36 (see also note 7).

7-8) Cp. BeFi XVIII, 45 "*tadita bhagini yena pāpas tasya bhaviṣyati / pāndurogo bhaven mṛtyur jvaradāhaḥ sudāruṇaḥ ||*".

10) Cp. V. P. CCIII, 16.

13) Our interpretation is supported by Si XIII, 26, q. v.

19) *dhana* has probably been substituted for an original *dāna* "corn", "cereals": cp. Ab. V, 12 and the texts mentioned there, as well as Garuḍa-Purāṇa CCXVII, 18; Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa XV, 9.

25) *tikāja māro goha-rāro pāvai*, i. e. "this very woman gets a destruction in the manner of a lizard", i. e. she is crushed under foot as a lizard. Cp. Ab. V, 27.

31) "he gets the fate of a stone" (or: of a rock). Cp. Ab. IV, 60-61.

32) "he who takes for himself what he has given", cp. Ab. V, 46.

35) Cp. Ab. V, 9.

XIV Agreeing, in general, with BeFi XIII (and XIV).

3) BeFi XIII, 11. "*dharmisthānam pravakṣyāmi śṛayataṃ dvijasattama / ghytakṣirāṇi miṣṭānam kṣaudrakhaṇḍodakāni ca || paktvānnarūṣayas tatra yatheṣṭas tā 'nnarūṣayaḥ / kauṣeyaṃ tu varāṃ vastrāṃ bhūṣaṇabharaṇāni ca ||*". The five rivers of Si remind us of five of the seven liquids of the seven ring-shaped oceans surrounding Jambudvīpa, salt-water and alcohol being of course omitted.

14) *rita dāṃna de*: cp. BeFi XIII, 11 *rtukalābhigāmi ca*".

15) *pañca agana sājhai*: cp. BeFi XIII, 18 "*pañcāgniscvino viprah*".

16) Cp. Si XI, 17 and note.

20) Cp. BeFi XIII, 23 "*yo dadati mahakṣetram dhānyaçaliprapūritam / sa yāti paramam sthānam vimānaih svargagāmiḥ ||*".

XV 1-10) corresponding to BeFi XV. Besides here and BeFi XV, 1 ff. (and Sadala Miśra p. 31), the river Puṣpodaka occurs in MBh III, 199, 56 f. (Roy 1810, p. 525). But whereas this miraculous river is described as a place of happiness in BeFi (Sadala Miśra) and in our text, it is, in MBh, a means of examining the dead men by a kind of ordeal, giving agreeable cool water to the virtuous, and pus to the bad.—Te. "*kaṭoya*" (cp. Tessitori p. [3]).

11-30) What is told here, goes with BeFi XVII, which is, however, more detailed. The XVI<sup>th</sup> chapter of BeFi (with which Sadala Miśra agrees) has no parallel in our text. As to Vaitaraṇī and the famous Vaitaraṇī-cow see Scherman and Kirfel. Cf. also BeFi XVII, 37 ff.

XVI The few and dark passages of this adhyāya of Si correspond to what is told in BeFi XVIII, 1-23 and XIX in 53 ślokas about Nārada's visit of the hells. The matter is as follows:

Once, Nārada visited King Yama, sent by Viṣṇu in order to superintend the administration of justice exercised by Yama. While Yama and Nārada



were saluting each other ceremoniously, there appeared, with much pomp and with music, thousands of heavenly cars, at the head of which the king of the gods approached, riding his elephant Airāvata, surrounded by celestial nymphs, and followed by many horses and elephants. At this sight, Yama suddenly fled away, together with his ascetics, into his palace, while his messengers ran away in all directions, and the hosts of the preta too. When Yama ventured forth again, Nārada asked him why he had fled. Then follows the answer of Yama: in the MS. B of BeFi immediately, in A after Yama has asked Nārada's pardon for first arranging his affairs, and after he has given his commands to the messengers (all this is described with full particulars). In answering Nārada's question, Yama tells him about King Janaka's faithful wife Satyavati, who, on account of her virtue, was taken up to heaven in a celestial car, and revered by all the gods. He concludes with the confession that he has no power whatever over virtuous people, of whose tejas his messengers also were greatly afraid. After learning this story (which, in the beginning, Yama had called a great secret), Nārada returns to heaven. And now follows the conclusion of all the Nāsiketopākhyāna: Nāsiketu has finished his story, the ascetics return home, and Vaiśampāyana adds a śravanaphala:

*"gratā cāmām kathām diryam pavitrām pāpācinīm |  
śarāṅgī lokān atikramya yanti te cā'maravatīm ||"*

Sadala Mītra agrees with BeFi.

Now, Belloni Filippi has drawn attention to the older recension of this episode in the V.P. There, we do not hear anything about Indra, but there appear heavenly cars, in which ascetics are sitting with their wives and kindred, passing across Yama's head, tearing down his wreaths. Yama becomes pale with anger and fear, and being questioned by Nārada, confesses that he has no power to resist the mighty ascetics who were jeering at him. At this very moment, a beautiful woman appears, in a heavenly car, and bids Yama not to be angry with those powerful and virtuous people, who ought to be revered in all submissiveness. Yama shows his reverence to the beautiful "pativrata", falling at her feet. Asked by Nārada, why he had turned pale, and why he had revered the "pativrata", he tells him of Janaka's virtuous wife, whose name, in V.P., is Rūpavati, and who was a pativrata too, whom all the gods were serving and revering for her virtue. Her story is told with all particulars.

This recension must also be taken into consideration. For, with regard to certain features, our Rājasthānī text shows a closer relationship to V.P. than to BeFi. Thus, Si XVI, 22—23, a passage which has no parallel in BeFi, agrees with what is told V.P. CCVIII, 8—11, and can

only be understood, if the whole situation described in V. P. is well-known. Moreover, the strange question of Nārada in Si XVI, 15—17 and Yama's affirmation in XVI, 24—25 directly seem to point towards relations to V. P. CCVIII 3, 5—6, and 7, where the radiant and powerful king of the lower world changes his colour out of fear and anger, when the ascetics pass over his head and tear down his wreaths:

- 3 "vivarnāvadano rāṣa prabhatejovivarnjītaḥ/  
acīrād eva sañjataḥ krodhena bhr̥gudukkhitaḥ||"  
5—6 "api tvam bhr̥jamaṇas tu paśoh pātir iḍa'paraḥ/  
kasmāt te lobhanaṃ vaktraṃ kjanād vaivarnatām gataḥ||  
viniśvasan yathā nagaḥ kasmāt tvam puritāpyase/  
rājan kasmād bīkhesi tvam dad icchāmi vaditum||"  
7 "vivarnaṃ jāyate vaktraṃ lūyate na ca saṃlayaḥ/  
yan maya tūṣṭam dṛṣṭam śrūyatām tan mahāmune||"

Such relations would be possible under the supposition that Si goes back to a recension of Nāsiketopākhyāna in which the above episode was told in a way corresponding to that of V. P., and that some later story-teller, who laid more stress on Yama's anger than on his fear, related that his face turned black with wrath instead of pale with fear, whereas the rest of his body remained radiant as before. The particulars mentioned in Si XVI, 8 "King Yama accompanied (him, or: them) with good wishes for (his, or: their) arrival" even directly contradict that of the flight of Yama as told in BeFi, and would likewise presuppose the knowledge of the recension of V. P., according to which the pativrata is at least (who is sitting in a celestial car together with her husband), is revered and honoured by Yama. That our compiler has confounded the pativrata (who really appears) with the wife of King Janaka (who is only told about) is not to be wondered at.—

6) "it was Indra's property", cp. BeFi XVIII, 16 "airāvatasamāraḥ/ho devarājaḥ purahasthitaḥ|"

10) "Did there not depart, together with Indra, another great deity?"

29) "That woman does not die without her wish": cp. V. P. CCIX, 8 (also 10, 12, 13, etc. as a burden in a long stotra praising the pativrata) "sā na mṛtyumukhaṃ yāti evaṃ yā stri pativrata" etc.; 28 originally was perhaps a marginal gloss, which crept into the text in a wrong place: apparently, it ought to stand after 29. Cp. V. P. CCVIII, 30 "na vyadhīr na jarā mṛtyus tasmīn rājani śāśati", which refers to Mithi, the kṛtayauga-shape of existence of Janaka, and the husband of Rūpavati.

31) Cp. BeFi XIX, 5 "airamedhakaraḥ sadā".

XVII The XVII<sup>th</sup> chapter of BeFi contains a list of the streets in Yama's world. Our text here speaks of the re-births of the sinners, which had



already been dealt with in the XIII<sup>th</sup> adhyāya. The statements of Si are throughout arbitrary and apparently independent of the parallel passage of BeFi (XVII, 28ff.)

10—11) Cp. Ab. V, 17.

**XVIII** As to the contents of BeFi XVIII and XIX, see above under XVI. What is told in our Si, corresponds to the contents of the last śloka of BeFi XIX, where, however, the śravaṇaphala is spoken by Vaiṣampāyana.

19) The colophon, which is written in a mixture of Skr. and vernacular, has been translated on p. 357, q. v. [*bhādrava* (Gu, m.) = the month Bhādrapada; *vadī* (Gu. *vada*, *vadī* f.) = Skr. *vadyapakṣa*; *saṃ* = abbreviation of *saṃvata*, = Skr. *saṃvatsara* (Gu., Hi.)].

## TRANSLATION





THE STORY OF NĀSAKETA<sup>1</sup>

1 Veneration to the Jinās! Veneration to the true teachers! The story of Nāsaketa is written <as follows>:

Sarasvatī<sup>2</sup>, thou highly blessed one! Thou propitious one, that canst take any form at will!

O thou omnipresent, large-eyed one! O goddess that art the supreme mistress!

The one-tusked <god> is of great wisdom, omniscient is the leader of the Gaṇas!

A god that grants success is Vināyaka, the sun of Gaurī!<sup>3</sup>

This is the praise of Sarasvatī and Vināyaka. Subsequently, the connexion of the story <follows>.

Once, the chief of ascetics Viśanopāya was sitting on the banks of the Gaṅgā, after performing a dīkṣā of twelve years. Thither king Janamāi came. King Janamāi said to the chief of ascetics Viśanopāya: "Most honoured chief of ascetics! Narrate some evil-destroying story!" And the chief of ascetics said: "Listen then, O king!

There was a chief of ascetics. His name was Udālaka. He was a son of Vrahmā, a great chief of ascetics, a restrainer of his body, a connoisseur of the veda as well as of the śāstra. He had a hermitage. Other very excellent chiefs of ascetics also lived there. There was a wonderful forest with thickets of creepers. Many peacocks, cakoras, cuckoos, cranes, <and> various <other> birds lived there. To the hermitage came a chief of ascetics <named> Pipalāda. On arriving, he began a conversation. During that <conversation>, the chief of ascetics Pipalāda perceived that no wife was present. So he

<sup>1</sup> Additions to the original wording are enclosed in < >.—The proper names are rendered in literal transliterations of the nāṣṭik-types (without paying regard to modern pronunciation or spelling), in order to facilitate the use of the glossary, and to make them agree with the transcribed passages of the preceding parts of this publication (cp. p. 349 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> MS. here: "Sarasvatī."—

<sup>3</sup> MS. "Gaurī."—



asked Udālaka: "Honourable Sir! You have no wife: for what reason?" Udālaka answered: "Being a brahmācārin, I have done penance." Pipalāda said: "You must marry! Without a wife, the agnihotra cannot take place; besides, the divine "fathers" will be uneasy." Then Udālaka said: "Who would marry his daughter to me? For, being a brahmācārin, I have done penance for eighty-six thousand years!" Again, Pipalāda said: "Without a son, one's race is destroyed, and the divine "fathers" will suffer pain: the veda says so. By having intercourse with one's wife at the prescribed times, no sin is effected. If, in future, you wish to perform the worship of agni, you must take a wife!" Then Udālaka said: "I have done penance and restrained my body: all that will be destroyed!" Pipalāda answered: "If, in your mind, a doubt has arisen, ask Vrahmā! Do as Vrahmā tells you!" After saying so, Pipalāda went to his hermitage."

Afterwards, the chief of ascetics Visvanopāya narrated to king Janamai as follows:

"In the penance of Udālaka, a disturbance occurred. Udālaka was in great sorrow: "Who will marry his daughter to me?" Then, he called Vrahmā to mind. He went into the presence of Vrahmā and praised him. Joining his hands, he said: "Pipalāda came to my hermitage and said: "Since you have no wife, the agnihotra cannot take place, and the divine "fathers" cannot be satisfied: take a wife!" So I answered: "The penance which I have practised will be destroyed!" Then Pipalāda said: "Ask Vrahma! Do as Vrahmā tells you!" Thus, I have come to your Honour." Then Vrahmā said: "A son will come to you first, and later on, a wife will come!" Then, Udālaka said: "I have practised penance, and in that <penance>, a disturbance has occurred: your Honour is joking!" Vrahmā said: "O son! A word of Vrahma can never fail! A wife of the race of Rugha will come to you!" After saying so, Vrahmā disappeared. Umdālaka returned.

Afterwards, he began to long for a wife in his mind: "If such a wife be coming, she should be kind, very beautiful, virtuous, noble-minded, of clever and sweet speech, pure inwardly and outwardly, full of affection for her husband, never disregarding her husband's order." Such reflections Udālaka made in his mind.

One day, he had gone to take his bath in the Gaṅgā. He saw cars <full> of apsaras. So, his heart became excited, and his semen

discharged. The vigour (=“semen”) of the penance might not be sent to the earth. He plucked off a lotus flower, and put in the semen. At the top, he entwined it with a darbha-leaf. Thereupon, he made it float away in the Gaṅgā.

The flower arrived floating below the residence of king Rugha. Thither, the daughter of king Rugha had come together with ten thousand female attendants, in order to take her usual bath in the Gaṅgā. An apśaras of Īdra's had been cursed. She became a slave-girl of king Ruṃgha's. This apśaras, who had become a slave-girl, made friends with Caṃdrāvati. Her name was Uravaṃsī. While bathing, Caṃdrāvati said to her: “There comes a lotus-flower floating along: go and fetch it!” So Uravaṃsī fetched it. Caṃdrāvati smelled it. Thus, her nose serving as a womb, the semen entered. One month passed, and a second month passed: then, Caṃdrāvati was pregnant. That pregnancy began to increase more and more.

II A stain adhered to Caṃdrāvati. The queen told it to the king. And the king said: “There were ten thousand female attendants with Caṃdrāvati: what has become of them?” The king questioned Uravaṃsī: “You were engaged in order to protect <her>: what became of you?” Uravaṃsī answered: “Your Majesty! If any man has entered, may we be killed! The ways of Parameśara—it is true—cannot be known!” The king said: “By killing her, evil would arise! Expose <her> in the forest!” So, the servants of the king exposed her in the forest.

Caṃdrāvati roamed weeping about in the forest. Soon, the chief of ascetics Tiṇabamḍha came by. He had gone out <to gather> bulbs and roots. Then he saw Caṃdrāvati weeping. The chief of ascetics said: “Maiden, who art thou? Why art thou weeping?” Caṃdrāvati answered: “I am king Ruṃgha's daughter. In consequence of deeds committed in a former life, a stain adhered to me: in <this> present life, I have committed no evil deed at all.”

So the chief of ascetics comforted her and took her to his hermitage. He made her his daughter and kept her <with him>. Her pregnancy came to an end: and, out of the nose, the birth of a son took place. He was given the name of Nāsaketa.

III He was three months old: when he began <once> to cry. Caṃdrāvati became angry, put the boy into a wooden cage, and made



it float away in the Gaṅgā. Then the chief of ascetics said: "O boy! Go thou to thy father!" Now, Udālaka's hermitage was situated on the banks of the Gaṅgā. This cage floated upstream. Udālaka came to take his customary bath in the Gaṅgā. While he was bathing, the cage came and attached itself to his feet. At each of the three times <of bathing>, it attached itself to his feet: on bathing at noon, it attached itself to his feet, and on bathing at the hours of twilight, it attached itself to his feet. Then, Udālaka beheld it. He took the cage with him, and opened it. Inside, he saw there was an excellent child. The child had features similar to his own. When he perceived that, the word of Vrahmā came to his mind. He had said: "Before a wife, a child will come." These words had come true. Thereupon, he took the child with him to his hermitage. He kept it and became its nourisher. It was grown up.

One day, Caṁdrāvati became sad. The chief of ascetics Tīga-baṁdha asked: "Why art thou sad, daughter?" Caṁdrāvati answered: "O father, it is not pleasing to be alone! A son was born: I made him float away in the Gaṅgā. If <I had> not <done so>, he would have been grown up to-day!" Then the chief of ascetics said: "Whither the cage has been seen going away, there thou wilt find him, daughter, after searching <for him>!"

Thus, Caṁdrāvati went in the direction in which the cage had been seen going. Soon, she beheld him, sitting in Udālaka's hermitage. Caṁdrāvati asked <him>: "Who art thou, child? Who is thy father? Who is thy mother? To whom does this hermitage belong?" Nāsaketa replied: "This hermitage belongs to Udālaka. My father is Udālaka. Of my mother, there are no tidings."

Caṁdrāvati said: "I am thy mother, son! Wither has the chief of ascetics gone?" Nāsaketa answered: "He has gone <out> for bulbs and roots. After placing me <here>, he went away."

Then Caṁdrāvati swept, prepared the place for cooking, and wiped the sets of vessels (?). Therafter, Caṁdrāvati went to take her bath in the Gaṅgā.

In the meantime, however, Udālaka came. Perceiving <what had been done by Caṁdrāvati> he said: "O son, who has swept? Who has prepared the place for cooking? Who has wiped the sets of vessels (?)" Nāsaketa said: "Father, my mother had come." Udālaka asked: "After thy mother had come, O son, whither did she go?"

Nāsaketa answered: "She has gone to take her bath in the Gaṅgā." Then the chief of ascetics said to Nāsaketa: "Call thy mother and bring her hither <telling her>: My father invites thee!"

Camdrāvati said: "Although invited by thee, O son, I will not come on any account! For I am a girl! If you will give me a father or a brother, then I will come." So, Nāsaketa went and told it. Then, Udālaka sent Nāsaketa back again: "Go again and ask <her>: Who is thy father? And how (lit.: "by doing what") has the son come into existence?" Nāsaketa went and asked <her>.

Camdrāvati said: "I am king Rūmgha's daughter. I had gone to the Gaṅgā with ten thousand female attendants. There, a lotus-flower came floating along. I ordered it to be brought, and smelled it. By so doing, I became pregnant. So, they exposed me in the forest. I was weeping. The lord of ascetics Tīṇabamḍha came by. He gave me comfort, and took me to his hermitage. Then my pregnancy came to an end: and, the nose serving as a womb, a son was born. He was given the name of Nāsaketa. He was three months old: when he began <once> to cry. Then I put him into a wooden cage and made him float away in the Gaṅgā."

Nāsaketa reported this to Udālaka. Udālaka said: "Go back once more and tell her: I will go to king Rūmgha in order to ask his daughter of him. Go thou to thy hermitage!" Nāsaketa told Camdrāvati so. And Camdrāvati went to her hermitage. And Udālaka went to king Rūmgha, in order to ask his daughter of him.

IV When king Rūmgha saw the lord of ascetics approach, he went to meet him, and praised him highly. He gave him a seat, circumbulated him from left to right, and asked him: "Most honoured lord of ascetics, what wish do you entertain?" The lord of ascetics answered: "Give me your daughter in marriage!" The king said: "I had a daughter: but she will probably have died: thus, I cannot comply at all with your wish." Then, Udālaka began and said these words:

"I had gone to the Gaṅgā in order to bathe. There, I saw cars <full> of apsarasas. My heart was excited, and my semen discharged. The vigour (= "semen") of the penance might not be sent to the earth. So, I plucked off a lotus, put in the semen, and made it float away in the Gaṅgā. It came floating along. Camdrāvati ordered



Uravaṃsī to fetch it, and smelled it. Arriving at the womb of the nose, the semen entered. Then, the king was angry, and exposed her in the forest. There, Camdrāvati began to weep. She roamed about. The chief of ascetics Tṛṇabamḍha came by. He asked her: "Maiden, who art thou?" Camdrāvati answered: "I am king Ruṃgha's daughter. To me, a stain has adhered, without committing <any evil deeds>." The chief of ascetics comforted her, made her his daughter, and took her to his hermitage. There she is <living>."

The king was very happy. He distributed gifts, and arranged many festivities. He sent the princes and invited Camdrāvati home. He celebrated the wedding in a very excellent way. He gave the dowery which was suitable. After giving away daughter, dowery, and grandson in a worthy way, he dismissed them to their hermitage with good wishes.

Nāsaketa grew up.

One day, he had sent Nāsaketa for bulbs and roots for the agnihotra. Nāsaketa went into the forest. There he saw that there was a second forest. There was a lake filled <with water>. There were forest-fruits and -flowers. Trees were blossoming. Peacocks, cakoras, cranes, cuckoos, beasts of various kinds were living there. Seeing the beautiful place, Nāsaketa began to perform yoga-practice. While he was performing yoga-practice, six months passed. When he returned, Udālaka was furious and said: "Thou didst indeed greatly care for the agnihotra, O son! I was forced to perform the agni-hotra-worship myself!"

Nāsaketa said: "What you say, is quite right, father: but there is the way of yoga: that is an important matter."

Then, Udālaka became furious, and cursed Nāsaketa: "O son! Because you blaspheme the fire, go into the world of Jama!"

Then, Camdrāvati became troubled in her heart: "O chief of ascetics! You have acted very badly! You have only this one son!" Udālaka replied: "Be not troubled: Jama will not come himself! <Besides,> I have confidence in my penance that, if Jama does come, he will come in vain! My son will not go into the world of Jama!" Nāsaketa said: "Father! I shall make your curse come true. Having gone into the world of Jama, I shall return. Be not troubled in your mind! Do well preserve my body, I beg you!"

Saying so, and performing yoga-practice, the soul went out of the body: and thus, the soul went into the world of Jama.

V Nāsaketa went to king Jama. He said his praise: "O king with a thousand arms, with a thousand eyes, with a thousand feet!" On hearing the praise, king Jama became much pleased. King Jama asked: "Who brought thee hither? Thy life is not in any way completed yet!"

Nāsaketa replied: "My father's curse fell on me: for that reason I have come hither."

King Jama was pleased and said: "Go back! He who will hear thy story, him the messengers of Jama will never approach, he will not come to hell!" Nāsaketa said: "Show me the city of Jama!" Then king Jama said to the messengers: "Take Nāsaketa before Citragupata!"

So, the messengers of Jama took him before Citragupata. Nāsaketa said his praises: "You who know all justice, who display much splendour, who know good and evil!" Such words he said, and praised him. After speaking, he remained standing <before him>."

VI Visāna said:

"Citragupata said to Nāsaketa: "Demand what thou hast to demand! I have become very favourably inclined towards thee!" Nāsaketā said: "Show me your city!" Then he said to the messengers: "Show it!" Then, the messengers showed doers of good and evil. They showed fulfillers of religious vows. They showed builders of tanks and watering-places. They showed the "kuṇḍa" (= "holes" or "pools"). They took him around and all over the city.

Then king Jama said: "Nāsaketa, return home! He who will learn and hear thy story, him no messenger of Jama will ever approach! He will not go into the world of Jama. Thy family will be in suspense <about thy absence>!"

Then he respectfully took his leave and went home.

On arriving, he respectfully greeted his parents. Meanwhile, the chiefs of ascetics heard of his arrival. The chiefs of ascetics approached. What kind of chiefs of ascetics were they? Some lived on air. Some ate only after having fasted for a month. Some after having fasted a fortnight. Many chiefs of ascetics who practised such



kinds of penance, assembled and came <thither>. They said: "Your bliss is great, O Udālaka, who have a son like Nāsaketa! Before this day, his like has not been seen nor heard of! Nobody who entered the world of Jama, has ever returned! Nāsaketa, however, went thither and came back again."

Such words said the chiefs of ascetics."

**VII** The chief of ascetics Visanopāya told before king Janamai the hope-fulfilling story:

"Now, the chiefs of ascetics asked Nāsaketa and said to him: "What is the world of Jama like? What are the messengers of Jama like? What is Jama like? What is Citragupatī like? What is the road like?"

And Nāsaketa narrated: "My father cursed me. <Then> he had compassion on me. For that reason, I went into the world of Jama and came back again. I saw what the place was like. I will relate. Be attentive and listen!

I went directly thither. Then, king Jama and Citragupatā were respectfully greeted.

The city of Jama is one thousand yojana high, fifty yojana wide. There are four gates. There are four corners. Various kinds of people live there. There are orchards, gardens, tanks, rivers. The doors are of sandal wood; the houses are of gold; inlaid with rubies and diamonds; the fringes are of pearls: thus is the city. Within it live deities, Gandharvas sing. Men who had cared for the pursued, builders of ponds, men who had assisted others, builders of wells and fountains, men that had given food to the hungry: men of such kinds I saw enter by the eastern gate.

Now I will describe the people of the western gate. The gate is of copper; the ensigns are of copper; the houses are of copper. There, I saw enter, by the copper-gate, people of this kind: I saw benefactors; I saw speakers of the truth; I saw such as had honoured their father and mother; such as had, in the month of māgha, warmed those who were suffering from cold, or who were sick; such as had given repose to the tired, as had asked after their family, had washed their feet, and given shoes to them: such people I saw enter by the western gate.

Now, I will describe the people of the northern gate. The gate is golden, there is a golden bell (or: there are golden bells);

there is a golden chowrie. There I saw enter people of the following kind: worshippers of deities; people who had worshipped cows and brāhmaṇas; who had worshipped connoisseurs of the six systems of philosophy as well as itinerant ascetics; the devotees of Viṣṇu, as well as people who had performed the agnihotra; people who had given away villages; who had given gifts of cows; who had remained pure; who had given a thousand temples; who had given materials for sacrifices; who had taken religious vows; who had fasted a month; who had fasted a fortnight; who had abstained from sexual intercourse; who had made pilgrimages; who had always fulfilled the prescriptions of religion; who had showed compassion towards living beings; who had not been haughty; who had kept to the <right> path: those I saw enter by the northern gate.

Now I will describe the people entering by the southern gate. Plunged in black clouds, ill-coloured, dark is the path. There are edges of knives and many thorns. There is thunder (?). Wicked people walk on that road. They are beaten with clubs. They are constantly lamenting. Wicked people of that kind I saw enter by the southern gate.

I saw a miracle again. I saw the kuṇḍa ("holes" or: "ponds") of the hells. I will enumerate their names: Kubhīpāka, Abhīca, Mahāroraṇṇa, Patipāka, Aṅgārāṇṇī Rāsa, Churidhāra, Keśalachaila, Asimocana, Aganadhāra, Mahānaṇḍi, Karamaśudāṇṇa, Kuṇḍaṇavaśīkachaila, Ghīratapāka, Gulapāka, Mahābhayāṇṇaka, Tapatavelu, Kīḍāṇṇo Kuḍa, Talajaṇṇa, Duṣajaṇṇa, Viṃṣakupa, Jamacoli, Pavītarohaṇa, Surarohaṇa, Saṃgrāmarohaṇa, Lohakāra, and finally Sūla.

If a man has coveted another's wife, they pluck out his eyes. If a man has lied, they cut off his tongue. In the company of such <beasts> as: lions, hawks, tigers' whelps, jackals, dogs, female parrots(?), mice, boars, thus are the messengers of Jāma.

I have narrated only summarily.

**VIII** Then, I saw the evil-doers. I will enumerate them:

Killers of brāhmaṇas; killers of cows; killers of their sons; killers of women; killers of friends; breakers of promises, murderers of children; such as had had intercourse with the wives of others; such as, after having become brāhmaṇas <viz. in the course of saṃsāra>, had drunk spirituous liquours; such as had destroyed families; such as had kept



<for themselves> the property of gods; such as had eaten forbidden food; such as had entertained relations with unapproachable women; such as had given mendacious evidence; such as had narrated what they had not seen; such as had kept <for themselves> the deposits of others; such as had broken vows; such as had forsaken their own and visited the wives of others; such as had spoken deceitful words; such as had violated secrets; such as had committed <any> kind of crime; such as had beaten (or: killed?) a cow or a woman: evil-doers of that kind I saw many."

<Thus> Nāsaketa narrated.

- IX "Dharmarājā, after having arranged his court of justice, was seated. He ordered the sinners and evil-doers to be called. They were beaten with clubs. They were constantly wailing. Chiefs of ascetics were seated there. These, who were very cruel, were seated <there>. I will enumerate their names:

Amṭaka, Bhāradvājī, Muni Nārada, Mārakaṇḍa: these chiefs of ascetics were seated there, after having come before Dharmarājā. A trial of good and evil <deeds> was held. <Like> twelve united suns <they> were burning. Connoisseurs of the sacred law, of the veda and of the śāstra, sages knowing the past, the present, and the future, such were seated before Dharmarājā. On his head was a crown, in his hand was a sceptre, in his ears were ear-rings. All the deities were seated there.

There, they throw into the hell Kubhī the murderers of brāhmaṇas. The murderers of cows they throw into Kuṣāṭalakumḍa. The killer of women and the breaker of vows are thrust into an oil-mill and are tortured. A murderer of his parents is cut with knives. A man who visited the wives of others, is caressed and embraced around his breast by an iron statue which has been made hot. They beat with clubs the sinners and evil-doers. They throw into the river Vaitaraṇī a man who wrongly defamed a girl. They throw into Kuṣālakuḍa a man who defamed the wife of his teacher. A breaker of promises is thrown into oil, and fried like a pancake. They throw into the hell Kubhī a man who kept for himself deposits of others. He who becomes wicked, is torn by dogs. They throw into Karamakuḍa a man who did not respect his teacher. A man who ate forbidden food is forced to drink the very fetid boiling blood of the river Vaitaraṇī.

They throw into hell for a thousand existences a man who married his sister. They force to sit on a hot stone a man who purloined clothes. They throw into the hell *Naruchāsa* a man who caused a hindrance, when a girl was being given in marriage. He who broke a vow, is thrown into the hell *Ṣaḍagadhārā*. They throw into hell him who had intercourse with his teacher's wife. The murderer of a friend is thrown into hell after his belly has been torn. He who robbed gold or pearls, is thrown from *Jamaparabata*. He who stole the property of a poor or of a distressed <man>, is thrown into hell. They pluck out the eyes of a man who gave evidence without having witnessed <the respective fact>. They fill with excrements the mouth of a man who, when alms were given, refused to give. They throw down from *Jamapola* a man who spoke evil of a woman, a man who spoke evil of a brahmachārin. To a man who left his own wife and had intercourse with the wives of others, or who wished harm to those people amongst whom he has grown up, to such a man the stake is given (*ś. e.*, he is executed at the stake). They throw into hell a man who ate when he was alone. He who blasphemed the *dharmaśāstra*, is torn by dogs. They thrust into an iron machine and torture him who divorced his wife, <even> without murdering her. In that way, very manifold punishments are given.

- X I saw a miracle. I saw messengers of *Jama* of this kind: with erect hairs, with teeth resembling pegs, with teeth resembling swords, with huge nails. They seized the sinners and evil-doers and took them <with themselves>. They take him who screams first, and beat him with swords. Upon iron plates which have been made hot they put a man who had intercourse with the wives of others. Such deeds as a man has done, exactly such punishment he is given after a thorough trial. One who looks for evil (?) in the wife of a friend or brother, or of a kinsman or a co-uterine brother, they cause to be torn by dogs. They fill his mouth with fire. His breath fails. They throw him into the "dropping swords." They throw the committer of suicide into hell. Afterwards, they give him a bird's existence. One who stole the property of a deity, they throw into the hell *Kubhī*. One who stole a set of vessels (?), they beat with discs. One who destroyed a water-channel, they bind with the "fetters of *kāla*." After binding him, they throw him into hell. One who broke



a tank, they throw into Jokakuḍa. Him who cut a garden-plant, or a green tree, they throw into the hell Bakakalesa. One who did not respect senior persons, they throw into the hell Rorava. One who kindled a village, or caused a forest-conflagration, they throw into Agana kuḍa (or=into a fire hole). A woman who left her own husband, and had intercourse with another man, or who made another man consume her own husband's property, such a woman they put upon iron plates after heating them. An injurer of his master, an injurer of his teacher, an injurer of his friend, such a man's hand and feet they cut off, fill his mouth with excrements, and throw him into hell. Who stole food, such a man's mouth they fill with excrements and throw him into hell. A man who disrespected a hamsa-ascetic, they throw into the hell Āmḍhatāsa. One who had intercourse with a woman out of cupidity, they throw into a glowing hole.

- XI** Again, I saw a miracle. I saw a tree: it was five yojana broad, ten yojana high. On it, there were sinners. These were suffering much pain. There was hot sand. There, they were burnt. They were going to Kāla. They were weeping much. They were beaten with clubs.

"O creatures! Why did you not fulfill the prescriptions of religion? Why did you not do vows of pilgrimages? Why did you not give respect, shelter, and satiety to brahmacārins and itinerant ascetics, and to hungry and thirsty people? Why did you never bestow gifts on the connoisseurs of the six systems of philosophy? Did you not think of king Jama? The offering for the itinerant ascetics, the offering for the cows, the offering for the dogs, the offering for the cats, the offering for the crows: these five offerings you did not give. You did not give repose to tired people. Did you not think of the messengers of Jama? Not think at all <of them>?"

After being addressed <in this way>, they are beaten. They are thrown into hell. He who, on giving a gift, caused it to be valued (or: to be praised?), descends to hell. They cause him to be torn by dogs and crows. A living creature that ate on a day of new moon, that ate during a sūtaka, or that ate everything (*i. e.*, all kinds of food), they throw into Āmḍha Kuṃvo (or: into a covered well). While he is bewildered, they put him into an iron machine and torture him. A man who blasphemed water or fire, who blasphemed deities or monks, who blasphemed the king or an itinerant

ascetic, who blasphemed a brāhmaṇa, who blasphemed in the presence of an honourable person, who blasphemed another person, after having gone to the wife of another (?), such a man they throw into Kramakuḍa. In many different ways punishment is given.

**XII** I saw the fearful servants of Jama. I will describe them: Everyone of you listen, concentrating your thoughts! Riding bullocks, riding snakes, riding alligators, riding scorpions, riding on dogs, riding on hogs, riding on tigers: many such messengers of Jama I saw. They had erect hair and horrible teeth. They were of black colour, their nails were huge. Huge were their hands and feet. Huge were their bellies. They were jackal-faced, wolf-faced, they were envelopped in red flames. In their hands were snakes. Black were their clothes. In the hands of all of them, there were swords, there were tridents, there were spears, there were javelins, there were battle-axes, there were clubs, there were lassos, there were discs and hooks, there were thunderbolts, there were stakes: such weapons were in their hands. They have no home: they must always roam.

Amongst them, there was one powerful messenger of Jama. His eyes resembled fire. Every ghāṭī, he said to Citragupata: "Show me him whose life is completed!"

Some are the company of king Jama. They beat the evil-doers by king Jama's orders.

Again, I saw a miracle. A daitya was struggling with Jama's messengers. Kāla repeatedly flung his lasso, seized him, and took him before king Jama. He threw the daitya into Aṇḍhāra Vana (or: into the forest of darkness) with his face downwards.

Such deeds as have been done, such punishment is executed. This is the practice of Jama's messengers: thrice a day they attend to the sinners and evil-doers in the world of the dead: in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, these three times they always come to attend to them."

**XIII** The lords of ascetics said: "Which is the good, which is the evil, which is the path, which is the holy place, according to which men get their bodies? That tell us!"

Nāsaketa said:

"A murderer of a brāhmaṇa becomes a caṇḍāla. A man who has intercourse with the wife of his teacher, becomes a babul tree.



A murderer of his father becomes afflicted by gripes. An offender of his sister becomes afflicted by white leprosy; he dies of fever (?). A destroyer of a family becomes a cloth-printer; he dies of head-ache. The killer of a bird becomes a wolf. He who kills his sister's son, becomes a jackal. The murderer of a child becomes a mountain-cypress (or: a dwarf-cypress). He who kills a buffalo, becomes hump-backed. He who, when a service is to be rendered, refuses to render it, becomes a caṇḍāla. He who dies after having beaten <anybody> on the belly, becomes a ram. He who dies while committing a theft, becomes a crow. He who steals gold, becomes afflicted with white leprosy. He who steals the property of an old person, or of a child, becomes a mouse. He who steals food, becomes a ghūṇa (*i. e.*, "a kind of insect found in timber"). He who tells an untruth, becomes a parrot, afflicted with a disease in the throat. He who gives mendacious evidence, becomes a mungoose. He who dies while committing a bad deed, becomes a cricket. He who blasphemes a holy place, becomes a wolf. A wife who argues with her husband, and contradicts him, this very wife is violently destroyed, as one destroys (*lit.*: in the manner of) a lizard. He who kills a child, becomes a vavvola tree. He who kills a blind person, becomes afflicted with white leprosy. From existence to existence he goes to hell. He who destroys a water-tank, or a "small well with steps", or a well, becomes crippled. He who consumes the property of his teacher, or of an itinerant ascetic, goes to hell. He who destroys a road, gets the existence of a stone. He who, after giving, takes <the gift> for himself, becomes a crow. He who does not respect the order of a teacher, or of his father, becomes stupid. He who steals a book, becomes dumb. He who causes a cow to stumble, becomes a tiger; afterwards, he goes to hell. He who has intercourse with his teacher's wife, becomes a peacock. He who takes away the wife of another, becomes a horse. He who steals a bond, becomes afflicted with white leprosy. He who blames the fire, becomes a worm. He who breaks a vow, becomes a scorpion. He who gives poison, becomes a leech. He who speaks evil of a girl who is to be married, becomes a preta. He who kills his brother or sister, goes to hell. He who carnally enjoys a strange wife, or a wife of his relationship, or the young wife of an elder brother, becomes an ass.

**XIV** I saw the fulfillers of the prescriptions of religion. I will narrate of them: There flow such rivers as: rivers of clarified butter, rivers of butter-milk, rivers of sweet milk, rivers of sugar-juice, rivers of cool water. There are wonderful lakes. They are filled with cooked food. There are golden palaces. There are precious carpets. There are charming women. There, people enjoy and play with apsaras. They enjoy various kinds of happiness.

Whatever has been given here, all is received back there a thousand times. Gifts of land, gifts of elephants, gifts of houses, gifts of gold and silver, and whatever gifts one is pleased with: as many various gifts as have been given: all are received back a thousandfold by the order of Dhāramarāja.

He who has aided itinerant ascetics and mendicants, and connoisseurs of the six systems of philosophy, with him the deities are highly pleased. He through whom all deities get repose, he who gave the agnihotra, who had intercourse with his wife at the prescribed times, who wished for the prosperity of his family, the strong-minded, as well as the speaker of the truth get into a heavenly car. He who fed the five fires, him Padamaṇa puts into a heavenly car, and takes him into the world of Īdra. He who gave to the itinerant ascetic, to the cow, to the crow, to the dog, and to the cat: he who gave these five offerings as daily regular oblations, these people enjoy love, pleasure, and play in the world of heaven. He who gave away the best food, gets a heavenly car in the world of heaven. He gets sour milk and sweet milk. He who gave one daily offering, gets to the ocean Manohara. He who gave a cultivated field to a brāhmaṇa, gets into the world of heaven. He who gave shoes in the hot season, gets cool water. He who gave to itinerant ascetics and to unprotected people, gets into the world of heaven. He who has been virtuous, comes, sitting in a chariot. According to the command of Dhāramarāja, he enjoys play and pleasure.

I saw many virtuous people of that kind."

Nāsaketa said:

**XV** "There is a river, the name of which is Puṣapoda (MS: 'Kusapoda'). Its water resembles flowers. The sand is golden. There are many kinds of trees. They are always covered with fruits and blossoms,



In that place, there is the city of Dharamarājā. Beautiful women are there. There are many kinds of ornaments. People devoted to religion, virtuous beings are there. People who worshipped Paramesara are there."

The chiefs of ascetics said: "Show the path by which saṃsāra may be crossed!"

Nāsaketa said:

"If life releases the body, then brothers, relatives, people belonging to one's race, co-uterine brothers, all of them remain here. Only the good and the evil deeds one has done go with you. It is very difficult to pass intact by the path of Jama. There is one forest. There is hot sand. There is the river Vaitaraṇī. There is a heap of coals. Thorns are spread. He who has done good deeds here, gets across there. He who gave a cow as a present, gets across the river Vaitaraṇī there. He seizes her tail there, and ascends the opposite bank. There are five cities. There is a lake. There is a forest. There is glowing sand. A woman who gave a pair of shoes, gets across there. She puts them on and ascends the opposite bank.

Whatever gift has been given, <with its help> this person gets across.

**XVI** King Jama was seated. The lords of ascetics were seated. In their middle appeared Nārada, keeping much splendour.

At this moment, a heavenly car approached. In front of it, there was an elephant. It was the property of Idara. He was going to the world of Visana. King Jama went and accompanied him with his good wishes.

Then, Nārada asked <him>: "Did there not depart, together with Īdra, another great deity?" King Jama said: "That was king Janaka. He is going into the world of heaven." Nārada asked king Jama: "Your body is golden, and your head is black: for what reason?" King Jama replied: "There are <the people of> three worlds: they come before me and remain standing here. Whatever deeds they have done, such punishment I bestow upon them. There are, however, the devotees of Visana: they put their feet upon my head: for that reason, my head is black, <whereas> my body is golden. There is the wife of king Janaka: she is a pativrātā. In the country of that king, Kāla does not appear. That woman does not die without her wish. The king has offered an aśvamedha-sacrifice: for the religious merit <reflected> thereby, he goes into the world of the devotees of Visana."

## XVII Nāsaketa said:

"The punishments for the evil deeds which people do, I have spoken of.

At present, I am describing the characteristic marks of women. A wife who ate before her husband had eaten, is called 'sumkhaṇī' (?). Such as made trouble to her husband, becomes a cuckoo. Such as disputed with her mother-in-law, becomes a female sand-piper. Such as constantly quarrelled, becomes a female crow. Such as bewitched her husband, becomes a female frog; afterwards, she becomes a harlot from existence to existence.

If a brāhmaṇa was merciless, or did not remain pure, he gets into the womb of a crow or of a bitch. He who cut off a flower, or a banian tree, or a holy fig-tree, becomes a vavvola-tree. He who, when alms were given, refused to give, becomes a blind snake. He who was an injurer, becomes a bhīl. He who was the murderer of an embryo, becomes a butcher. He who, having got the body of a man, did not worship Paramesvara, Mahādeva, Vāsadeva, Mātā, the holy places, the teachers, the parents, the goddesses and gods, who did not remain in <a> pure <life>: such a man descends to hell from birth to birth. But he who worships those deities, who makes pilgrimages, who makes vows, who bestows gifts and does meritorious deeds, such a man goes to final beatitude."

## XVIII Thus, the chief of ascetics narrated; he spoke to king Janamāi:

"After going into the world of Jama, Nāsaketa returned. He told this incident to his father and to the chiefs of ascetics. Everybody, after listening, was glad. The chiefs of ascetics said to Nāsaketa: "Who, besides you, could have told this story! Hail to you! Hail to Udālaka, who has a son like you!"

Thereupon, Nāsaketa said: "He who has heard this story, will not go to hell; he is entitled to final beatitude! This is the order of king Jama. This story destroys sins. He who hears it, who listens to it, goes to Baikūṭha!"

Nāsaketa told the lords of ascetics such news of the world of Jama. He gave accounts of evil and good, of virtuous and wicked people."

Written by Śivavarddhana in Jaitāraṇa, on the first day of the dark fortnight of bhādra of the saṃvat-year 1786 <= A. D. 1729>.



## BRAHMANISCHE SIEDELUNGEN IM BUDDHISTISCHEN BIRMA<sup>1</sup>

Von L. SCHERMAN

### I

Das indische Element läßt sich aus der Geschichte Birmas nicht wegdenken und heischt auch in der modernen Statistik ernste Berücksichtigung. Der Zensus von 1911 stellt neben die rund  $7\frac{1}{2}$  Millionen eigentlicher Birmanen über 838.000 Inder, die zu ziemlich gleichen Hälften dem Hinduismus und dem Islam zuzurechnen sind. Ihr Zuzug vollzieht sich unet; ein großer Bruchteil ergießt sich nur für eine Arbeitssaison ins Land; andere lassen sich für kürzere oder längere Zeit als landwirtschaftliche Arbeiter, Handwerker und Diener nieder und kehren nach genügendem Erwerb in die Heimat zurück. Diese Zuwanderung betrug 1910/11 durch den Hafen von Rangoon 269 217; abgewandert sind in derselben Jahresfrist 247 627 Personen. Der unbedeutendere Hafen von Madras entsandte 1910 133 495 Auswanderer nach Birma, und 125 984 kehrten von dort wieder zurück.

Geht unter diesen Umständen das Anwachsen des indischen Teiles der Bevölkerung nur langsam vonstatten, so wird es weiter noch dadurch gehemmt, daß in stark überwiegender Zahl Männer einwandern. Viele von ihnen gehen Zeitehen mit Birmaninnen ein, und ihre Nachkommen werden als Birmanen aufgezogen. Nur wohlhabende Hindu höherer Kaste halten darauf, ihre Kinder als Hindu zu erziehen; selbst diesen aber geht nach ein paar Generationen das Kastengefühl verloren, und sie neigen bald zur Annahme birmanischer

<sup>1</sup> Vorgelesen in der Sitzung der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften am 7. Juli 1923; mit Genehmigung der Akademie hier veröffentlicht.

Sitte und Sprache. Der markanteste soziale Faktor des Hinduismus, das Kastenwesen, existiert ja in Birma nicht<sup>1</sup>. Ganz abgesehen davon, daß nach streng orthodoxen Begriffen der "Vollblut-Ärya" mit der Seeüberfahrt nach einem fernen, nichtindischen Lande bereits eine Bresche in die strikten Kastengesetze zu legen begonnen hat, macht es ihm die neue Umgebung schwer, wenn nicht geradezu unmöglich, an den schon zu Hause so umständlichen Kastenvorschriften festzuhalten. Der Hindu niederer Kaste — und das ist die große Masse der Zuwanderer — nutzt die willkommene Gelegenheit, sich aus den quälenden Ketten zu lösen und die den Stempel gesellschaftlicher Minderwertigkeit aufdrückende Kastenbezeichnung abzuwerfen, um sich entweder eine besser klingende anzumaßen oder es bei einer allgemeineren Einreihung bewenden zu lassen, die nur die regionale Herkunft (wie Madrassi) oder die sprachliche Zugehörigkeit (wie Tamil, Telugu) verrät.

Unter sich kann es die ethnographisch und linguistisch bunt zusammengewürfelte Einwandererschicht zu keiner Einheit bringen; nur in wenigen Ausnahmen, wo ein Zusammenschluß größerer Gruppen es ermöglicht, wird trotz äußerer Schwierigkeiten mit einigem Erfolge die Erhaltung der Kastengrenzen versucht, so zuweilen bei gleichartig zusammengesetzten Einwanderergemeinden in Städten, beim Militärdienst und vor allem bei den in Birma schon seit langem angesiedelten Brahmanen-Gemeinden<sup>2</sup>.

Diese Brahmanen, von den Birmanen Ponna geheißen, finden sich in größeren oder kleineren Gemeinschaften meist in den alten Hauptstädten Oberbirmas oder in deren Nähe. An die südlichen Außenviertel der letzten Königstadt Mandalay schließen sich die Stätten der verlassenen Residenzen Amarapura und Ava an; ihnen gegenüber, am jenseitigen Ufer des Irrawaddy, Sagaing. Auf diesem Areal, wo ich sechs solcher Kolonien mit zahlreichen Tempeln aufstöberte, suchte ich mich, so gut es Zeit und Gelegenheit erlaubte, über die Ponna und ihre höchst merkwürdige Sonderstellung zu orientieren.

Was versteht man in Birma unter der Bezeichnung Ponna? Im eigentlichen, ursprünglichen Sinne sind das indische Brahmanen, die

<sup>1</sup> Die gelegentliche Herübernahme konventioneller Kastenausdrücke ändert an dieser Tatsache nichts; vgl. C. O. Blagden, *Epigraphia Birmanica* I (Rangoon 1920) S. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Näheres hierüber siehe *Census of India* 1911, Vol. IX, I. S. 77: 240—247.



am Hofe der birmanischen Herrscher das Amt von Astrologen und Zeichendeutern bekleideten<sup>1</sup>. Wann diese Einrichtung von den Königen Birmas ins Leben gerufen wurde, ist schwer zu sagen. Sir George Scott geht bis in die Pagan-Dynastie zurück, die 742 n. Chr. einsetzt<sup>2</sup>. In den *Census of India* hat C. M. Webb eine Mitteilung von Taw Sein Ko aufgenommen, wonach in der birmanischen Geschichte der weißen und schwarzen Brahmanen Erwähnung geschehe; mit ersteren meine man die aus Indien eingeführten, mit letzteren die einheimischen, schon lange angesiedelten Brahmanen. Unter der Regierung Bodawpayas (1781—1819) seien Brahmanen aus Benares mit ihren heiligen Schriften eingeführt worden, die ihre Kastenabsonderung behaupteten und mit Birmaninnen keine Ehe eingegangen seien<sup>3</sup>.

Die Brahmanen zog man für alle Hoffeierlichkeiten und für die großen religiösen Zeremonien bei; sie hatten u. a. bei der Krönung das Wasser zu weihen, mit dem der König gesalbt wurde, ihm eine von ihnen geweihte zauberkräftige Blume zu überreichen u. dgl. m. Beim Neujahrsfest mußten sie während der Kopfwäsche des Königs die Geister des Feuers und die Planeten um Segnung für das königliche Paar anrufen; beim Feste des Pflügens, wenn der Fürst und die hohen Beamten in vollem Ornate ein Stück Feld bestellten, hatten sie während dieses Aktes den Segen der Hindugötter herabzurufen, und gleichzeitig riefen die männlichen und weiblichen Geisterpriester der Birmanen ihre „Nat“ um eine gute Ernte an. Ihr Hauptamt aber waren astrologische und astronomische Berechnungen und die Aufstellung des Jahreskalenders; der Beginn des neuen Jahres (Mitte April) tritt in dem Augenblicke ein, wenn Thagyā, der brahmanische Indra, als Regengott vom Himmel niedersteigt,

<sup>1</sup> Schon die griechischen Berichte der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte rühmen die Brahmanen als gute Kenner der Zukunft: J. W. McCrindle S. 177; 183 f.

<sup>2</sup> *U D G I*, 2, S. 44; II, 2, S. 711.

<sup>3</sup> *Census of India* 1911, Vol. IX, I, p. 241; zum letzten Satze vgl. E. Forchhammer S. 104, wo die Gesandtschaft nach Benares ca. 1765 datiert wird; es scheint dieses Ereignis mit dem unten S. 436 von Forchhammer geschilderten zusammengefallen zu sein.

<sup>4</sup> *U D G I*, 2, p. 86; 99 ff.; die Hindu-Götter werden hier auf 15 beziffert; ähnlichen Zahlen werden wir später begegnen. — Über eine ganz ähnliche Zeremonie der ersten Pflugspar in Korea vgl. Norb. Weber S. 308. Die gemeinsame Grundlage des birmanischen und koreanischen Brauchs ist, wie nahelegend, in China zu suchen; vgl. J. D. Ball S. 44 und die S. 25 angeführte Literatur.

und von der Art seines Erscheinens hängt die Regenmenge und damit die Fruchtbarkeit des Jahres ab<sup>1</sup>. Aber auch für sonstige Ereignisse, Krieg usw. gestattet seine Erscheinungsform Voraussagen; sie festzustellen ist der Astrologen Sache.

Diese Brahmanen nehmen eine hochgeachtete Stellung ein und genießen auch bei ihren Landsleuten das volle Ansehen ihrer Kaste. Es ist bezeichnend, daß die substantiell aus Indien eingeführten Gesetzbücher vom 17. Jahrhundert ab mehr und mehr die Privilegien der Brahmanen betonen, und dagegen ist auch bis heute noch kein Widerspruch laut geworden<sup>2</sup>. In Siam liegen die Verhältnisse ganz ähnlich<sup>3</sup>.

In den letzten Jahrhunderten erhielten diese Brahmanen neuen Zuzug durch Kriegsgefangene aus den birmanischen Feldzügen gegen Manipur, Assam und Arakan<sup>4</sup>. Manipur scheint die größte Zahl geliefert zu haben; wenn aber 1796 der englische General Symes eigens aufgefordert wurde, den Generalgouverneur zur Entsendung eines gelehrten Brahmanen zu veranlassen<sup>5</sup>, so spricht dies dafür, daß das mit den Kriegsgefangenen eingeführte Brahmanenmaterial in der astrologischen und religiösen Bildung den Ansprüchen des birmanischen Hofes nicht genügte.

Im allgemeinen aber hat sich mit der Zeit die Auffassung herausgebildet, daß mit dem Namen Ponna fast immer aus Manipur stammende Brahmanen gemeint sind. Sie hatten das Übergewicht erlangt, seit in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. und im ersten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts die kriegerischen Herrscher Birmas auf ihren Zügen nach Manipur<sup>6</sup> dem steten Mangel an indischen Brahmanen dadurch abgeholfen hatten, daß sie in der radikalen Art, in der sich birmanische Eroberer gefielen, den größten Teil der Bevölkerung und mit ihr auch ganze Brahmanen-Kolonien nach Birma verschleppten. Mit solcher

<sup>1</sup> Scherman, *Götterkult* S. 164 f.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Forchhammer S. 86; 90; 99 f.; 102; 104; 107.

<sup>3</sup> Hierüber z. B. Pallegoix II, S. 46 f.; W. Graham, S. 316 ff. Die Brahmanen heißen hier Hün; das Wort, *hō* geschrieben, ist, wie mit Dr. Sprater teilt, skr. *horā*, das aus dem Griechischen herübergenommen ist; vgl. Thibaut S. 67 und neuerdings S. 20 der vortrefflichen Übersicht von M. Winternitz.

<sup>4</sup> *U B G* II, 2, S. 145; *Imp. Gaz., Prov. Series, Burma* II, S. 97, vgl. S. 190 u. 203.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Shway Yoe S. 135.

<sup>6</sup> Dabei darf nicht außer acht gelassen werden, daß es sich auch um eine Art Revanche handelte; hatten doch die Manipuri ihre Einfälle im Jahre 1733 bis Sagaing ausgedehnt: *U B G* II, 3, S. 66.



bei orientalischen Eroberern nicht ungewohnten Gründlichkeit war auch schon der glorreiche Begründer der Blütezeit des birmanischen Buddhismus, der König Anawrata von Pagan (1044—1077)<sup>1</sup>, vorgegangen, der bei einem Siege über die Talaing nach Einnahme und Zerstörung der östlich von Rangoon gelegenen Hauptstadt Thaton im Jahre 1057 nicht nur die buddhistischen Schriften, religiösen Bildwerke und allerhand Kostbarkeiten, sondern auch den König nebst Familie und Gefolge, sowie zahlreiche Handwerker, Künstler und Gelehrte nach Pagan mitnahm. Die ganze Hofgesellschaft wurde zu Pagodensklaven gemacht, d. h. sie und ihre Nachkommen waren für alle Zeiten dem Dienste in den Pagoden geweiht — ein unglückliches Schicksal, denn der Pagodensklave ist der niedrigste Outcast im kastenlosen Birma. Heute noch besteht ein Vorurteil, das den Pagodensklaven von der engeren Gemeinschaft mit dem achtbaren Volke ausschließt, selbst wenn Reichtum und hohe Stellung ihn äußerlich zum vornehmen Manne stempeln. Der größte Teil der Bevölkerung der Dörfer auf dem weiten Ruinenfelde von Pagan, die hauptsächlich die Lackindustrie betreibt, stammt von Pagodensklaven ab. Die Verkäufer, die an den Zugängen der großen Pagoden in Rangoon, Mandalay und anderen Städten ihre Ware feilbieten, gehören sämtlich zu dieser Klasse.

Die Verschleppung der Kunsthandwerker und Gelehrten von Thaton hat aber wenigstens der religiösen und architektonischen Entwicklung von Pagan Vorschub geleistet<sup>2</sup>. Thaton lag damals noch dichter am Meere und stand auf weit höherer Kulturstufe als das Eroberervolk; es war durchdrungen von dem religiösen und künstlerischen Geiste Indiens, und dieser nahm auch auf die Architektur- und Schmuckformen tiefgehenden Einfluß, wie wir sie heute noch an überkommenen Resten der Paganer Prachtbauten bewundern können.

Derartig eindrucksvolle Spuren hat die gewaltsame Kolonisierung des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts auf birmanischem Boden nicht hinterlassen. Aber auch in dieser erheblich jüngeren historischen Periode ist manch eine kulturelle Beeinflussung nachzuweisen, bei der Manipur

<sup>1</sup> Die übliche auf Phayre S. 251 basierende Datierung 1010—1052 ist nach C. Duroiselle und Taw Sein Ko, *Epigraphia Birmanica* I (Rangoon 1919) S. 4 so zu verbessern.

<sup>2</sup> Über die Motive der Eroberung von Thaton und die ihr zu verdankende Übertragung der Talaing-Kultur auf die birmanische Hauptstadt Pagan vgl. Duroiselle a. a. O. S. 6f.

eine ganz andere Bedeutung zufällt als Arakan. Von hier konnte den Birmanen nicht viel Eigenartiges gebracht werden — Arakan ist ja, wenn auch früher ein selbständiger Staat, ein alter Annex von Birma, dessen Bewohner man die älteren Brüder der Birmanen zu nennen pflegte<sup>1</sup>, und die direkte Nachbarschaft Indiens macht sich nur im physischen Typ und in einigen Bräuchen bemerkbar, z. B. bei der von Bengalen entlehnten Abschließung der Frauen.

Zwar sind auch die Manipuri ein hinterindisches Volk, sprachlich und sicher auch ethnisch den Birmanen nahestehend. Der Manipur-Staat nimmt einen Teil der Westgrenze von Assam ein, stößt östlich an den Upper Chindwin-Distrikt von Oberbirma und berührt mit seinem Südrand westlich die zu Assam gehörigen Lushai Hills, östlich die zu Birma gehörigen Chin Hills. Die Manipuri nennen sich selbst Meithei; von den Birmanen werden sie Kathè genannt<sup>2</sup>. Sie bewohnen inmitten des in seiner geographischen Struktur sich an Birma anlehnenden Landes das breite Tal, das von bergigem Gelände umgeben ist, und in diesem sitzen verschiedene, den Meithei nahe verwandte Stämme, die sogenannten Kuki und Naga. Von diesen stammen die Meithei selbst aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ab, was auch Sprache und Traditionen bestätigen. Trotzdem stellen sie diese Verwandtschaft in Abrede; zum Teil behaupten sie sogar Hindu-Abstammung, wie dies alle dem Hinduismus gewonnenen Dschungelstämme zu tun lieben. Hervorhebung verdient übrigens, daß sich in Manipur keine Spur von Buddhismus erhalten hat, obwohl die Shan im 13. Jahrhundert dort einfielen<sup>3</sup>.

Die Dienste der Gefangenen, und zwar nicht nur der Astrologen, sondern auch der Beamten und Handwerker, scheint ausschließlich der Hof absorbiert zu haben; daher sehen wir noch heute die Konzentrierung ihrer Nachkommenschaft auf die Bezirke der alten oberbirmanischen Residenzstädte. Aber die Zahl nimmt in der Statistik ständig ab. Der Zensus von 1901 hatte die Manipuri insgesamt auf

<sup>1</sup> Forchhammer S. 8. Die jüngeren Brüder sind die Chin, und unter deren acht Gottheiten führt F. S. 14 Yin und Yang auf; diese "represent the principles of light and darkness, and their seat is the sun and the moon". Das ist doch unabweidungige Übernahme der chinesischen Begriffe Yin und Yang! (Über diese handelt neuerdings L. de Saussure, *Journal Asiatique* 15 (1920), S. 35 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> Diesen Namen gab man auch einer Siedlung von Assamesen und Manipuri, die als Staatsklaven zum Rubineugrahn in Mogok (Ruby Mines) um 1784 verwendet wurden: *UBG* II, 3, S. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. namentlich Hodson S. 1 ff.; 48; 97.



11 132 beziffert, davon im Bezirke Mandalay allein 9000; im Zensus von 1911 sind nur mehr 3353 aufgeführt<sup>1</sup>.

Die große Minderung seit 1901 wird einesteils durch die fortschreitende Mischung mit den Birmanen, andernteils mit Auslassungen in der Zählung begründet, die eine Sonderstellung der Manipuri als Kaste nicht mehr beachtete; sie sind also in diesem Falle entweder zu den Hindu oder zu den Birmanen gestellt worden. Bei dem Zahlungsergebnis von 1901 wird die Ziffer ausdrücklich als für Kathé und Ponna geltend betont. Kathé (Cassay) haben wir bereits als Name der Meithei kennen gelernt; er eignete auch ihrem Lande, dessen Hauptstadt Manipur hieß. Die Unterscheidung zwischen Kathé und Ponna begründete der berichtende Distriktsbeamte von Amarapura mit der Religion: ein großer Teil hat den Hinduismus mit dem Buddhismus vertauscht, ihnen ist nur die Abstammung als Sonderzeichen verblieben — es sind also einfach Kathé, das sind Meithei oder Manipuri. Die Minderzahl, die Hindu geblieben sind, werden Kathé-Ponna genannt; hier haben wir die nicht konvertierten Kathé vor uns, aber sicher keine Brahmanen von der Art der richtigen vorderindischen Oberkaste<sup>2</sup>.

Nun entsteht die Frage: Deckt sich der birmanische Begriff Brahmane restlos mit der Bezeichnung Ponna, und wie ist diese in Aufnahme gekommen? Das Wort Ponna wird ebenso wie die Land- und Volksbezeichnung Kathé nur von den Birmanen gebraucht. Aber während für das Wort Kathé (Cassay) die Belege in der Literatur schon von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts an zu Gebote stehen und noch Yule 1855 von der großen Zahl der um die birmanischen Hauptstädte angesiedelten Manipuri oder Kathé spricht<sup>3</sup>, finde ich bis dahin nirgends den Namen Ponna erwähnt. Dagegen tritt er in den Reisebeschreibungen von Adolf Bastian aus den Jahren 1861/62 als offenbar landläufige Bezeichnung für Brahmanen entgegen. Die oft recht unvermittelt in seine Berichte eingestreuten Aufzeichnungen besagen,

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. IX, Part 2, S. 145, gibt folgende Einzelverteilung an: eigentliches Birma 3345, nördliche und südliche Shan-Staaten je 4; von den birmanischen Bezirken hat die Mandalay Division 2561, die Stadtgemeinde Mandalay mit der Stadt 2535, die Stadt allein 557. In Arakan leben 145, in den Divisionen Sagaing 174, Irrawaddy 282, Pegu 180, Melkula 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. XII, Part 1, S. 131 f.; s. auch *UBG* II, 1, S. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Yule S. 155 f.; sonst vgl. San Germanno und Symes, s. auch Yule-Burnell S. 597, 170.

daß der Forscher Ponna-Siedelungen in und um Rangoon, Prome und Mandalay antraf, und daß sie als Nachkommen von Gefangenen aus den Kriegszügen der Birmanen gegen die Könige von Kathay galten<sup>1</sup>.

Ich weiß recht wohl, daß es sein Mißliches hat, Bastian als wissenschaftlichen Kronzeugen aufzurufen<sup>2</sup>; aber seine Reiseaufzeichnungen aus Burma fallen in eine Zeit, wo Bastians Anlage, dem Leser auf jeder Seite Knüppel zwischen die Beine zu werfen und der gerade bei seiner Darstellungsart doppelt notwendigen literarischen Kontrolle Tür und Tor zu verrammen, noch nicht die Fieberhöhe erreicht hatte. Ich stelle also gern fest, daß, was Bastian über das Volkstum der Ponna beibringt, in allen Hauptpunkten mit dem von mir Beobachteten und Ermittelten übereinstimmt. Daß die Wiedergabe der Namen ihrer Kultfiguren z. T. Zweifel erregt, will nicht viel besagen. Und wenn ich von den über 20 Gottheiten, die er erwähnt, nur einen Bruchteil gesehen habe, so steht dem gegenüber, daß sich seine Angaben hierin eng mit Scott berühren<sup>3</sup>. Sicherlich haben die Ponna nach echt indischer Methode ihrem Lieblingsgotte eine Menge von Namen beigegeben, und diese ursprünglich nur nominale Spaltung fand allmählich auch in die Ikonographie Eingang. — Bastian spricht weiter von kriegsgefangenen „Kathay“, die entweder Schmiede oder Weber sind, und davon, daß einige unter ihnen von den „Pona“ abgefallen und zum birmanischen Kultus übergegangen seien. Ferner ist die einem dieser Konvertiten zugeschriebene Bemerkung beachtenswert, daß die Pona aus Tibo, d. i. Ceylon<sup>4</sup>, gekommen seien und nach den Ländern, wo sie sich niederließen, „Kathay-Pona“, „birmanische Pona“ usw. hießen. Ebenso merkwürdig ist für die Art ihrer brahmanischen Religion der Anfang eines ihrer in Kathay-Sprache verfaßten Bücher, das Bastian kaufte, aber verlor; es behandle, schreibt er, die Schöpfungsgeschichte und beginne mit der Lobpreisung „Lajingtungs, des Königs der Nat“. Sein Name — sicher Meithei — und seine Stellung als „Nat“ (= Geist) verraten die Beziehung zum angestammten Geisterkult (s. unten S. 442 f.), der ursprünglich nichts mit dem Brahmanismus zu tun hat.

<sup>1</sup> Bastian S. 35; 114 ff.; 126; 171; 237; 497.

<sup>2</sup> Es genüge hier auf Blagden, *Epigraphus Birmanica* 1, S. 70 A. 3 zu verweisen.

<sup>3</sup> Shway Voe S. 134 f.; s. auch oben S. 430, Anm. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Über die Brahmanen von der Koromandelküste und Ceylon und ihr Wirken in Burma s. San Germano S. 162.



## II

Nun zum Anschauungsmaterial, das in der ganzen Literatur, die sich mit den Ponna befaßt<sup>1</sup>, mangelt. In der äußeren Erscheinung heben sich die Ponna je nach ihrer Abstammung und dem Grade ihrer Vermischung mehr oder minder deutlich von der birmanischen Umgebung ab, deren Typ zu augenfälligem Vergleich die Aufnahme einer angesehenen Bürgerfamilie in Mandalay (Abb. 1) veranschaulichen soll. In den vom Birmanentum schärfer abgeschlossenen Gemeinden findet man, namentlich unter den Männern, Erscheinungen von rein vorderindischem Gepräge: schlanke, biegsame Gestalten, den schmalen, hohen Kopf mit der langen Schädelform, mit geradem hohen Nasenrücken und großen, nicht schräg gestellten Augen. Bei der Mehrzahl jedoch überwiegen schon die Merkmale des hinterindischen Volkstyps:

<sup>1</sup> Soweit ich sehe, geschieht das immer nur gelegentlich, und die in Betracht kommenden Stellen sind im Laufe dieser Ausführungen verzeichnet. Eine monographische Darstellung vermute ich in dem Heft von E. Forchhammer *„On Brahman and Sanskrit Literature in British Burma“*, Rangoon, Government Press, 1885. 8 p. Diese Abhandlung, die weder im British Museum noch in der India Office Library vorhanden ist, kann ich leider auch in Deutschland nicht aufreiben, und deshalb halte ich den Abdruck ihrer Anzeige im *Londoner Athenaeum* 1885, Oct. 24, p. 334f. an dieser Stelle für ratsam: „From a paper . . . by Dr. Forchhammer, Government Archaeologist, it appears that there are a number of Brahman families resident in Burma, chiefly in the Prome district, who cultivate the study of Sanskrit and regulate their domestic rites by the ‘Ghaya-sūtra’. Their ancestors emigrated from Central India to Manipur early in the seventeenth century, and found a home in the Kathay communities, which, though Indo-Chinese in blood and language, profess Hinduism. These communities were in 1783, as prisoners of war, transported by the Burmese king Zinpyumyashin to Amarapura and Prome. The Kathays, at present about 1300 souls, recognise the four castes, of whom the Kshatriyas, mostly silk weavers, are the most numerous, while the distinction between the two lower castes is not rigidly maintained. The Brahmins, consisting of but eight families, live on offerings and the fees paid to them in their capacity of doctors and astrologers; they belong to the Chaitanya fraction of the Vaishnavas. They possess some portions of the ‘Sāma’ and ‘Yajur’ Vedas, but know little more than the names of the two other Vedas. Manu as law-giver is unknown to them; their law code is the ‘Smṛitichandrika’, their grammar the ‘Sārasvati-prakriyā’. They possess only Kathay translations of portions of the ‘Mahābhārata’ and ‘Rāmāyaṇa’. Dr. Forchhammer gives a list of the manuscripts he procured from them. Of the Kathay language and literature he proposes to treat in a separate paper“.

Der hier genannte König Zinpyumyashin ist kein anderer als Bodawpaya (s. oben S. 430), der u. a. auch diesen Beinamen (= Herr der weißen Elefanten) führte; vgl. *UBG* II, 1, S. 20 und über die ganze umständliche Titelhäufung im Verkehr mit den britischen Bevollmächtigten Stuart S. 109f. (nach San Germano).

gedrungene Figur, breiteres Gesicht mit derben Backenknochen, kurze breite Nase und eine merkliche Schrägstellung der Augen — freilich alles immer noch eine gewisse Entfernung vom birmanischen Charakter während. Abb. 2 führt einen seiner Angabe nach aus Bengalen stammenden Brahmanen mit dem birmanisierten Namen Usenda vor, das Oberhaupt eines der begütertesten Ponna-Klöster in Mandalay, mit Frau, Sohn und verheirateter Tochter. Die indische Eigenart ist beim Sohne entschiedener ausgeprägt als beim Vater. Die beiden Frauen aber zeigen schon einen deutlich indochinesischen Einschlag, wie wir ihn etwa bei den Hindu in Assam zu treffen gewohnt sind. Vater und Sohn sind in das für die konservativen brahmanischen Ponna obligate Weiß gekleidet, aber die Gewandform ist, beim Vater wenigstens, birmanisch; er trägt das kurze weite birmanische Jäckchen; das Untergewand ist in der Art des birmanischen Paso umgelegt, und die schmale weiße Kopfbinde ist die für respektierte ältere Birmanen übliche Turbanform. Der Sohn trägt die in Vorderindien so häufige Gewandmischung: das weiße indische Untergewand und darüber ein Hemd europäischen Schnittes. Die beiden Frauen sind in der Kleidung fast völlig birmanisiert, besonders die Tochter. Die Mutter hat den kostbaren albirmanischen Seidenrock (Htamein) noch nach altem Brauch über die Brust befestigt, ohne Jacke, dazu ein weißes Umschlagtuch über Kopf und Schulter bis über die Arme niederhängend — eine Sitte, die ich bei älteren Ponna-Frauen häufiger bemerkte und die aus Manipur stammt.

Auch bei den als Arakan-Ponna bezeichneten Gemeinschaften in Mandalay fand ich vorwiegend indische Typen unter der männlichen Bevölkerung, obgleich Arakan, wie gesagt, ethnisch zu Birma gehört und schon seit Beginn unserer Zeitrechnung mehr oder minder unter Botmäßigkeit birmanischer Herrscher stand; aber mit dem dicht angrenzenden Bengalen bestand immer ein reger Verkehr. Im Vordergrund der Gruppe in Abb. 3, die zu einer wegen der Pest von ihrem Wohnviertel in Mandalay nach der Peripherie in die Nähe der chinesischen Friedhöfe verzogenen Gemeinde gehört, stehen inmitten der birmanisch gekleideten Leute ein junger Mann und zwei Knaben, die nach indischer Art nur mit dem umgeschlungenen Untergewand (Dhoti) bekleidet sind. Quer über Brust und Schulter legt sich die Brahmanen-Schnur. Das ist die offizielle Gewandung beim Kultdienst. Abb. 4 ist eine Aufnahme im sogenannten Setkyanwesain-Viertel (Census



No. 185), gerade während der Feier der Schnurverleihung an einen siebenjährigen Knaben; bei dem Manne links im Hintergrunde sieht man den weißen Strich von der Stirn bis zum Nasenrücken, das in Resten bewahrte vispunitische Sektenzeichen, das jeden Morgen nach dem Bade frisch aufgemalt wird. Im übrigen bildet die Gesellschaft ein buntes Gemisch indisch-birmanischer Tracht. Einige Knaben tragen nur das Lendengewand nach indischer Weise, andere sind mit Paso, Jacke und Turban festlich als Birmanen angezogen. Etliche junge Männer haben zum weißen, nach Birmanenart umgelegten Lendengewand ein europäisches Hemd oder die weiße Tropenjacke. Die Frauen und die kleinen Mädchen sind birmanisch aufgeputzt. Ähnlich finden wir in Abb. 5 — Manipuri-Ponna von Amarapura — die rituelle indische Gewandung, die birmanische Männerkleidung aus nur weißen Stoffen und die allgemeine birmanische Knaben-, Frauen- und Mädchenkleidung nebeneinander. Charakteristisch ist auf diesem Bilde der Flaggenmast mit den auf die Sockelstützen gestellten betenden Genien in birmanischer Fürstentracht. Diese mit der Gans (Híntha), dem Gottertier des indischen Brahmā gekrönten Masten (Tagondaing), von denen zuweilen lange Stoffschlangen (Nagā) wehen, sieht man gewöhnlich bei birmanischen Pagoden, aber auch die Ponna pflanzen sie in der Nähe ihrer Tempel auf. Ebenso verhält es sich mit der auf dem Steinsockel vor der Gruppe stehenden Gestalt der Erdgöttin Vasundhare<sup>1</sup>, die von birmanischen Buddhisten häufig den Figuren beigegeben wird, die im Umkreis der Kapellen bei den Pagoden stehen.

Greifen schon die offiziell brahmanischen Ponna-Gruppen fürs Alltagsgewand gern zur birmanischen Tracht, so kann man sich nicht wundern, wenn die birmanisierten und damit buddhistischen Manipuri sich auch in Schnitt und Farbe nach der Landessitte richten. In Abb. 6 — Familie von Manipuri-Webern in Sagaing — tritt, obwohl sie ganz achtlos aus birmanischem oder (wie beim Mädchen) aus europäischem Stoffe ihre birmanisch zugeschnittene Gewandung zusammengestellt haben, doch noch im Gesichtsschnitt die nichtbirmanische Abkunft hervor. Dagegen würde jeder die Weberin (Abb. 7) aus dem gleichen Orte und derselben Gemeinde mit dem derben, flachen, breiten Gesicht für eine Shan-Frau halten. Dies Aussehen

<sup>1</sup> Besten Aufschluß über diese bei Duroiselle, *Report of the Superintendent, Arch. Survey, Burma* 1922, S. 14—17; cf. Judson's *Burmese-English Dictionary* (Rangoon 1893) S. 1072.

ist nicht so befremdlich, wenn man in Betracht zieht, daß im 14. Jahrhundert ein Shan-Reich in Sagaing bestand und bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts Shan-Fürsten Birma von Ava aus regierten, sodaß ein erheblicher Rest von Shan-Bevölkerung hinterblieb; sind ja auch sonst Shan fast überall in die birmanische Bevölkerung eingestreut. In Sagaing sind die Manipuri zum Buddhismus übergetreten mit alleiniger Ausnahme der Brahmanenkaste, zu der sich noch etliche 30 Familien zählen; Ortsnamen in Sagaing und Umgebung deuten durch die Zusammensetzung mit dem Worte Ponna auf derartige Siedelungen hin<sup>1</sup>.

Die schärfste Sonderung der Manipuri-Gruppen zeigt sich im Hausbau. Inmitten einer Bevölkerung, die ihre Häuser auf Pfosten errichtet (Abb. 8), machen sich die Ponna-Siedelungen durch ihre ebenerdigen Bauten kenntlich, die auch in der gesamten Form und im Dachaufbau von der Umgebung abstechen. Die einfache Hütte hat nur einen niedrigen Lehm- oder Mauersockel; besser gebaute Häuser (Abb. 9) stehen auf einem hohen Ziegelunterbau, über den Stufen zu einer Plattform emporführen, die unter dem vortretenden Dach eine Veranda bildet. Diese dient tagsüber zum Aufenthalt und zur Arbeit, und auch der Webstuhl steht dort. Holzpfeiler tragen das Veranda-Dach; ein Querbalken verbindet sie. Auf diesem ruhen Stützpfeiler, die zum Dachgebälk gehen; sie enden in einen geschnitzten Sockel, der die Form des umgekehrten bei indischen Häusern häufigen Pfeilerkapitells hat. Die Außenwandung ist aus Holz oder aus Bambusgeflecht; das Dach wird mit Schindeln — außerhalb der Stadt auch oft mit Gras — gedeckt. Das Innere bildet eigentlich nur einen Raum, der aber häufig durch halbhohle Bambusschirme an den Seitenwänden in mehrere Abteilungen gegliedert ist. Die Mitte bleibt frei, der Feuerplatz ist in der letzten Abteilung, links vom hinteren Ausgang.

Das hier abgebildete stattliche Gebäude ist das Haus des Vorstehers einer großen Ponna-Gemeinde im Südwesten Mandalays. Eine Anzahl von Angehörigen dieser Siedelung hat sich auf der Treppe und der Veranda, auf der rechts der Webstuhl sichtbar wird, zusammengefunden, unter ihnen der Hauseigentümer, mit dessen Unterstützung ich phonographisch ein Kultlied aufnahm, das unten in Notenumschrift gegeben ist. Die ganze Siedelung umfaßt etwa 300 Häuser

<sup>1</sup> UBG II, 3, S. 45, II 2, S. 787.



und breitet sich in der Nähe einer alten Begräbnisstätte der königlichen Familie aus. Dieses Viertel, Königsviertel (Min-Thaya) genannt, gehörte vor der Erbauung Mandalays zu Ava. Hierher sind die Gründer dieser Kolonie nach Aussage der jetzigen Bewohner ungefähr im Jahre 1783 von Sagaing aus übergesiedelt; ursprünglich seien sie aus Sântipur nach Manipur gekommen und von da nach Sagaing; letzteres geschah also jedenfalls bei Gelegenheit der Invasion des Königs Sinbyushin im Jahre 1765<sup>1</sup>.

Von dem Hausrat schließt sich dem indischen Muster am engsten das Kochgeschirr an. Die Birmanen benutzen mit Ausnahme der Bratpfannen irdene Geschirre zum Kochen und Lackgefäße für Essen und Trinken. Die Messinggefäße (Abb. 10) sind durchgehends typisch indische Formen: ein großer, dem gewöhnlichen Wasserkrug gleichender Topf zum Reiskochen, ein niedriges Geschirr für Curry mit eisernem Dreifuß, der als Ständer beim Kochen dient, die Trinkgefäße ähnlich der bekannten indischen Loṭa und der große, flache Teller. Ganz eigenartig sind die Koch- und Eßlöffel.

Die gesellschaftliche Gliederung innerhalb der Ponna-Gemeinden ist verschieden. Von der indischen Kasteneinteilung sind nur die Grundlinien geblieben. Es kommt vor, daß eine Gemeinschaft ganz aus Brahmanen besteht, wie bei dem Kloster- und Tempelkomplex, dessen Oberhaupt Abb. 2 vorführt. Die meisten Gemeinden aber setzen sich aus zweierlei Elementen zusammen, aus den eigentlichen Ponna, d. h. den Brahmanen, die sich mit dem Kult, der Astrologie, den zereemoniellen Ämtern bei Familienfeiern usw. abgeben, und dann sozusagen aus den Laiengruppen, die profanen Beschäftigungen nachgehen.

Das Kastenwesen haben weder die Manipuri noch die Arakanesen in ihrer Heimat jemals richtig kennen gelernt. Alle Meithei betrachten sich, wie in einem Aufsatz des politischen Vertreters der britischen Regierung in Manipur in übersichtlicher Klarheit dargetan wird<sup>2</sup>, als eine Kaste und heiraten nur unter sich, aber selbst da ver-

<sup>1</sup> Die Zuverlässigkeit dieser Angabe wird dadurch erhöht, daß nach den Daten des *Asiatic Gazetteer*, die am Hooghly gelegene Stadt Sântipur in Bengalen ehemals weltberühmte Webereien fertigte, und daß dort unter großem Zulauf ein Fest zu Ehren des Kṛṣṇa alljährlich gefeiert wird. Dieser Weg, von Bengalen über Manipur nach Birma, entspricht genau den von Forchhammer (s. oben S. 436 und „Jardine Prize“ S. 26) gemachten Feststellungen. S. auch unten S. 442, Anm. 2.

<sup>2</sup> J. Shakespeare S. 470.

zeiht man ein Abweichen von der Regel, wenn auch diese Nachsicht erst in der nächsten Generation zur Tat wird. Das Handwerk der Schmiede und Metallarbeiter ist an gewisse Familien gebunden, aber ihre Mitglieder dürfen ungehindert einen anderen Beruf ergreifen. Alle Meithei dürfen miteinander essen, aber nicht mit einem Nicht-Meithei. Außenstehende mit Ausnahme von Muhammedanern und den überall verachteten Kehlern können mit Bewilligung des Rājā in die Meithei-Gemeinschaft aufgenommen werden; überhaupt genügt seine Zustimmung, um die meisten Unregelmäßigkeiten sozialer und religiöser Natur zu decken.

So versteht man es, daß die Kastenbezeichnung auch bei den birmanischen Ponna in der Praxis nicht übermäßig viel bedeutet. Bei der früher (S. 439 Abb. 9) besprochenen Manipuri-Siedelung wurde noch an dem Schema der Verteilung und ihrer fast buchstäblich beibehaltenen altindischen Benennung festgehalten. Die Brahmanenschnur, hier Pavitra genannt<sup>1</sup>, besteht bei den Brahmanen aus neun, bei den Kṣātrīya aus sechs, bei den Vēṣīya (= Vaiśya) aus drei Fäden<sup>2</sup>.

Die Brahmanen verdienen ihren Unterhalt durch Wahrsagen oder ziehen als religiöse Bettler zum Almosengang aus; Kṣātrīya und Vēṣīya sind Weber und Kaufleute, die Śūdra stellen die Barbieri und Kuli usw.; Outcasts haben sie nicht. Die Männer aller vier Kasten tragen eine zweireihige Halskette<sup>3</sup> aus der den Viṣṇuiten heiligen Tulasi-Pflanze, einem Basilienkraut (*Ocimum sanctum*, birmanisch Pinsein); bei 60—70jährigen Leuten ist sie dreireihig.

Die Arakan-Ponna (Abb. 3), deren Vorfahren vor etwa 200 Jahren nach Amarapura kamen, haben sich ungefähr 1885 in Mandalay niedergelassen. Sie haben Baṅgālī-Schrift und Sprache bis jetzt bewahrt; daneben sprechen sie auch birmanisch<sup>4</sup>. Die Klassenschichtung dieser

<sup>1</sup> Eigentlich „Reinigungsmittel“, auch im Sanskrit die heilige Brahmanenschnur bedeutend; Pavitratropa — das Umhängen der heiligen Schnur um Kṛṣṇas Bild.

<sup>2</sup> Eine ähnliche Abstufung gab mir in persönlichem Gespräch der bekannte indische Gelehrte Venkayya auch für Südindien an; jedoch wird hier zwischen Verheirateten und Nichtverheirateten unterschieden; ersteren gebühren sechs oder neun, letzteren drei Fäden; auch hier erfolgte die Umgürtung mit der Schnur ursprünglich bei siebenjährigen Knaben, wird aber jetzt gewöhnlich um drei Jahre verschoben.

<sup>3</sup> Von den Caitanya-Viṣṇuiten Bengalens schreibt Ward I, S. 222: "they refuse to eat without their necklace, as the brāhmāṇs [Brahmans] do without their poṭṭa [pavitra]."

<sup>4</sup> Diese Zweisprachigkeit findet man bei den meisten Ponna-Gemeinden; je nach Abstammung sprechen sie Manipul, bzw. Assamesisch und Birmanisch, zuweilen auch



aus etwa 300 Männern und ebensoviel Frauen bestehenden Kolonie war noch einfacher: es gab nur Brahmanen<sup>1</sup> und Śūdra, und alle trugen die Schnur mit neun Faden. Merkwürdig ist, daß bei ihnen die Häuser die gleiche Form haben wie bei den Manipuri-Ponna und daß ihre Frauen die charakteristischen Goldhalsketten aus Manipur neben dem rötlich gefärbten birmanischen Goldschmuck tragen. Es scheint, daß gemeinsame Religion und gemeinsames Schicksal im Exil ein einigendes Band um die zerstreuten Gemeinden schlingen.

Die allgemeine Religionsform nun ist der viṣṇuistische Kult und zwar der auf dessen Grundlage emporgewachsene Kṛṣṇa-Dienst. Der Viṣṇuismus ist auch Staatsreligion in Manipur<sup>2</sup>, und er muß hierher seinen Weg von Bengalen aus genommen haben, wo er zu ähnlicher Blüte gediehen ist wie in dem berühmtesten Zentrum, in Brindāban nahe Muttra, dem alten Mathurā; dorthin hat die Sage die Geburt Kṛṣṇa's und die Stätte seiner jugendlichen Entwicklung verlegt. Die ganze Hindu-Kultur in Manipur ist aber, wie schon oben (S. 433) kurz berührt wurde, etwas Sekundäres. Sie hat nur die zivilisierteren Talbewohner, eben die Meithei oder Manipuri, erfaßt. Ihre Abstammungslegende — jedenfalls von den Priestern für sie erfunden — dichtet den Meithei eine lang zurückgreifende Vergangenheit auf hinduistischen Grundlagen und eine wundersame Herkunft von einem vergöttlichten Hindu-Ahnen an. Nach demselben Rezept verfahren die Hofhistoriker in Birma, als Land und Herrscher dem Buddhismus gewonnen waren; da wurde die Wiege der Dynastie ins Gangestal verlegt, um ihre Verwandtschaft mit indischen Fürsten glaubhaft zu machen<sup>3</sup> und sie möglichst nahe an das Geschlecht heranzurücken, dem Buddha entstammte. — Vertrauenswürdig klingt in den Manipur-Annalen, daß erst 1704/5 ihre neue Religion durch einen in Begleitung von 24 Genossen aus Assam kommenden Brahmanen (Goshami) namens Muni (offenbar die ganz allgemeine Bezeichnung eines Sehers oder Heiligen)

nach Hindūstān. Vgl. E. P. Cloney bei C. C. Lewis, *Census of India* 1901, Vol. XII, Part I, S. 1311.

<sup>1</sup> 'Bramon' genannt; die Ponna in Abb. 9 nannten sich alle 'Bamon' — die genau entsprechende Beobachtung auch bei Bastian S. 116 — und sahen in dem Worte 'Ponna' überhaupt nur eine birmanische Benennung.

<sup>2</sup> Die Verbindung mit dem Mutterlande wird durch die Beziehungen zur Stadt Nadiya aufrechterhalten, die nicht weit von Sāntipur (s. oben S. 440) abliegt; vgl. Hodson S. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Lassen II, S. 1041 ff. und namentlich Blagden, *Epigr. Birmanica* I (Rangoon 1920), S. 72; 78.

bei der Familie des Rāja in Aufnahme gebracht worden sei; 1708/9 sind für Kṛṣṇa und Kālī Tempel gebaut worden — aber bald auch für eine der alten einheimischen Göttinnen, während man den Kālī-Tempel einstürzen und fünf Jahre in Trümmern liegen ließ; kurzum die Bekehrung vollzog sich langsam und unter fortwährenden Zugeständnissen an die alten Gottheiten und Lebensgewohnheiten<sup>1</sup>. Der Herrscher, der 1714 auf den Thron gelangte, führte den Hindu-Kult zwangsweise durch Dekret als Staatsreligion ein, aber trotzdem wurden für gewisse Repräsentanten des alten Pantheons sogar Brahmanen zum Dienste konsigniert, und heute noch ist der Hinduismus, dem alle auf Achtung Anspruch erhebenden Manipuri angehören, dort derart dünn aufgetragen, daß man selbst von den besten Hindu, vielleicht etliche der frommsten Brahmanen ausgenommen, kaum sagen kann, sie hätten ihren alten Glauben aufgegeben. Sie haben lediglich die Hindu-Gottheiten ihren alten Göttern beigefügt. Bemerkenswert ist auch, daß sie eine Reihe der abstoßendsten Hindu-Sitten völlig abgelehnt haben, so die Kinderehen und das Verbot der Wiederverheichung der Witwen; ihre Frauen sind ebenso frei und selbständig wie in Birma. Aber alle Feste des Hindu-Kalenders hat man gerne übernommen; man feiert sie nur eigenwillig jeweils einen Tag später! Ebenso festfreudig wie die Birmanen — wie diese sich des Pagodenbaues, der Klöster und Mönche annehmen, geradeso ist es in Manipur der Ehrgeiz des Wohlhabenden, einen Tempel aufzurichten und einen Brahmanen zu erhalten — ergötzen sich die Manipuri an religiösen Spielen und Tänzen, die das Leben Kṛṣṇa's dramatisieren. Schon die Kinder wirken da mit; Kṛṣṇa und Rādhā — im Tanz- und Festkostüm der Manipuri, Kṛṣṇa mit der Flöte — sind die Hauptrollen (Abb. 11). Im Kult des Jagannath, der sonderbaren rudimentären Manifestation Kṛṣṇa's, werden auch hier wie im indischen Orissa große Umzüge mit dem hochgetürmten geschmückten Wagen für das Idol gehalten. In den Tänzen mit Dämonenmasken dringt wohl wieder der Geisterkult mehr durch. Der Śiva-Dienst hingegen ist ganz in die Ecke gedrängt; dem heiter veranlagten Volke liegen die gewaltige, unheimliche Person Śiva's und die blutigen Kālī-Opfer weit weniger als das freundlichere viṣṇuitische Göttersystem<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Näheres bei Shakespear S. 409 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Hodson S. 95 ff.; Shakespear S. 409 ff.



Und eben dieses finden wir auch bei den nach Birma verpflanzten Manipuri-Gemeinden. Kṛṣṇa, seine Lieblingsfrau Rādhā und Jagannāth stehen bei ihnen und ebenso bei den Arakan-Ponna im Mittelpunkt der Götterverehrung. Ganze Horden dieser Figuren sah ich angehauft in den Kulträumen des stattlichen Ponna-Klosters (Abb. 12), dem der Brahmane Usenda (Abb. 2; vgl. oben S. 437) vorsteht. Die Steinbauten zu beiden Seiten der Straße verraten die Wohlhabenheit, die diesen mit Astrologie und Magie beschäftigten Brahmanen aus ihrer Tätigkeit und aus der auch gegen den hinduistischen Klerus geübten Freigebigkeit des birmanischen Volkes erblüht. Der eine Klosterbau war leer; die gerade recht stark hausende Pest — zur Zeit meiner Anwesenheit in den Winter- und Frühjahrsmonaten 1911 fielen ihr in Mandalay täglich etwa 40 Personen zum Opfer — hatte die Bewohner zur Flucht veranlaßt. Auf der anderen Straßenseite gelangte man zuerst in die in birmanischem Stil aus Holz gefügten, von Etagendächern mit zierlichen Spitzen überragten Bethallen, in deren Hintergrund die Nischen mit den Altären waren. Eine Anzahl Brahmanen, indischem Brauche gemäß im weißen Hüftentuch und mit bloßem Oberkörper, waren ständig am Eingang zu sehen. Das pomphaftes Gebäude im Hintergrund, eine Mischung europäischer und birmanischer Bauformen, enthält neben den Wohn- und Schlafräumen des obersten Brahmanen noch ein hohes liches Gemäch, in dem in einer bühnenartigen Nische (Abb. 13) mit reicher gold- und glasverzierter Verkleidung auf einem genau dem birmanischen Königs-  
thron — der auch bei birmanischen Buddhisten der Buddha-Figur als Sitz dient — nachgebildeten Altäre Kṛṣṇa und Rādhā standen. Kṛṣṇa mit der Flöte trägt die hohe birmanische Königskrone; vorne deckt der flügelförmige, mit Gold- und Flitterstickerei und eingesetzten Glassteinchen gezierte Überwurf des Fürstengewandes seine Gestalt. Auf dem Sockel des Thrones und unten an der Basis, sowie außerhalb der Nische an den Fensterwänden des Raumes standen wahllos zusammengedrängt eine Unzahl kleinerer und größerer Kultfiguren aus Holz oder Bronze, zumeist wieder Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā und Jagannāth. Diese Göttersammlung, der hier zeitweilig Obdach gewährt wurde, entstammte verschiedenen, der Pest wegen verlassenen Ponna-Siedlungen. Der Zutritt zu den Kulträumen und Figuren wird dem Andersgläubigen nicht fanatisch verwehrt wie in Indien; man ersucht nur, den Figuren nicht zu nahe zu kommen und sie nicht zu berühren.



Bei anderen Gemeinden, wo die Figuren in dunkeln Tempelnischen aufgestellt waren und so weder betrachtet noch photographiert werden konnten, brachten sie uns die gefälligen Ponna bereitwillig ans Tageslicht, obwohl ihnen daraus Mühe und Umständlichkeiten erwuchsen. Der Träger der Figuren mußte vorher ein Bad nehmen; der Platz, auf den der Untersatz mit den Bildwerken gestellt wurde, wurde mit Kuhdunglösung gewaschen. In einer Kolonie am Südwestrande Mandalays (s. oben S. 439) konnte man mir die Figuren deshalb nicht vorführen, weil in der Sippe (gotra) des mit ihrer Obhut betrauten Brahmanen wenige Tage vorher eine Geburt stattgefunden hatte; diese bedingt wie ein Todesfall Unreinheit auf 10 Tage, und so lange dürfen von keinem Mitgliede der Sippe die Götterbilder berührt werden.

Die Zahl der Kultgestalten, die ich in den verschiedenen Gemeinden zu sehen bekam, beschränkte sich auf fünf Persönlichkeiten. In einem Tempel bei Amarapura brachte man mir zuerst das Paar Kṛṣṇa und Rādhā (Abb. 14). Die Gesichtszüge des Gottes sind völlig birmanisch und von weiblicher Weichheit, die Kopfbedeckung ist in der Hauptsache das königliche Diadem mit den zackigen Seitenflügeln; aber das über der Spitze aufgesetzte Ornament mit den Pfaufedern hat eine fremde Form, ähnlich wie wir in Manipur die Krone des Kṛṣṇa bei dem religiösen Tanz der Kinder gesehen haben. Rādhā's Kopf erinnert mit den langgezogenen Ohren an einen birmanischen Buddha. Nach diesen beiden wurden Gopāla und Jagannāth aufgestellt (Abb. 15). Der jugendliche, kauende Kṛṣṇa mit dem Süßigkeitsballen in der Rechten ist hier nicht das kurze dicke, massige, krabbelnde Kind wie oft in südindischen Bronzen, sondern gestreckter und schlanker; er setzt den linken Arm ganz in der bei der birmanischen Sitzweise gebräuchlichen Art auf. Der Zapfen auf dem Scheitel gemahnt an Buddha-Darstellungen. Jagannāth aber hat die Unformigkeit bewahrt, die der indische Kanon seiner Erscheinung vorschreibt: ein fast dreieckiger, schaufelförmiger Kopf, an dem nur die Nase als spitze Erhöhung aus einer Mulde hervortritt; ein roh geformter Stumpfen bildet den Rumpf, dicht unterm Hals strecken sich zwei Armstummel geradlinig nach vorne. Die Augen sind riesige in Weiß, Rot und Schwarz gemalte Scheiben. Aber in Birma ist auch dieser unformige Kopf mit der Königskrone bedeckt, und den Armstümpfen sind geballte Hände mit vorgestrecktem Zeigefinger und kleinem Finger



angefügt<sup>1</sup>. Diese holzgeschnitzten Figuren waren bemalt: Kṛṣṇa blau, Gopāla blaugrau, Rādhā gelb und Jagannāth in dem herkömmlichen Schwarz. Man arbeitet sie aber auch, von Jagannāth abgesehen, in Bronze, namentlich in geringeren Größen; die Gesichtszüge fallen je nach der Hand des mit der Herstellung betrauten Kunsthandwerkers nicht immer so gleichmäßig birmanisch aus.

Bei den drei Figuren von Abb. 16, die ein Ponna in seinem eigenen Familientempel mir zum Photographieren an die Eingangstür brachte (ganz rechts im Dunkeln sieht man noch seinen Kopf), hat Kṛṣṇa — dem die Flöte fehlt — einen typischen Buddhakopf; die Züge seiner Gefährtin sind erheblich plumper und konnten auch einem indischen Götterbilde zugehören; dasselbe gilt von der dritten Figur, die Mahāprabhu, eine Form Viṣṇu's, vorstellen soll<sup>2</sup>. Die einfachen Stoffe sind den Figuren in einer an indische Tracht erinnernden Art umgelegt, aber so phantastisch, daß man z. B. Rādhā für einen Mann halten könnte.

Die Tempelbauten der Ponna haben keinen einheitlichen Stil; die einfacheren (Abb. 17) sind aus Holz und haben die Form des Wohnhauses mit der Veranda; andere aus Ziegel sind neueren Datums (Abb. 12) und zeigen die bekannte europäisch-birmanische Mischung, oft mit Stuckverzierungen birmanischen Charakters wie Genien (Nat), Mannlöwen (Manuṭhiya) usw. und als Krönung der Dachspitzen den eisernen Hoheitsschirm (Hti), der auch die birmanischen Pagodenspitzen, Palast- und Klosterdächer schmückt. Aber auch das Rad-symbol des Viṣṇu erscheint als Dachornament oder an der Außenwand der Holztempel. Die Tulasi-Pflanze gilt wie in Indien als heilig,

<sup>1</sup> Wie ich an anderer Stelle (*Genius* 1921, S. 95) bemerkte, glaube ich, daß Jagannāth zu jenen Hindu-Gottheiten zählt, deren Stammbaum von recht aufsehbarer hinduistischer Reinheit ist. Er hat den Anschein, als ob in solchen Fällen Aborigener-Bräuche brahmanisiert wurden, und daß dann auf sie der Zauberkult des Śiva oder die Mystik des Viṣṇu-Dienstes aufgepfropft wurde.

<sup>2</sup> Als dessen älteren Bruder nannte man hier Nityānanda (dieser Name bedeutet „ewige Wonne“ [gewährend] und wird bei Bastian, S. 12 irrig erklärt). Auf diese Nebengötter (s. unten S. 451) weisen auch die *UBG* II, 1, S. 45 aufgeführten Namen Mahāprīṭam, Mahāparapu, Mahāpeinnē (Bastian S. 126: Mahabine). Mit letzterem Wort — Mahāprīṭam ist wohl nur eine Nebenform, wenn nicht bloße Verschreibung — schiebt sich in den Viṣṇu-Kreis ein neues, śivaistisches Element. Mahāp(e)innē ist nämlich der beliebteste Name Gaṇeś'a in Birma; die von Anawraṭa bald nach 1057 erbaute Shwesandaw-Pagode heißt auch Mahāpeinnē oder Gaṇeśa-Pagode — eine der vielen Mischungen von Buddhismus und Hinduismus. Vgl. Duroiselle, *Report of the Superintendent, Arch. Survey, Burma* 1913, S. 23; Taw Sein Ko, *ib.* 1918, S. 19.

ebenso der in Birma verehrte Nyaung-bin, eine Ficus-Art. In einer Ponna-Siedelung sah ich vor jedem Hause einen solchen Baum in einer Holz- oder Steinumzäunung eingepflanzt, dem vor dem Gang zum Tempel jedesmal Verehrung bezeugt wird. Ein mächtiger Feigenbaum der gleichen Gattung stand bei den Arakan-Ponna auf einer gemauerten Terrasse und daneben ein steinernes Häuschen für die zu seinem Kulte entzündeten Lichter (Abb. 17).

Daß aber auch in Birma der Visnuismus wie in Manipur bei seinen Bekennern den Geisterkult neben sich duldet — genau, wie es der Buddhismus tut —, bezeugte mir eine Vase mit Blumen an der Vorderwand über der Eingangstüre eines Ponna-Hauses, die dort, wie man mir sagte, für die „Nat“ aufgestellt war.

Auffällig berührt, daß von den vielen Berufen, denen die nach Tausenden eingeschleppten Kriegsgefangenen angehört haben müssen, sich nur das Astrologentum und die Weberei als angestammtes Gewerbe fortgepflanzt haben. Zu Symes' Zeiten (1795) sollen die Cassayer oder, wie ein birmanischer Ausdruck auch lautete, die Cassay-Shan Ruderer auf der Yacht des birmanischen Fürsten gewesen sein und, an Fleiß und Geschicklichkeit den Birmanen überlegen, sich durch vielerlei Arbeit ein behagliches Leben gesichert haben. Die Dorfbewohner trieben Ackerbau und Gemüsezuucht, und ihre Frauen übernahmen vergnügten Sinnes den Verkauf der Produkte auf dem Bazar von Amarapura. Ebenso sind noch bei Yule's Anwesenheit (1855) diese Leute unter der städtischen Bevölkerung in Amarapura stark vertreten und wegen ihrer hervorragenden Geschicklichkeit in allem Handwerk sehr geschätzt; von den Seidenwebern bildeten sie die Mehrheit<sup>1</sup>.

Von den in diesen alten Berichten gerühmten Manipuri-Handwerkern, die um willkürliche Entlohnung alles nur Erdenkliche für den Hof und die Hauptstadt arbeiteten, habe ich nichts mehr entdeckt. Nach dem Zusammenbruch des Königiums 1886 hörte dieser Zwang von selbst auf. Die Birmanen besaßen aber selbst geschulte Kunsthandwerker, die sicher manches von den Fremden gelernt hatten, während diese mehr und mehr im Birmanentum aufgingen.

Ebenso wie mit der Aufgabe der politischen Selbständigkeit und dem Verschwinden der Hofaristokratie Mandalay in schnellen

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Symes II, S. 120f.; 146 und Yule S. 154; s. auch Hodson S. 29. Die Abb. eines Manipur-Kavalleristen bei Symes, Atlas, Taf. 12.



Verfall geriet und an Volkszahl und allgemeiner Bedeutung von Rangoon immer tiefer in den Schatten gestellt wurde, so sind auch die Glanztage der Hofbrahmanen vorbei. Immerhin haben sie sich noch eine gewisse gesicherte Stellung beim Volke und die alteingewurzelte Achtung als hochkastige Hindu bewahrt. Die entgangenen Einkünfte vom Königshaus müssen sie freilich auf andere Weise zu ersetzen streben, aber das hält bei der Freigebigkeit, die der Birmane allen religiösen Einrichtungen gegenüber übt, nicht allzu schwer, zumal die Dienste des Bedin-Saya, wie der Wahrsager mit dem aus dem Sanskrit übernommenen Worte für Veda-Lehrer genannt wird<sup>1</sup>, in unzähligen Dingen benötigt werden. Man braucht das Horoskop bei Geburt und Heirat; man holt sich Rat und Bestimmung des glückbringenden Tages für Reisen, Hausbau und sonstige Unternehmungen, und von wirkungsvollen heiligen Sprüchen (Mantra, auch aus Altindien übernommen) und von den Anrufungen des Brahmanen erwartet man Segen und Abwendung des Übels. Allerdings tritt jetzt bereits der Wettbewerb der von der chinesischen Seite ihre Wunderkräfte nährenden Shan in Erscheinung. So ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß verhältnismäßig viele von der Ausnützung des abergläubischen Hanges ihren Lebensunterhalt bestreiten und ganz behaglich leben, zumal sie ihr Einkommen noch durch ein sehr weltliches Gewerbe zu erhöhen verstehen, indem sie Geld zu hohen Zinsen an Birmanen ausleihen. Wenige nur haben es nötig, noch im Alter mit Anstrengung ihrem Gewerbe nachzugehen, wie der 80jährige Greis in Abb. 18 (Taf. III), den ich auf seinem eiligen Heimweg an einer der alten Klostergrund-Umwallungen von Amarapura anhielt. Er kam augenscheinlich eben vom „Amtieren“ zurück; denn er war ausgerüstet mit Rosenkranz und Horoskopbuch, das an dem über die Schulter gehangten Säckchen befestigt war. Der schlanke, kerzengerade und flink ausschreitende Alte machte durchaus keinen greisenhaften Eindruck; physisch ist er ein Charakter-Typ seiner Gattung. Turban, Jacke und Gewand sind weder rein birmanisch noch rein indisch, dennoch ist er auf den ersten Blick als Nicht-Birmane kenntlich.

Was nun die Textilarbeiten betrifft, so wird die ausgedehnte Heimindustrie der Seidenweberei von Sagaing, Ava, Amarapura und Mandalay zu beträchtlichem Teile von Manipuri betrieben. Dabei

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Scherman, *Wohnhaustypen* S. 207.

scheinen aber die eigentlichen Ponna, d. h. die hinduistischen Manipuri-Familien doch nur in geringem Maße beteiligt zu sein. Nach den Census-Angaben von 1911 beschäftigten sich mit Zurichten und Weben der Baumwolle 131385 Buddhisten und 209 Hindu, mit Spinnen und Weben der Seide 18486 Buddhisten und 17 Hindu. Da ich sowohl in und um Amarapura wie in Sagaing ganze Weberviertel traf, deren Bewohner als Manipuri bezeichnet wurden, geht aus den Zahlen hervor, daß die meisten von diesen Handwerker-Familien sich dem Buddhismus und damit dem Birmanentum angeschlossen haben<sup>1</sup>. Es handelt sich übrigens bei der Weberei in ganz Burma in der Hauptsache um weibliche Arbeit. Spinnen und Weben ist hier wie bei fast allen hinterindischen Völkern Sache der Frauen. In Vorderindien weben nur die Männer.

Es fragt sich nun, ob die Manipuri sich seinerzeit in dem ihnen zwangsweise als neue Heimat zugewiesenen Lande aus Not der Weberei als Erwerbsquelle zugewendet haben, oder ob sie wegen ihrer hochentwickelten Technik in die Schar der für den Hof arbeitenden Handwerker eingereiht wurden. Sicher haben damals ebenso wie heute die Frauen das Weben als häusliche Industrie betrieben und diese auch im Exil fortgesetzt, und ihre besondere Fähigkeit war der Grund, sie in der Nähe der Residenz anzusiedeln. Die berühmten birmanischen Seiden-Gobelins (Acheik), ehemals ausschließlich für den Hofgebrauch reserviert, wollen manche auf die Manipuri zurückleiten<sup>2</sup>. Das hat seine Schwierigkeit. Aus Vorderindien kann diese Technik kaum in die Manipur-Enklave von Assam gekommen sein. Denn von den Kashmir-Geweben und den Baumwoll-Teppichen zu den birmanischen Acheik führen keine Zwischenstadien. Eine Verpflanzung aus China, das seit alters in Gobelin-Webereien Erfahrung hatte, kann ich mir höchstens mittelbar denken, etwa durch die Shan im alten Ahom-Reich, also in Assam.

Zuzugeben ist, daß die Manipuri-Frauen in Burma außerordentlich fähige und fleißige Seidenweberinnen sind. Gewiß haben sie aus der

<sup>1</sup> In Yule's Bericht wird gesagt (S. 154), daß die Frauen der in den Vororten und Nachbardörfern der Hauptstadt angesiedelten Manipuri, deren Fronarbeit unbezahlt war, den fehlenden Verdienst durch die Seidenweberei aufbrachten.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. *Oxford Survey* II, S. 154; Scherman, *Irrawaddy* S. 12. Auch in Yawnghe, der Hauptstadt des gleichnamigen Staates der Südlichen Shan-Staaten, vertritt man diese Ansicht und begründete sie mir mit dem Zusatz, daß dort sogar noch eine Frau lebe, die Kathè (Manipuri) sprechen könne.



Heimat einen anscheinlichen Musterschatz mitgebracht und die birmanische Textilkunst fördernd beeinflusst und bereichert. Heute sieht man von ihren heimischen Gewändern nur noch wenig, obwohl sie den eigenen Bedarf in der Regel selbst herstellen, nicht durch Bazareinkauf decken. Von den Manipuri-Frauenröcken, die ich in Birma durch die Vermittlung eines Gemeinde-Obmannes erhalten konnte (Abb. 19 c, d, e, f, g, h) decken sich c, d, e, f in Webart und Anordnung der Muster mit den neuen Geweben aus Manipur, die das Münchener Museum für Völkerkunde in einer auf meine Bitte von dem obengenannten Colonel Shakespear in entgegenkommendster Gefälligkeit besorgten Sammlung besitzt (Abb. 19 a, b). Ich zeige zum Vergleiche die Stücke in Abb. 19 nebeneinander: a und b zwei neue Manipur-Gewebe, deren schmale Streifenmuster am oberen und unteren Rande von streng und sauber in Stickerei ausgeführten Bordüren begrenzt sind. Ganz dieselbe Art des Baumwollgewebes und der wie Wirkarbeit aussehenden mit Seide ausgeführten Randstickerei finden wir in den beiden birmanischen Erwerbungen d und e; e ist zwar ein neuerer aus birmanischer, himbeerroter Seide gewebter Rock, aber trotzdem sind die typischen Manipur-Stickmuster in den Bordüren beibehalten. Zur Technik ist zu bemerken, daß die Stickerei rückwärts nach vorgezeichneten Mustern ausgeführt ist und vorn in dicht aneinandergesetzten Deckstichen erscheint. Der dunkelblau und weiß gestreifte Baumwollrock Abb. 19 f hat beiderseits Doppelbordüren: Blattranken und Vögel mit grüner und weißer Seide in Festonier- und Stilstich auf weißem Grunde. Verwandt hiermit ist die Bordüre des auf hellblauer Seide gestickten Rockes g und das Gesamtmuster des aus himbeerroter gestreifter Seide verfertigten Rockes h. Die indische Grundlage dieser Motive ist unverkennbar; namentlich das gegeneinander gewendete Vogelpaar ist in Südindien und Ceylon heimisch, ist aber auch in den Musterschatz der Shan im Gefolge der buddhistischen Kunst übergegangen<sup>1</sup>.

Die Industrie-Weberei benützt längst den birmanischen Trittwebstuhl (Abb. 6). Für den häuslichen Gebrauch sah ich neben ihm auch den primitiven, durch einen Gürt von der am Boden sitzenden Weberin in Spannung gehaltenen Apparat (Abb. 20). Ich habe ihn

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Scherman, *Irrawaddy* S. 106f. und „Webmuster“ S. 520f.; Coomarasawamy S. 85f.

samt dem aufgezogenen Gewebe, einem groben breitgestreiften Stoff, ins Münchener Museum gebracht.



Fassen wir zusammen: Die Ponna sind — mag ihr Name von Sanskrit *punya*, bzw. Pāli *puṇṇa* (=rein, gut, heilig) stammen oder (was höchst unwahrscheinlich) aus einem Manipuri-Wort übernommen worden sein<sup>1</sup>, — eine verhältnismäßig junge Erscheinung im Volkerleben Birmas, ebenso wie ihre Hauptquelle in Manipur sich erst aus der letzten bedeutenderen Phase der Geschichte dieses Ländchens herleitet. Aber sie sind eines jener lehrreichen Beispiele für die noch heute in Hinterindien sich vollziehenden Kulturübergänge. Rassenreinheit und Rasseneinheit, die man überall in der Welt ungleich häufiger sucht als findet, können wir bei den Ponna-Gemeinschaften nicht annehmen. Der Zuzug aus Indien, vornehmlich Bengalen, ist mit und ohne Benutzung der Zwischenstation Manipur zu verschiedenen Zeiten erfolgt, und unter denen, die von Manipur nach Birma abwandern mußten, sind sicher viele gewesen, deren Abstammung mit Indien herzlich wenig zu tun hat und geradlinig in das Mongolentum weist. In der religiösen Tendenz handelt es sich um eine ausgesprochen viṣṇuitische Bewegung<sup>2</sup>, die das Kastentum zwar nicht grundsätzlich

<sup>1</sup> Die erste Ableitung habe ich zunächst für heinahe selbstverständlich gehalten (vgl. meine „*Völkerkundlichen Notizen*“ I, S. 11), und ebenso verfährt Forchhammer S. 21. Nachdem die Arbeiten von Hodson und Shakespear aber die verbindende Linie nach Manipur bedeutend klarer hervortreten lassen, läge die Verlockung nahe, auch für das Wort Ponna hier die Quelle zu suchen. Wir finden in Manipur die Bezeichnung Punn(h) oder Panna für die vier Bevölkerungsschichten, in die die Meithei sich gliedern. Diese Schichten haben im Turnus je zehn Tage gewisse Arbeitspflichten ohne Entgelt für den Staat zu übernehmen, so daß jeder über sechzehn Jahre alte Mann des Landes immer von vierzig Tagen zehn im Dienste der Allgemeinheit steht. Alle Stände und Berufe sind eingeschlossen, auch die Brahmanen, die während ihrer Pflichttage für den Raja und ihren Gott Govindji — hier haben wir wieder eine Viṣṇu-, resp. Kṛṣṇa-Benennung — zu kochen haben. Innerhalb dieser Schichten bestand eine komplizierte Abstufung, auch für die Brahmanen; die Titel waren meist fremder Herleitung. Vgl. Hodson S. 63; 222. Gegen diese Anknüpfung spricht namentlich die birmanische Schreibung *puṇṇā*; mit doppeltem Zerebrat-o, das auf Pāli-Entlehnung weist. Für Ferrar's Transkription *puṇṇā* (S. 158) sehe ich keinen Anhalt. Schon 1879 erwähnt H. L. St. Barthe bei Erörterung der für das Birmanische adaptierten Wörter „*puṇṇa* = a Brahmin“ unter den zweifellos indischen Wörtern, die in keinem Pāli- oder Sanskrit-Lexikon zu finden sind (S. 257).

<sup>2</sup> Auf das 16. Jahrh. zurückgehend. Vgl. die kurze Übersicht H. v. Glasenapp's S. 388 f., wo auch die oben S. 442; 446 gebrauchten Titel Goshami und Mahāpabbha



abschaffte, aber doch ganz erheblich milderte und so den Übergang zu einem gewissen Indifferentismus schuf, wie er sich in den Rechtsbüchern Birmas kundgibt, die in einer für Indien unerhörten Weitherzigkeit neun Klassen von Brahmanen aufstellen und unter diesen nicht nur Śūdra, sondern — man denke — die Caṇḍāla erscheinen lassen!<sup>1</sup>

Kann man prophezeien, was aus den Ponna-Gemeinden werden wird? Ich rechne mit der Möglichkeit, daß die birmanischen Elemente allmählich im Kult die Oberhand gewinnen und einer Verschmelzung mit buddhistischem Wesen die Wege ebnen<sup>2</sup>. Die Duldung des neben dem Buddhismus uppig fortwuchernden Geisterglaubens der Tibeto-Birmanen, die Einbeziehung Buddha's in die Manifestationsreihe des Gottes Viṣṇu<sup>3</sup>, der Synkretismus, der in Darjeeling, Nepal usw. bei religiösen Bräuchen hervortritt, sprechen meines Erachtens für diese Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht minder als das weitere Moment, daß der Viṣṇu-Dienst, dessen exzentrische Ausartung nicht nach Manipur und noch weniger nach Birma übergegriffen hat, sich viel leichter der milderen Denkart des Buddhismus anzuschmiegen vermag als der in maßlosen Übertreibungen schwelgende Śivaismus. Freilich hat auch dieser, wie Beispiele aus Ceylon und Java lehren<sup>4</sup>, verstanden, sich mit dem Buddhismus, wo es ihm zweckmäßig dünkte, abzufinden; tat er doch seinem Stifter die Ehre an, ihm als Śiva's jüngsten Bruder Anbetung zu gönnen! Es ist schwer zu sagen, welche der beiden Glaubenslehren dabei einen schlimmeren Verrat an ihren Grundsätzen begangen hat.

erklärt sind. Über den vergöttlichten Sektengründer Nityananda vgl. Glasenapp S. 130f. und namentlich Ward I, S. 219 ff.; II, S. 291 f. Nityananda lebte in Nadiya, sein Genosse Advaita in Santipur; s. oben S. 440, 442.

<sup>1</sup> *Digest of the Burmese Buddhism law* I, S. 442f.

<sup>2</sup> In die Grundmauern des Mandalay-Palastes wurde 1857 eine Silberplatte mit eingraviertem Zauberspruch versenkt. Die nordbuddhistische Tendenz dieses in verschiedener Hinsicht merkwürdigen Amulets auf Rechnung der Mitwirkung von „Ponna, Northern Indian, nominally Manipuri, soothsayer, of the kind that abounded in the Palace and ruled its ceremonial“ zu stellen, wie dies Sir Richard C. Temple, *Indian Antiquary* 52, S. 353 vorschlägt, trage ich Bedenken; Temple selbst hat den Vorstellungskreis der Ponna als brahmanisch charakterisiert: *The thirty-seven Nats* S. 25—27.

<sup>3</sup> Gerade die Jagannath-Idole faßt man in Bengalen als Buddha-Avatāra zusammen: Glasenapp S. 130; 341f. Im Ponna-Schrein von Sagaing steht neben den Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu-Bildern ein Alabaster-Buddha: *UBG* II, 3, S. 45.

<sup>4</sup> E. Müller-Heß S. 700.



Abb. 1. Birmanische Bürgerfamilie; die Weberin eine Shan-Frau.



Abb. 2. Oberhaupt eines Ponua-Klosters mit Familie.







Abb. 3. Gruppe von Arakan-Ponna.



Abb. 4. Arakan-Ponna, Feier der Umgürtung mit der heiligen Schnur für den links im Vordergrund stehenden Knaben.







Abb. 5. Manipuri-Ponna in Amarapura.



Abb. 18. Ponna-Wahrsager.



Abb. 6. Manipuri-Weber  
in Sagaing.







Abb. 7. Manipuri-Weberin in Sagaing bei der Arbeit.



Abb. 8. Birmanischer Wohnhaustyp.







Abb. 9. Veranda eines Ponna-Hauses in Mandalay.



Abb. 10. Koch- und Speisegeräte der Ponna.







Abb. 11. Kinder beim Kulttanz in Manipur.  
(Nach J. Shakespear, *Folk-Lore* 21 [1913], p. 417.)



Abb. 13. Altar mit Kultfiguren im Ponna-Kloster.  
(cf. Abb. 12 auf Tafel VII.)







Abb. 12. Ponna-Kloster in Mandalay.



Abb. 17. Einfacher Ponna-Tempel in Mandalay.







Abb. 14—16. Kultfiguren der Ponna in Mandalay und Umgebung.





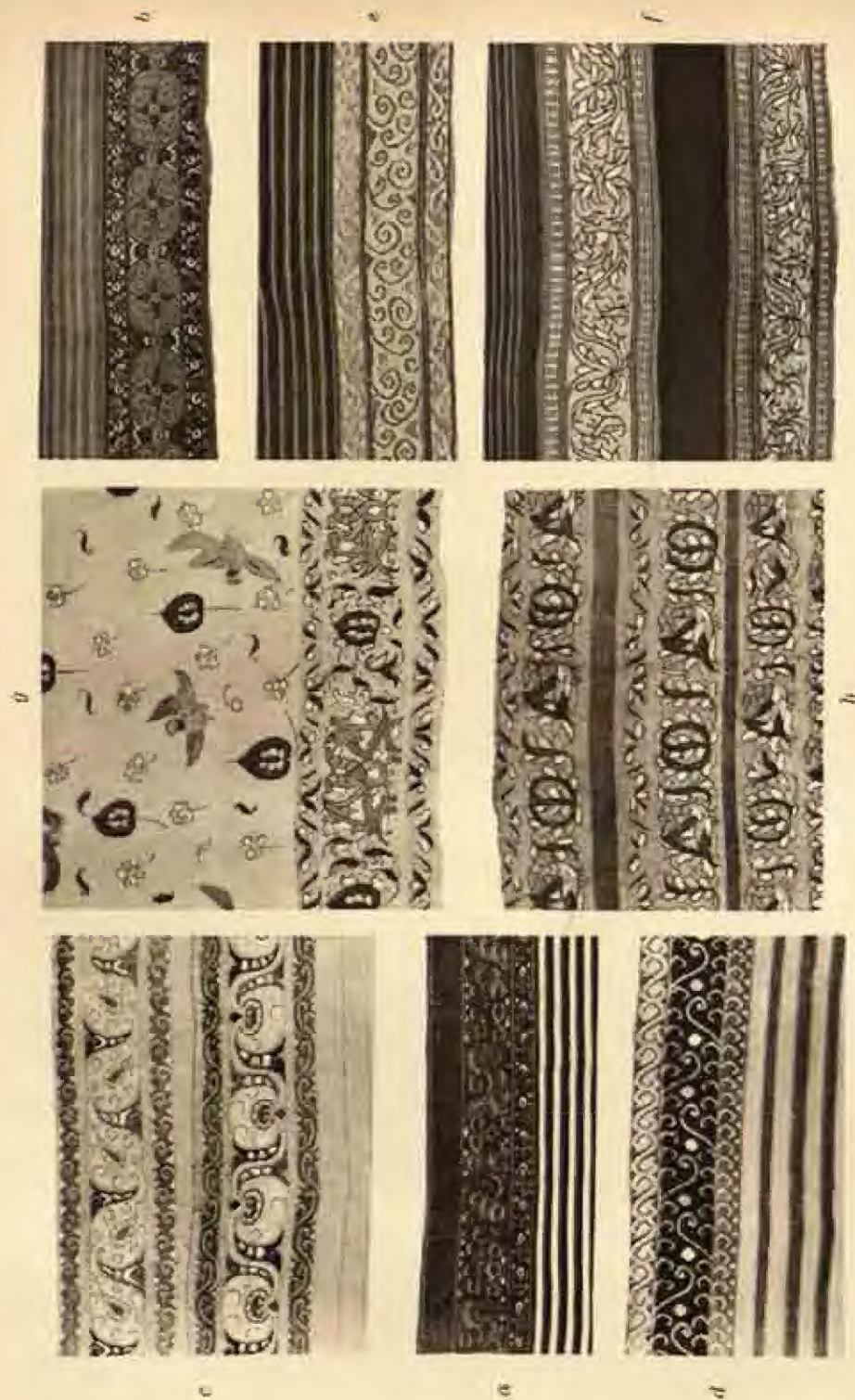


Abb. 10. Muster von Ponna- und Manipur-Röcken.







Abb. 20. Weberin im Pouua-Viertel von Mandalay.



Abb. 21. Vortrag eines Ponua-Kultliedes in Mandalay.





Sir George A. Grierson umschreibt, übersetzt und erörtert den Text nun so:

bandō	jugal-caran	carasā 3	hā 4	jugal-caran	carasā
<i>we-river</i>	<i>the-twin-feet</i>	?	0	<i>the-twin-feet</i>	?
sādhu-santa-caranā	caranā 4	hā 4	jugal-caranā	carasā	
<i>(of)-pious-good-(men)-</i>	<i>the-feet</i>	0	<i>the twin-feet</i>	?	
mai-sab	gāot	Hari-gun-sab	kômāpakarōaparātārinā		
<i>we</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>Hari's-virtues</i>	?		

The language is the bastard Assamese-Bengali spoken in Manipur and called 'Mayāng'. I do not know the meaning of the word *carasā*. In its place we should expect some such word as *arabind* [*yugala-caranāravinda*, the twin lotus-feet]. The word *sab*, all, merely indicates the plural. I can make nothing of the last group of words. If correctly written in the original, I do not think that they are either Assamese or Bengali. The syllable *ko* may, perhaps, be the Hindī sign of the accusative, and should then be joined on to the preceding *sab*. *Mā* may perhaps be some form of the pronoun of the first person. *Tarinā* looks like some form of the verb *tār-*, to pass a person over (the ocean of existence), to give salvation to a person. The word *apar* may mean, in Assamese, either 'other' or 'but.' Probably the last line should mean 'we sing (praises of) Hari's virtues. May he give us salvation', but this is a mere guess for the last clause.

The writing in the Bengali character is clear enough. What is doubtful is the meaning of some of the words.

Die Notenumschrift S. 454 verdanke ich der Güte des Kollegen Dr. Kurt Huber vom Psychologischen Institut der Münchener Universität, der sie durch folgende Darlegungen erläutert:

Selten läßt sich bei phonographischen Aufnahmen ein so hoher Grad von Vollständigkeit erreichen wie bei dem vorliegenden Kultlied. Photographische Platte (Abb. 21) und Phonogramm ergänzen einander zum lebendigen Bild der Situation, und die genaue Schrift- und Lautaufnahme an Ort und Stelle ermöglichen eine Prüfung des Phonogramms auf seine Treue, die zu methodisch bemerkenswerten Ergebnissen führt.

In musikalischer Beziehung gehört die Aufnahme zu den verhältnismäßig einfachen Stücken der reichen Scherman'schen Sammlung, von der ich an anderer Stelle zwei Proben veröffentlichte<sup>1</sup>. Das

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. L. und C. Scherman, Im Stromgebiet des Irrawaddy (München 1922), p. 129-32.



ansprechende Gebetslied wird von einer ungelübten Knabenstimme unter Begleitung von Instrumenten vorgetragen. Die große birmanische Faßtrommel (2. Trommel in der Notenumschrift), die eigentümliche Schnecken- oder Kegeltrumpete — ein vorderindisches Kultinstrument — und die Becken sind auf dem Bilde festgehalten; hingegen scheint die kleine, auf die Töne *c* — *a* fest abgestimmte Kegeltrumpete (1. Trommel) verdeckt, die im Instrumentalvorspiel und als ständige Begleiterin des Gesangs die wichtigste Rolle spielt. Sie gibt zunächst allein, später von der Faßtrommel unterstützt, mehrere Takte hindurch den Grundrhythmus an. Es folgt ein kürzeres Zwischenspiel der Becken in doppelt so rascher Bewegung, dann setzt auf den ersten Rhythmus der Gesang ein. Dazwischen fällt die Schnecken- oder Kegeltrumpete in einfachen Oktavgängen ein, die zur Tonart des Gesangs *es-es* schreiend dissonieren.

Die schlichte dreiteilige Melodie verrät vielleicht im Sequenzenaufbau des Anfangs und dem langsamen Schlußteil den kultischen Charakter. Der straffer gebaute Mittelteil mutet hingegen recht volkstümlich, fast kindlich an und kontrastiert seltsam zu der schönen Coda, die die Walze leider nicht mehr ganz aufzeichnet. Aus dem Rahmen anderer birmanischer Volksgesänge der Scherman'schen Sammlung fällt die Melodie jedoch in keiner Weise heraus.

Derartige Gebetslieder, von Kindern gesungen, sind auch aus Vorderindien und Ceylon bekannt. Abraham und v. Hornbostel bringen zwei Proben aus Madras<sup>1</sup>, fast noch einfacher im Bau, doch anscheinend ohne Instrumentalbegleitung. Endlich weist die einfache Metrik des Textes wie dessen Durchsetzung mit sinnlos gesteigerten Wortwiederholungen in die Richtung von Zauber-, Kindersprüchen oder verwandter primitiver Volkspoesie. In ganz gleicher Verwendung treffen wir beispielsweise sinnlose Worte, Ausrufe, Lösungsworte in den volkstümlichen Liedern Japans, wo sie besonders beliebt zu sein scheinen<sup>2</sup>.

Über die Abweichungen zwischen Phonogrammbild und gesprochenem Lautbild ist oben das Nötige gesagt. Die Notenumschrift bringt in der ersten Zeile das aus dem Phonogramm ohne jede Beein-

<sup>1</sup> O. Abraham und E. M. v. Hornbostel, *Phonographierte indische Melodien: Sammlg. der Int. Mus. Ges.* 5 (1903), S. 361.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Sangoro Ito, *A comparison of the Japanese Folksong and the Occidental*, Univ. of California Publ. in Psychology, Vol. 2 (1916).

flussung abgehörte Lautbild, darunter steht der durch die Scherman'schen Aufzeichnungen erschlossene Text. Zwei Takte vor B (3. Zeile v. u.) sind Melodie und Text, im letzten Takt die Textwörter fast unkenntlich.

Im übrigen interessieren vor allem die Beziehungen zwischen der rhythmisch-metrischen Struktur des Texts und dem Aufbau der Melodie. Die melodische Linie folgt dem Prosarhythmus der Worte insofern genau, als sie fast immer die Längen des Textes auch musikalisch als Längen, ebenso die kurzen Silben als Kürzen wiedergibt. Hingegen bauen sich die einzelnen Phrasen der Melodie unabhängig von der metrischen Struktur des Texts auf. Fraglos erweist sich der Text bei genauerer Betrachtung als streng metrisch gegliedert: er besteht aus sieben siebenfüßigen Verszeilen, von denen die ersten vier (2 mal 2) und die letzten drei enger zusammengehören — etwa wie folgt:

Bando jugal caranā  
hā jugala carasā  
sādhū santa caranā  
hā jugala carasā  
maī saba gāwata  
hariguṇa sabako  
mā pakaro apara.

So entsteht eine dreiteilige Form, die — unserer Stollenform ganz ähnlich — sich aus zwei zweizeiligen gleichgebauten „Stollen“ und einem dreizeiligen „Abgesang“ zusammensetzt. In der Melodie wird nun die dreiteilige Form durch genaue Wiederholung des Abgesangs in eine zweiteilige verwandelt (A—A'/:B:/). Der repetierte Teil B kann jedoch musikalisch nur als Mittelglied aufgefaßt werden und bedarf unbedingt der Vervollständigung durch den dritten, auf der Walze unvollständigen Teil C, der erst einen Abschluß bringen kann. Zu letzterem fehlt merkwürdigerweise mit Ausnahme des unsicheren „tarina“ jede Textunterlage; vielleicht folgte ursprünglich die durch dieses Wort angedeutete „Weise“, die im Laufe der Zeit verloren gegangen oder zu dem Codaglied C verstümmelt worden ist.



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## IS MANICHEISM AN IRANIC RELIGION? PART I

By J. SCHEFTELOWITZ

1. The direct statement in the younger Avesta that there are 7 Amašaspantas (Princes of the Gods), is confirmed by a Chino-Manichean source<sup>1</sup>. The oldest parts of the Avesta allow the conclusion that there were 7 divine princes beside Ahuramazda (cf. Yasna 47, 1—2): Spanta Mainyuš, Vohu Manah, Aša-vahišta, Haurvatāt, Amaratāt, Xšaδra, Armaiti. As Spanta Mainyuš (Holy Ghost) is often identified with Ahuramazda, the latter is used in the place of the former in Yasna 1, 1—2; 16, 3; 70, 2; so that the "Seven" must be alternately understood with or without inclusion of Ahuramazda. The younger Avesta, having added Sraoša<sup>2</sup> understands the "Seven" without Ahuramazda (or Spanta Mainyuš).

The supposition that Ahuramazda is equipped with 7 original powers personified is also substantiated by the 7 epithets given to him (Yasna 26, 2, Yašt 13, 80), while Yasna 45, 2, too, may point at the 7 attendants surrounding Ahuramazda and Angro Mainyuš, when—beside their soul—the following 7 attributes are given to them: manah (intellect), songha (knowledge), xratu (wisdom), varəna (faith), uxəda (speech), šyaoδna (activity), daēnā (religion). That *daēnā* stands here for "religion" is seen from Yasna 16, 2. Now it can be proved by the study of all religions that a people's picture of the heavenly kingdom reflects that of its own kingdom on earth. The 7 Amašaspantas are conceived after the 7 princes attending the Achaemenids' kings<sup>3</sup>. "Diese Ausgestaltung des göttlichen Regiments nach dem Vorbild des irdischen

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Asiat. 1911, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Scheftelowitz, *Altper. Religion* 1920, 133 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 133. The septenary is also frequently found in the cult of Mithras. On its monuments we see the sun with 7 rays and 7 aliars (Cumont, *Text. et mon.* I 115, 123).

Hofhaltes hat sich in den Monarchien überall entwickelt und tritt uns sehr anschaulich z. B. in Babylonien auf den Votivtafeln seit den ältesten Zeiten entgegen". A. Christensen<sup>2</sup> showed that, in a similar way, the four watches of the heavens in Bundehišn 2, 7 correspond with the 4 main dignitaries of the Sassanides. The Indian gods' lives and courts, too, resemble perfectly those of princes on earth). That the Amāšaspentas nearest to Ahuramazda must be thought of as inseparably combined with him, is to be inferred from Yasna 23, 2, where Ahuramazda's Fravaši and the six or seven Fravašis of the Amāšaspentas appear closely united through the use of the dual: *fravaši*<sup>3</sup>. Amongst the Amāšaspentas, Vohu Manah represents the genius of good-will, Aša vahišta (perfect justice) the protector of fire in the heavens and on earth<sup>4</sup>, Ārmaiti (devotion) the guardian of the earth (Y. 47, 3; Vend. 2, 10; 18, 64), Amərətāt (immortality) that of the plants, and Haurvatāt (perfection) that of the waters; whereas in the younger Avesta the two last names also stand for plants and for water<sup>5</sup>. Xšaθra vairyā (excellent government) takes care of the metals and therefore also stands for metal<sup>6</sup>.

2. Of late, Reitzenstein<sup>7</sup> suggested the hypothesis that there were in Iran originally but 3 Amāšaspentas, representing, so to speak, the 5 elements: fire, earth, water, plants, and metal. He sees the proof thereof, firstly, in a passage of a Soghdish fragment, calling the 3

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* II 1921, 98.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Empire des Sassanides* 1907, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Indier*, 1920, 312 f.

<sup>4</sup> The text of Yasna 23 has many mistakes. § 1 reads, to my opinion, after Ms. Mf. 3, and Yašt 13, 22: *puṛē . . . paitivarəθi* (accus. plur.). As the verb *ā-yā* may also be followed by the genitive as shown by § 4, we must replace the faulty *fravaše* in § 3 by the variant K. 37: *fravašē* (i. e. dative for genitive) which form stands also in the text of § 4; the same also instead of the second *fravaši* in § 1. The especially in correct § 3 must— with regard to the existing variants—run as follows: "*\*āyayāi ašavane fravašē \*āš au vahišt ayēd vomo parəirəstə dahmā nāriša āpərənāyēda hainiša . . . \*uzəitē* (the last form can be proved by the Pehl.-translation). "I address in prayer every fravaši of a righteous person, defend anywhere on this earth as godly woman, of every not grown up girl that laboured in the field and was domestic and has gone off that house." The parallel passage Y. 67, 2—3 also demands the dative *fravašē*, because this word depends upon the verb *daəqun* "I dedicate." About the dative for genitive in Avesta comp. L. Horn, *Berzenbergers Beiträge* 17, 152 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Yasna 25, 7; 1, 4; 2, 4; cf. also Darmesteter *Z. A.*, II 361.

<sup>6</sup> Yasna 8, 1; 3, 1; 4, 1; 6, 17; 7, 26.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *Air. Wörterbuch* 545.

<sup>8</sup> *Mani and Zarathustra*, *Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss.* 1922, 249 ff.



Manichean elements "the 5 *Mardaspandti*" (= old Iranian: Aməšaspəntas, cf. Müller, Handschr. II, 98); secondly in Yasna 26, 1—3. Let us see if this hypothesis, overthrowing all previous Avesta-interpretation, can be verified.

Yasna 26, 1—7 treats in all details the same subject as 23, 1—4; § 1 is an invocation of the Fravašis of homes, villages, districts, and countries; § 2 invokes Ahuramazda's Fravaši together with those of the Aməšaspəntas and Yazatas. Then follow those of the religious men, lead by the *Paoirya ŋkaša* (i. e., the first teachers), such as Gayo marətan, Zarathuštra, Vīštāspa, Isaṭvāstra; then are invoked the Fravašis of male and female believers belonging to one family and called *Nabānazdišta*. In § 4, the Fravašis of the *Paoirya ŋkaša* and *Nabānazdišta* are mentioned in connection with the own soul. With the exception of § 1, which is repeatedly varied in the Avesta, the invocation of the Fravašis is very old in its form and found not only in Y. 26, 2—7, but also in Y. 1. Here, 1, 1—18, the names of Ahuramazda, of the 6 Aməšaspəntas and of the other Yazatas are given in the same order, then follow the Fravašis of the *Paoirya ŋkaša*, of the *Nabānazdišta*, and of the own soul. Let us begin with Yasna 26. § 1 is—as was said before—a favourite litany of the Avesta:<sup>1</sup>

1) "The good, powerful, holy Fravašis of the right-believers I praise, I invoke, I sing. We adore the Fravašis of the thoroughly Zarathuštrian homes, villages, districts, and countries.

2) Among all these Head-Fravašis we adore here that of Ahuramazda as the greatest, best, most beautiful, most powerful, most wise, finest of all in shape, and unsurpassed in righteousness.

3) The good, powerful, holy Fravašis of the righteous Aməšaspəntas, the shining, effective by their glances, prominent, overpowerful, efficient, offsprings of Ahuramazda, intangible, and just.

4) The vitality, the Self, the reason, the soul, and Fravaši of the first teachers (*Paoirya ŋkaša*) and of the first male and female rightly believing disciples, who were victorious for the right faith, we adore. The soul of the well-built cow we adore<sup>2</sup>.

5) Those that were victorious for Aša, we adore, that is: the Fravaši of the right-believer Gayo Marətan, the lot, and the fravaši of

<sup>1</sup> Yasna 17, 18; 26, 1; 59, 18; 71, 22; yašt 13, 21.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence breaks the logical connection and has probably been inserted later.

the right-believer Spitama Zarathuštra we adore; the Fravaši of the right-believer Kavi Vištāspa we adore; the Fravaši of the rightly believing offspring of Zarathuštra, Isatvāstra, we adore.

6) The vitality, the Self, the reason, the soul, Fravaši of their nearest kin (Nabānazdišta) among the male and female believers, who were victorious for the right faith, we adore together with all faithful Fravašis of the dead and living right-believers and of the yet unborn world-renewing saviours.

7) We adore here the souls that are the Fravašis of the righteous dead. We adore here the Fravašis of all Nabānazdištas that died in this house, of the promulgators of religion, and of their male and female rightly believing disciples."

Here, as in Yašt 13, 149, are only invoked the five spiritual and immortal ingredients of man of the Paoīrya ūkaēša and Nabānazdišta, whereas in Yašt 13, 155, the 5 spiritual, immortal parts of all "present, future, and past victors" are adored. According to ancient Iranic creed, 5 immortal spiritual powers are immanent to the right-believer, as is seen by Yasna 55, 1: "All persons, with bones, physical strength, body, intellectual vitality (*taviši*), reason (*baōrah*), soul (*urvan*), and Fravaši we hallow." Here the last four powers are immortal. That *taviši* corresponds here entirely with *ahū*, the imperishable vitality, is inferred from Yasna 45, 10; 34, 11; 51, 7. Besides, man has, as known, an immortal *daēna* (Self), cf. Yašt 13, 74; Haḏ. Nask. 1, 9. In analogy to the 5 spiritual parts of man, Zarathuštra has also five spiritual features: Fravaši, speech, religion<sup>1</sup>, faith, and teaching (Yasna 16, 2). Among the Fravašis of men the Paoīrya ūkaēša are the mightiest; cf. Yašt 13, 17: "tā fravašayo ašaonam aōjistā . . . yā paoīryanam ūkaēšanam". Next to them in importance are the Fravašis of the Nabānazdišta; therefore both are generally mentioned together<sup>2</sup>. Both categories of the Blessed are regarded as victorious for their religion. Of such prominent Blessed who, while living, worked so victoriously for their religion by means of their five immortal spiritual powers, all the immortal powers are adored, whereas in other cases, only *urvan* and fravaši are adored. The singular of every one of

<sup>1</sup> Here *daēnā* can but be of the same meaning as in Yasna 45, 2 where *daēnā* and *magha* correspond with the *waruna* and *ṛkṣas* of Y. 16, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Yasna 1, 18; 3, 22; 7, 22; 23, 4; Yašt 13, 149, 156.



these 5 spiritual powers is collective in sense, as also sometimes the singular of *urvan* and *fravaši*. Thus Vend. 19, 29: "Vizarəšo . . . urvānəm bastəm vādayeiti drvatəm daēvayasnanaṃ" = "Vizarəša leads away the souls (lit: the soul) of the infidels, demon-worshipers bound." Yasna 28, 4: "Who I have directed my will upon watching the souls (lit. the soul)." The collective meaning of "soul" is still more evident from Yasna 49, 10: "And that, o Mazda, I (Zarathuštra) will watch over in thine creation: the good-will and the souls of the right-believers." For the singular *fravaši* in a collective sense cf. Yašt 13, 148: "We adore the *fravaši* (sing.) of all these male and female right-believers, whose souls are venerable and whose *fravašis* are adorable; we adore the *fravaši* (sing.) of all these male and female right-believers, whom the just Ahuramazda, for their adoration, has taught the better life."

As pointed out above, the 7 epithets of Ahuramazda in Yasna 26, 2, probably allude to the seven Aməšaspəntas, which here, as in other places, are directly named behind Ahuramazda. Whereas Yasna 23 has still the phrase "together with all the just Fravašis of the spiritual gods" between the Aməšaspəntas and the Paoirya ŋkaēša, we find the Paoirya ŋkaēša in Yasna 26 directly after the Aməšaspəntas, presumably because this Yasna was principally recited as mass for the dead, where the *fravašis* of the defunct act the principal part. We can understand that those 5 spiritual immortal powers of the Paoirya ŋkaēša and Nabānazdišta are invoked, as by those powers they successfully worked for religion; the collective meaning of the singular offers no difficulty whatever. Yasna 26 ff. contains therefore no argument for Reitzenstein's hypothesis of the 5 Aməšaspəntas in Iranic.

3. But by means of a new method Reitzenstein arrives at the conclusion, that Yasna 26 does not only teach 5 Aməšaspəntas, but also a fivefold deity. He sees in Yasna 26, 2 ff. beside Ahuramazda and the Aməšaspəntas a third deity, which is enumerated in the same order and similarly fivefold with Mani: For it would be quite inexplicable, why § 4 does not run as numerous other places, *i. g.*, in the end of the litany: "we adore the Fravašis of the first right-believers". "Nur daß vorher ganz generell von den Aməšaspəntas die Rede gewesen ist, kann Anlaß davon geworden sein, daß hier eine fünfgliedrige Formel eingetreten ist, die auch die Fravaši mit umschließt, die aber ursprünglich nicht für den einzelnen Menschen, sondern für einen

Gesamtbegriff innerhalb der Geisteswelt geprägt war"<sup>1</sup>, for "die vorausgehende und die nachfolgende Fünferreihe sprechen dafür, daß der Ordner der Liturgie nur an 5 Aməšaspəntas gedacht hat. Fünferreihen sind ja schon in der Spekulation des ältesten Awesta sehr zahlreich"<sup>2</sup> and "wechseln die Fünzfahl und Siebenzahl im Iranischen beständig."<sup>3</sup>

This hypothesis rests on a wrong analysis of the text: Yasna 23, 1; 8, 7; Yašt 10, 18, 150; 13, 150 are sufficient evidences that in Yasna 26, 1 a series of four only is spoken of, and *saraθuštrətomā* refers to all the four seats: home, village, district, country, this epithet characterizing their orthodoxy. The mention of the Aməšaspəntas' Fravašis directly after Ahuramazda's is quite natural.

Intentional or casual putting together of several series of five do not occur at all in the Avesta, in which series of three, seven or nine are more frequent than the pentad, while I do not know of "constant alternating of five and seven in Iranic." According to Reitzenstein, the compiler of this liturgy, which belongs to the younger Avesta, is to have followed a different tradition, though the language of the liturgy bears the stamp of about the same time as Yasna 1, which distinctly enumerates 6 Aməšaspəntas by their individual names, whereas the Gāthās and the younger Avesta speak of seven. The mention of the Fravašis of the right-believers immediately behind the Aməšaspəntas is not at all unusual for an Avesta scholar; cf. Yasna 65, 12: "Therefore I pray the waters, therefore I pray the earth, therefore the plants, therefore the Aməšaspəntas, . . . therefore the Fravašis of the right-believers . . . , therefore, o Mithra, therefore, o Sraoša, therefore, o Rašnu, therefore, o fire; son of Ahuramazda." This passage is instructive also in another direction, for from this follows that the Aməšaspəntas are not identic with the elements. If Reitzenstein's theory were correct, *i. e.*, if Iranic conception originally saw the 5 elements in fire, earth, plant, water and metal, why would plant and metal have been entirely given up as elements by Iranic tradition? Moreover, in the Avesta the plant never was considered as an element but as a compound of elements; that is proved by the attribute used

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein, Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss. 1922, 230.

<sup>2</sup> Reitzenstein, *ibid.* 254.

<sup>3</sup> Reitzenstein, *Iran. Erlös.* 206.



for it: *ātracištra* "containing the seed of fire", Vend. 8, 75. According to Zādspar. 10, 2, the metal comes from the body of the Father of Mankind, Gayomard. Neither in Iranic nor in Manichean were plant and metal elements. In Avesta metal (*ayah*) is never named together with any element, whereas elements are mentioned in following combinations of seven or six: heaven, water, earth, cow, plants, fire, man (Y. 19, 2, 4); heaven, water, earth, plants, cow, man (Y. 19, 8; Yt. 13, 86, Vr. 7, 4). And in Vend. 9, 42; 11 10 stands: fire, water, earth, cow, plants, man. The *Sirōze* which enumerates all the gods mentions only the four divine elements: fire, water, air, earth, but not plants nor metal.

4. A. Goetze, however, tried (*Ztschr. f. Ind. u. Ir.* II 60ff.) to prove by Gr. Bund. c. XXVIII, that the *five* elements are originally Iranic. From the introductory words of that chapter: "*pa dēn guft*" "in the religious book it is said", he infers that the text must be very old, most probably originating from the lost *Dāmdāt-Nask* of the Sassanides-Avesta. Against this must be said that younger Pahlavi writings quote as "*dēn*" even such religious books which cannot date before the time of the younger Sassanides: comp. *Mēn i Xrat VIII*, 18: "And those 12 constellations are called (*guft*) in the Sacred Book (*pa dēn*) the 12 leaders that are of the side of *Ōrmazd*; and those 7 planets are called the 7 leaders, that are of the side of *Ahriman*. And those 7 planets harass all creatures and all creation and commit them to death and to all evils." XII 3: "And the 12 constellations that by the Sacred Book (*az dēn*) are called the 12 leaders." XXI 24: "Then by this Sacred Religious Book it became clearly evident (*az en awēnak dēn rošan padtak ku*), that the Romans and Turks' hostility against the Iranics came from hatred which they roused by killing *Ēraz*." Here "*dēn*" means probably younger Pahlavi writings, as may be seen from the identification of the 7 planets with the 7 archdemons (cf. Scheftelowitz, *Entstehung der manich. Rel.* 9f.), and from the mention made of the Romans and Turks. Just as other Pahlavi writings often contain in one chapter several quotations marked as such ones by words like: *pa* (event. *az*) *dēn guft* or *en padtak ku* (cf. *Mēn i Xrat I* 45 and 49; XIV 18 and 24), so we find this here too Gr. Bund. ch. XXVIII. That we here have a young text is proved by the mention of 7 planets in § 3. In rewriting the Gr. Bund. the author compiled in ch. 28 all variants found in older works about the

comparisons between the macrocosm and man. This explains why in § 5 skull and brain are compared to the highest part of Heaven "Asar rōšnīh" and the head with the sky "Garōtman", whereas in § 7 the head is considered as *Asar rōšnīh* and the heart as *Garōtman*. § 11 uses an entirely different tradition connecting the brain with *Garōtman*. There seems to be no reason for regarding § 5 with Goetze as a later interpolation, as the comparison of the two eyes to sun and moon is old Iranian (cf. Scheftelowitz, Altpers. Rel. 107), and as the end of § 8 presupposes this comparison. Moreover, it is just § 5 that treats the important organs: eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, which could hardly be missing in this place. Though § 4, equalizing the heart and the water Ardvīsurā, contradicts § 7, because § 7 compares the heart to the *Garōtman*, Goetze takes both §§ to be old, just so §§ 9 and 11, though in § 9 the brain is identified with the highest mountain *Hara bərəzaitī*, in § 11 with *Garōtman*, in § 5 with *Asar rōšnīh*. On the other hand Goetze supposes § 2 to contain several later additions. This § 2 compares the most important parts of the visible world to some parts of man's body, the sky to the back, the earth to the flesh, mountains to bones, rivers to veins, the ocean to the blood, the basin of the ocean (*daryā*) to the abdomen, plants to the hair, bushes to ample growth of hair, metal to marrow. Rivers and oceans are of such importance in old Iranian faith, that, in depicting the visible world, they are enumerated together with the mountains. Therefore Goetze is wrong in supposing that rivers, ocean and basin of the ocean are interpolations. The concurrence of *daryā* and *ērēh* in § 2 is not strange in Pahlavi writings, comp. *Mēn ī Xrat* 62, 33—34: *u hamvar pa daryā bār nīšnēd u yazšn ī yazdan hamē kunēd u zor o ērēh hamē rēčēd* = "and constantly he is living at the shore of the sea, and constantly he adores the gods and pours holy liquid into the sea." Thus it seems arbitrary to consider in § 2 only the references to skin, flesh, bones, hair, marrow as original, all the more as § 19 enumerates the heptad: soul, flesh, veins, bones, brain, blood, and hair, and as the heptad plays an especially prominent part in this chapter; cf. § 17, emphasizing the fact that the things of this world are divided into 4 groups of seven each. Of all the 19 §§ of this chapter, all containing enumerations of the parts and powers of the human body, only § 4 contains a pentad: 1) stomach, 2) inhalation and exhalation 3) liver, 4) milt, 5) heart, which are paralleled with 1) cloud



and fire *vazīšt*, 2) wind, 3) sea *frax<sup>h</sup>kart*, 4) northern region 5) original water, *Arəvisūrā*. According to Yašt 5 from this water *Arəvisūrā*, flowing into the World-Ocean all the water of the earth is derived. *Frax<sup>h</sup>kart* is closely connected to it; thus I cannot understand why Goetze identifies *Arəvisūrā* with *light*. In old Iranic faith not the heart, which is placed here in the same § with *Arəvisūrā*, but the soul is compared to the light (cf. § 19 and Scheftelowitz, *Altpers. Rel.* 144). *Arəvisūrā* can only represent the element water (cf. *Sīrōze* 1, 10; 2, 10). In § 4 I cannot see a pentad; the elements are not reflected here. Just this text emphasizes in 3 places (§§ 6, 17, 19) that, besides *Ormazd*, there are 6 *Amāšaspantas*, and § 17 enumerates the heptad: liver, lungs, bladder, heart, bowels, milt and kidneys. From Gr. Bund. ch. XXVIII no pentad of elements is to be inferred, and there remains no possibility of referring the text to the lost *Dāmdāt Nask* of the Sassanides-Avesta.

5. But Reitzenstein<sup>1</sup> is of the strange opinion that Mani, though grown up in Babylon amongst Non-Iranians, transmits most ancient Iranic popular belief, whereas the actually Iranic texts, the Pahlavi-writings, transmit what is non-Iranic! Though Manichean documents as well as the Avesta expressly emphasize the number "seven" of the *Amāšaspantas*, there shall have been, according to the Iranic popular belief transmitted by Mani, only five "materially understood" *Amāšaspantas*=elements. However, the genuine Iranic tradition knows of no more than four material elements. Thus we find in *Ulamā i Islam*<sup>2</sup>: "At man's death, the *wind* in him unites with the wind, the *earth* in him with the earth, the *water* in him with the water, the *fire* in him with the fire; and the *soul* after being connected with the intellectual vitality (*arzō*) and reason (*bot*) unites again with the *Fravahar*". The same four elements are enumerated in the Parsee work *Madigānicatrang*<sup>3</sup> and they are also known to the Parsees of to-day<sup>4</sup>. The Middle-Persian proper name *Cahārbuxt* could signify

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein, *Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss.* 1922, 254.

<sup>2</sup> Trad. Blochet, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 37 (1898), 46. *Ulamā i Islam* emphasizes on several passages (p. 43, 44, 47) that only 4 elements exist, which are mentioned also in the reversed order: fire, water, earth, wind.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Peshotan D. Bēhramji Sanjana, p. 3-4, quoted in Justi, *Iran. Nam.* 151.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Edm. Peshotan Sanjana, *Zarathustra* 1906, 120.—The following instance proves that the Parsee writings also handed down Iranian popular belief. In Soghdian texts of the 8th ct. A. D. the 7 planets, originating in Babylonia, play a prominent part

"the one freed from the four (elements)", i. e. the Blessed. The Iranic tradition of the four elements is very old, documented even by Herodot I, 131: θύουσα δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι (conf. Strabo. Geogr. XV 3, § 13). Malaias whose reports probably go back upon the older histories of Charax from Pergamon, tells that the Persian kings venerate the four elements: earth, water, fire, air. Also the acts of St. Sapor, descending from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, mention the same about the Persian mages (Cumont, *textes et mon.* II 68; I 108). The mysteries of Mithra, which contain Iranian ingredients, also know but 4 elements whereof consist not only the universe but also man (Cumont I 41, 307 n. 3; II 24; Mar Kardagh c. 20, ed. Abbeloos 1890).

The Ulamā i Islam enumerates beside the Fravahar the elements in the following order: wind, earth, water, fire; in Manichean we find just the same sequence: Fravahar, wind, light, water, fire. If "earth" has been replaced by "light", this shows the influence of Mandeans for whom the earth was a demonian, dark element. The Mandeans therefore first introduced "light" instead of "earth" among their four elements, cf. Johannesbuch ed. Litzbarski II 56. "Then they (the heavenly messengers of light) brought *live water* and poured it into the dull water, they brought *skining light* and threw it into the dusky darkness, they brought the *pleasant breeze* and threw it into the raging storm. They brought the *living fire* and cast it into the consuming fire, they brought the soul, the pure Mānā, and cast it into the void body". The Manichean theory of elements, in fact based upon the Iranic, has been influenced not only by the Mandaean, but also by the Indian: It was under the latter influence that the Manichean fravahar—the proper meaning had been "immortal soul"—became an element too, viz. the leading element<sup>1</sup>. We

(cf. Chavannes and Pelliot, *Journ. As.* 1913, 171 f.) Their names are in Soghdian: Mīr (sun), Māx (moon), Wnyān (= Vahram), Tīr, Ūrmazd, Naxit (Anahit), Kēwān (F. W. K. Müller, *Pers. Kalenderandrucke*, S. P. A. Wiss., 1907, 458 f., Chav. and Pell. *ibid.* 166, 171 f.) The enumeration shows the same order as in Parsee texts: sun, moon, Behram, Tīr, Ūrmazd, *Anahit* (= *Venus*), Kēwān (cf. Scheftelowitz, *Entstehung der manich. Rel.* 10, note 2.) From this must also be inferred that, when the Iranians took the names of the planets from the Babylonians, Zarvan was not yet the supreme God in the Iranian popular religion, else they would have replaced the Babylonian God Father Bel by Zarvan, not by Ūrmazd.

<sup>1</sup> Scheftelowitz, *ibid.* 43.



have then demonstrated that the Iranic tradition knows of but 4 elements.

6. Let us consider now Reitzenstein's method of research in religious history. It is an established fact for him that Mani's notions go back to ancient Iranic thoughts, and that his 5 elements are likewise of ancient Iranic origin. Now the Arabian Fihrist (Flügel, Mani 93) reports of the Manichean elements: "The light-earth has 5 limbs: the soft breeze (fravahar), the wind, the light, the water and the fire, just so the light-ether has five limbs: meekness, knowledge, reason, mystery and insight. These 10 limbs of the ether and the earth form together the Majesty Sublime". Another passage of the Fihrist (Flügel, Mani 95) speaks of 4 divine Majesties Sublime: God, light, power, wisdom. The light consists in Sun and Moon, the power in the Gods: "the soft breeze, wind, light, water, fire"; and wisdom consists of gentleness, knowledge, reason, mystery and insight. We have here once more the same five material and five spiritual "limbs". This system, according to Reitzenstein p. 251, agrees with the Avesta, as here the 5 material elements are at the same time considered as 5 divine personifications. He also finds this assumption confirmed by a report in a Chino-Manichean work published by Chavannes and Pelliot<sup>1</sup>. The passage runs: "The great wise (messenger) of the benevolent Light made out of his five parts—viz.: pensée, sentiment, réflexion, intellect, raisonnement—rise the five virtues or divine gifts: pitié, bonne foi, contentement, patience and sagesse, and united them with the elements of light, i. e. with the soft breeze, wind, light, water, fire, and with the two gods: call and answer, and these parts—making 13 in all with himself—symbolize *le Vénérable de la Lumière du monde de la lumière pure*. The text goes on: "When these 7 Amašaspentas enter into a pure priest . . ." These 7 are for Reitzenstein: "charity and soft breeze, faith and wind, and the other pairs are each but *one* element, as is emphasized; their origin from thought and feeling etc. does no more come into consideration, and the two gods, call and answer, were only added to reach the number *seven* of the elements in the younger Avesta. In addition, five of these elements have exactly the same double meaning with Mani, a spiritual and a material one". (Reitzenstein).

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Asiat. Sér. 10, Tome 18, 541 ff.

But, as I have demonstrated before, the Iranic Aməšaspəntas were neither five in number, nor elements in signification. Only in the younger Avesta "Haurvatāt" stands now and then also for "Water". In the Gāthās already, *i. e.* in the oldest part of the Avesta, mention is made of the "seven" Aməšaspəntas, while Fravahar (= Avesta: fravaši) and "light" never occur as elements with Zaratrustrian scriptures. Let us see then, if Reitzenstein's statement is correct at all, that in Manichean the elements had a double, *i. e.* a spiritual and a material signification, if Reitzenstein valued tradition according to the different sources, and finally, if the conceptions of Mani, who drew his ideas from various religions, have an Iranic fundament, so that they might be used as a source for Iranic religion. In Manichean, light, power and wisdom are three divinities of entirely different nature. The "limbs" of light (= sun and moon) are neither identic with those of power, nor with those of wisdom, and vice versa. Just so the light-earth and light-ether are two different beings, so that the limbs of the one do not correspond with those of the other. Finally the Chino-Manichean dogmatic work<sup>1</sup>, from which Mani's predilection for symbolic remoulding becomes especially clear, shows, that the 5 material elements were never identified with the 5 *purely spiritual parts*.

7. As a necessary illustration, I give here the essential part of this text: The demon of avidity had the human body shaped by two other demons after the image of the macrocosm, and in it he shut up the 5 elements of light together with 5 demons. The "pure wind" took the 5 demons and shut them up in 13 bodies of light (= virtues), while the demon of avidity imprisoned the 5 elements of light in 13 "dark powers". He shut up the "pure ether" in the "town of bones", put in it the "dark thought", and planted the "tree of death" there; he shut up the "wind" in the "town of nerves", set there "dark feeling", and planted a "tree of death"; in the town of "veins", he enclosed the light, set there "dark reflection", and planted the tree of death. In the town of "flesh" he shut up the "water", set there "dark reason", and planted a tree of death. Then he enclosed the fire in the town of "the skin", settled therein "dark discernment", and planted a tree of death. The 5 different fruits pro-

<sup>1</sup> Transl. by Chavannes and Pelliot, Journ. Asiat. 1911, tome XVIII, 508 ff.



duced by these 5 trees of death are: "hatred, excitement, voluptuousness, rage, and folly". In the place of Xrōstag ("call") and Padwaxtag ("answer"), he implanted into the body "avidity and bad lust". From this may be inferred that there are 7 divine beings in each true believer; *i. e.* the 5 elements and Xrōstag and Padwaxtag<sup>1</sup>. The text tells furthermore: When the 5 "light bodies" (=elements) were caught and fettered, they forgot about their celestial origin. Therefore the "pure wind" constructed two light-ships which were to bring back the human soul to its original celestial home, and to make it happy. But the demon of hatred formed two ships of darkness, and male and female demons, in order to make the human souls go aboard the ships of darkness guided by male and female demons into Hell, so that the human souls were subject to the 5 conditions and to all sufferings of metempsychosis, hardly ever to be freed from them. But the messenger of light awakens the souls of men and shows them the way to the abode of light (J. As. 1911, 530 f.). As soon as he appears in the world "to teach the many live beings to convert them, and to free them from all sufferings, he makes them hear, by the gates of their ears, the voice of the wonderful law. He immediately returns to the old abode (=the body) and, under long magic prayers, chains the many poisonous snakes and wild animals (=passions), not allowing them any longer to live in freedom. With the axe of wisdom he strikes the poisonous trees of death, hews them down, tears out their stumps, as also every other impure growth. He bids the hall of the palace (=the heart) to be adorned with purity and majestic splendour, and a chair to be prepared for the law. He sits down on it . . . and judges all people fairly, the good and the wicked. Having destroyed the hateful enemies in the old city (=body), he separates the two forces—light and darkness—from each other, and does not allow them to mingle any longer. He subdues hatred and shuts it up in the bone-city, delivering ether imprisoned there; he subdues excitement, shuts it up in the nerve-city, rescuing the wind locked up there; he subdues lust, shuts it up in the city of veins, rescuing the light from there; he subdues rage,

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Asiat. *ibid.*, 528–530; cf. also 560 ff. The pentad: bones, nerves, veins, flesh, skin is not Iranian.

<sup>2</sup> Conf. also p. 557: "Seven costly, incomparably valuable pearls" are retained in the matter and covered with dirt.



imprisons it in the city of the flesh, freeing the water; he subdues folly, and, shutting it up in the city of the skin, he finally rescues the fire. The two demons—avidity and wicked lust—he shuts up in the middle (of the body). The 5 elements of light live in the body formed by the 2 powers "light and darkness". Therefore an excellent man knows to distinguish and to choose between the two and to separate them from each other" (ibid. 535 ff.). It is mentioned further on that there are 2 times 12 vicious demons, led by a thirteenth. They live in the "fleshly man" and stupefy the five parts of light in him, so that they forget their celestial origin. The revelations of the messenger of light, however, awaken them. To enable them to fight the vice-demons successfully, the messenger of light endows them with 7 divinities, so that 12 such divine beings, headed by a thirteenth, victoriously fight the 12 demons. Then the messenger of light joins to the 5 light elements twice 12 beings, by which the true-believer is able to overcome the "man of flesh" in himself and he rises as a "new man". The 2 times 12 vice-demons are the two nights of 12 hours each, the  $3 \times 12$  divinities are the 3 light-days at 12 hours each. The text speaks of these light-days as follows: "Therefore the messenger of light came to help the light-nature of man, that he might free himself of the vice-demons besieging him. Out of his own 5 limbs the messenger made rise the 5 "liberalities", *i. e.*, out of his fundamental thought he made spring up charity, which he joined to the ether; from his feeling he made go forth righteousness (*bonne-foi*) given to the wind, from his reflection rose contentment, which he added to the light; from his intelligence rose patience, given to the water, from his judgement wisdom, associated to the fire; he also added Xrōstag and Padwaxtag. These twelve, together with the light, symbolize *le Vénérable de la Lumière du monde de la lumière pure*" and form the first light day (ibid. 541). The second light day are the "12 light kings of the second transformation", *i. e.*, the 5 sons of Ōrmazd (= 5 elements) and the 5 sons of the pure wind. The latter are the 5 liberalities (= charity, righteousness, contentment, patience, wisdom), as may be inferred from the counterpart creation of the demon of avidity (comp. ibid. 530, 540). Xrōstag and Padwaxtag also belong to the 2<sup>nd</sup> day. These 12 symbolize "the round, perfected sun" (p. 543, 566 ff., 519 f., 523). The text continues literally: "When the 7 *Mahraspaut* enter into the body of a pure religious master, he receives from the messenger of light



the 5 *liberalities*, and these 12 hours (*i. e.*, 7 + 5) effectuate the perfect (= 3<sup>rd</sup>) day. These signs symbolize the high power of Srōšahray. These 3 days and the 2 nights added to them are signs, that there are definitely two worlds (a light and a dark one) for the religious master as well as for the common believers" (543/5). From this it is evident that the 7 Mahraspands are the 5 elements, which in other places are also called by that name, plus Xrōstag and Padwaxtag, inherent—as we saw before—in every true-believer. They, most probably, are also identic with "the 7 costly, incomparably precious pearls" retained in matter and covered with dirt (557).

8. Nowhere do the texts speak of identity or close union of the 5 light elements with the 5 liberalities, *i. e.*, of the 5 sons of Ōrmazd with the 5 offsprings of the pure wind (p. 519). Analogically to the demon of avidity, joining the ether to the dark thought, the wind to the dark feeling, the light to the dark reflection, the water to the dark reason, the fire to the dark judgement—the light messenger joined charity to the ether, contentment to the light, patience to the water, wisdom to the fire. These enumerations must by no means be considered as identifications. Even where Mani's picturesque language has identifications, they are often not really such ones, *e. g.* when he identifies charity with Zarvān, or righteousness (*bonne foi*) with the Mother of the Living (cf. p. 563): The king of the light-earth is Charity, "the first father of all meritorious deeds", and within Charity lives righteousness, "the mother of all excellent things, so to say the wife of the king". Another passage connects closely the 5 liberalities with 5 divinities: "La pitié symbolise l'Envoyé de la lumière qui maintient le monde; la bonne foi symbolise le Grand Roi des dix dieux, le contentement symbolise l'Envoyé vainqueur qui soumet les démons, la patience symbolise l'Envoyé de la lumière qui est aux entrailles de la terre; la sagesse symbolise l'Envoyé de la lumière qui accélère la clarté" (p. 549). From this, too, becomes evident that the 5 liberalities have no inner relation to the 5 material elements, they are called the "5 trees of life" planted by the messenger of light (in opposition to the 5 "trees of death") and "watered with the waters of the drink of immortality, so that they produce fruit giving immortality" (p. 561 f.). But the 5 elements, neither identified with

\* The editors observe, correctly that this expression is a translation of the Buddhist Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (= Bhūmigarbha).



the 5 liberalities, nor with the 5 spiritual limbs (thought, feeling, reflection, intellect and judgement), are never compared to trees. Mani is a right mystic, who symbolizes everything<sup>1</sup>. For a man who wishes to become an Elect (*dēnāvar*), there are 3 more "special days" which he is to earn, and "two nights" which he is to conquer; there are also 12 forms of the benevolent light, called "the 12 precious trees of the 12 shining kings" (= 12 moral principles)<sup>2</sup>, (p. 565 ff. 584).

<sup>1</sup> Thus he expounds a tale, only known by a fragment, in the following manner: "The shady house is the 'scripture-reading,' the adorned garment represents 'picture and text,' the 'lamp' means 'the good,' the servants lighting the lamps and assisting the man as helpers are 'the good deeds'" (Müller, Handschr. II, 85 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Who wishes to become an Elect, must imitate the actions of the Light God, "who made three long days of beneficent light shine over the dark body of the demon, and subdued both kinds of dark nights. This is a sign symbolizing the unsurpassable light" (p. 565). That the Elect is meant here, is proved by the contents of "the 12 trees." The 12 hours of the second day which he must earn, consist in the 5 sons of the first intellect (= *Ormuzd*), the 5 Light sons of the pure wind (= 5 liberalities) *Xrōtag* and *Padwastag* and as 13<sup>th</sup> *Srōlahray* (p. 566 f.). Now these 12 hours are also styled symbolically as "the wonderful garments of the victorious form of Jesus by means of which he ornaments his inner nature and reaches to be lacking in nothing; elevating this inner nature, he makes it rise and progress and sever for ever from this dirty earth" (p. 566). Here the 12 garments are the 12 afore mentioned hours. Similarly we find (p. 528) the "13 kinds of Light bodies" spoken of, which the "pure wind" transferred into the human body. According to Reitzenstein, *Iranische Erlösung* 157, "the Chinese text correctly describes a mystery, leading within the 12 hours of light from this earth to the perfect Light, the realm of Gods." "A consecration is represented in the Manichean cult, it is perfected in 12 holy acts, and 12 holy garbs are to be received by the disciple in rising on high—like the Isis-disciple with Apuleius; only the Manichean does not represent it materially, it must be an intuition." (G. G. A. 1923, 51 f.) These 12 hours of the rising soul are to correspond to the 12 parts of the mass for the dead. (Reitzenstein, *Iran. Etl.* 154). We must object that, of the preserved parts of this "mass for the dead," we have but the titles of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> "member," and that "member" here—like the O.-Ind. *parvan* and arm. *piṣpā*—has the meaning of "part, chapter." Whether there were 12 chapters or not, is not certain. The 12 "Garbs of Jesus" are—according to the text—"the 12 hours" we mentioned before. In Manichean we find the 12 virtues winning the heavens, symbolically termed the 12 garments, and the 12 moral principles are called the "12 precious trees of the shining Kings". Wishing to trace the 12 garments back to a formerly visible representation, we must do the same for the 12 trees and the 13 Light bodies transferred into man by the pure wind. The Manichean texts known so far, do not offer any support to Reitzenstein's theory that there existed a Manichean twelve-partitioned Salvation-mystery. He assumes with absolute certainty (*ibid.* 157) that the Persians only knew 12 hours of the day, but he might have seen from my *Altpersische Religion* p. 130, that the Iranians counted 24 hours of the day. A 12 hours' way of Salvation is also known to Judaism; according to Syr. Baruch Apokal., the time preceding the arrival of the true Messiah is divided into 12 parts, only after the 12<sup>th</sup> he will reveal himself (comp. Scheftelowitz, *Arch. R. W.* 1911, 47).



Their names are "Great King, Wisdom, Permanent Victory, Joy, careful exercise of religious prescriptions, Equality (or truth), Faith, Forbearing Wrong, Right Thought, Meritorious Deeds, Even Heart, the Perfect Light of Nature within and without" (cf. p. 568 f.). The text continues: As soon as these 12 great Light hours enter the five kingdoms, viz. thought, feeling, reflection, intellect and judgement, they throw a boundless light on them (p. 569). On these 12 Light trees there blossom numerous precious flowers; "quand elles se sont ouvertes, leur éclat illumine tout. À l'intérieur de chacune de ces fleurs d'innombrables Buddhas de transformation produisent leurs personnes innombrables par transformation" (p. 572). The picture of the Buddhas that stay inside the celestial lotuses, is genuine Buddhist<sup>1</sup>.

9. The Chinese Manichean text evidently shows more of Indian than of Iranic influences. Iranic might be the especially emphasized conception of vice-demons opposing each virtue and trying to conquer man. (546 ff.). The 5 kinds of metempsychosis (God, man, infernals, spectre, animal, p. 533) go back to Buddhism, as also the expressions the "3 worlds (*trailokya* p. 386), Ocean of the Samsāra" (*samsāra-mahasamudra* p. 531 f.), the numerous Kalpas (p. 587), and the division of the congregation in Elects (*vicidagān*) and Auditors (*nigōṣagān* = buddh. *sāvaka*) the signification of the messenger of light as *Tathagata* (p. 587), the thought contained in the Chin-Manich. text, that man is

Between the creation of Adam and his being redeemed from sin, 12 hours had elapsed, each one equivalent to one stage in his development: the first hour to God's conceiving the plan of creating Adam, the 2<sup>nd</sup> to his keeping council with his angel-attendants; in the 3<sup>rd</sup> God gathered the dust, in the 4<sup>th</sup> he kneaded it, in the 5<sup>th</sup> he moulded it, in the 6<sup>th</sup> he gave it the form of man, in the 7<sup>th</sup> he breathed into him his spirit; in the 8<sup>th</sup> he led him into Paradise, in the 9<sup>th</sup> he forbade him the fruit of the tree of knowledge, in the 10<sup>th</sup> Adam transgressed, in the 11<sup>th</sup> he was sentenced, in the 12<sup>th</sup> he was absolved (*Wajjiqrā Rabḥā* par. 29). The number 12 appears repeatedly in connection with becoming free from fetters: 12 years Joseph was retained a prisoner in Egypt, and having stood the tests, he was freed and made king (*Bemidbār R.* par. 15). The occurring of the number 12 in connection with redemption seems to have its origin in Babylonia (conf. H. Zimmern *ZDMG.* 1922, 48 ff.). According to the Mandaean belief the soul of the defunct pious man is clothed on the way to Heaven with 6 garments, viz. with the garment of the Mandā d Haijē, Abatur and the 4 sons of salvation (Im Hai, Šum Hai, Zrw Hai, Nbr̄ Hai), Lidzbarski, *Mand. Lit.* 80 ff. Similarly R. Jehōšōf Ben Lēwī teaches, that the Blessed, directly after being buried arrives at Paradise, where he is clothed in "5 garments of the ether of glory" (*Jalqut* § 20).

<sup>1</sup> The lotus was used in the Manichaean cult; the subordinated gods have been pictured standing upon thrones of lotuses. These divine thrones originate from Buddhism (*Le Coq, D. manich. Miniaturen* 1923, 28, 37, 51).



a diminutive image of the macrocosm, especially the comparison of the human body to a city (cf. also 551 ff.); all these are Indian, comp. Chānd. Up. 8, 1 ff.: "Here in this Brahman town (=human body) there is a house, a small lotus (=heart), within which is a small room . . . Verily, as wide as this universe, so wide is also this room within the heart; in it both are enshrined: heaven and earth, both: fire and wind; both: sun and moon; both: lightning and stars" (cf. also Mahānār. Up. 10, 23). In Yogaśikha-Up. 4 the body is compared to a temple having nine entries and enclosing the sun (=heart) with the fire of Ātman therein. Taitt. Up. 1, 7 also contains the thought, that the man who understands the parallelism between man and world, microcosm and macrocosm, thereby himself becomes a macrocosm (cf. Deussen, 60 Up. p. 219). The ten heavens of Manicheism, as well as the expression "gate of the ear" found in the same Chino-Manichean text likewise point to Indian influences<sup>1</sup>. The high importance attributed to the series of five in Manicheism<sup>2</sup> is dependent also from India; for even in Indian mystics appear the series of five correspondences and personifications, cf. e. g. Chānd. Up. III 13, 1—5: "The inhaled breath (*prāṇa*) is identic with the eye and the god Āditya, the breath "*vyāṇa*" with ear and moon, the exhaled breath "*apāṇa*" with speech and Agni; the breath "*samāṇa*" with the spirit (*manas*) and Parjanya; the upward breath (*udāna*) with the skin and the divine wind". Sāman 'song' has five parts: *hinkāra* = earth, breath and Agni; *prastāva* = fire, speech and Vāyu; *udgītha* = ether, eye and Āditya; *pratihāra* = sun, ear and Nakṣatra; *nidhānam* = heaven, spirit and Candramas." (Chānd. Up. II 20, 1.) "The Ātman consisting in knowledge, has *Faith* as his head, *Justice* as his right side, *Truth* as his left, *meditation (yoga)* as trunk, and *Power* as basis." "The Ātman consisting of delight has *Love* for his head, *Fey* for his right side, *Rejoicing* as his left, *Happiness* as trunk, *Brahman* as basis." (Taitt. Up. II 4—5)<sup>3</sup>. "*Manas* ('intelligence') and *Ether* are to be adored as

<sup>1</sup> The commentary of Medhātithi with Manu 9,137 mentions explicitly 10 heavens,

<sup>2</sup> Who wishes to convince himself of the Manichean's predilection for the number 5, need only look at the Index of the Journ. As. 1913, 385, for the Chino-Manichean texts worked by Charanoux and Pelliot; in that one page we find 15 different mentions of fivefold series. There are also 5 sorts of plants and trees (I.e. Coq, Türk. Manich. I. 8/II). For other series of five cf. *ibid.* I 25, III 20, 39 and Müller, Handschr. II, 32).

<sup>3</sup> Brh. Ār. Up. I, 5, 11—13: The body of speech (*vāc*) is the earth, and its light aspect: the fire (*agni*). The body (substance) of the spirit (*manas*) is the sky, and its light



Brahman" runs Chând. Up. III 18, 1. In Indian mystics we find, beside the 5 material elements, five purely spiritual limbs, and one element has indeed a double meaning, a spiritual and a material one. After Reitzenstein's singular method this would necessarily prove, that the entire fundament of Indian mystics were drawn from Zarathustrianism, only another sense was given to the details.

10. Suppose Mani had indeed interpreted the elements as symbols in one place or another, the Manichean elements, being an Irano-Indian creation, were hardly to be derived from Iranic thought, but would rather be a result of the influences of Indian mystics, which—beside 5 elements, 5 organs of recognition (eye, ear, smell, taste, hide=feeling) and 5 organs of touch (Prašnop. 4, 7)—knows also 5 purely intellectual functions: intellect (*manas*), will (*saṃkalpa*), thought (*citta*), meditation (*dhyāna*), knowledge (*viññāna*) (cf. Chând. Up. VII 3—7), which are even equivalent to the 5 Manichean limbs, though given in different order: *pensée*=*citta*, sentiment (with Theodor Bar Khoni: *volonté*)=*saṃkalpa*, Pāli *saṃkappa* (=will, intention, desire); *réflexion*=*dhyāna*, intellect=*manas*, *raisonnement*=*viññāna*. With the highest imperishable Ātman (=Brahman) are connected the 5 elements, 5 organs of recognition and 5 of touch, also the psychic functions (Prašnop. 4, 7, Muṇḍaka Up. II, 1, 3)<sup>1</sup>. As the Buddhist monk must in lifetime climb up several degrees in order to arrive at *nirvāṇa*, the Manichean electus has to obtain by endeavours also three degrees (= *days*) leading at moral perfectness in order that his soul partake of the blissfulness after death. The three degrees may possibly go back to the three Buddhist *Vimokṣa* (or *vimukti* conf. Kern, Buddhism 56).

11. Manichean mystics then contain numerous Indian thoughts, but are also influenced by Mandaeanism, for which an exaggerated kind of personification is characteristic too; e. g. "speech and listening" "prayer and exaltation", "treasure of life" (Joh. II 201, M. Lit. 73, 125), "Sunday" (Mand. Lit. 147) have become divine beings<sup>2</sup>, and the balance

aspect: the sun. The body of *prāṇa*, which is identified with Indra, are the waters, and its light aspect is the moon.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Taitt. Up. 1, 7. Brh. Ār. I, 4, 17: *pāñctam idaṃ sarvaṃ yad idaṃ kīlca*. There are 5 great and 5 little duties (Yogasūtra, 2, 30, 32). The series of five plays also an important part with the younger Indian sects (cf. R. Otto, *Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa* 1917, 102 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brandt: *Mandaean Religion* 551; the same: *Mand. Schriften* 16—18, 7, 56, 108, 113; Liehanki, *Johanneshoch II*, 1, 7—194.



is personified as god Abatur (Johannesb. II 14). From the Mandaean "King of Light" start "5 grand, long rays, the 1<sup>st</sup> of which is light, . . . the 2<sup>nd</sup> balmy odour, the 3<sup>rd</sup> sweetness of voice, the 4<sup>th</sup> the word of his mouth, the 5<sup>th</sup> the beauty of his shape"<sup>1</sup>. The world of Light in which the King of Light lives, has 10 qualities, it is 1<sup>st</sup> of all the world of Light and radiance, 2<sup>nd</sup> of gentleness, 3<sup>rd</sup> of decency, 4<sup>th</sup> of fragrance, 5<sup>th</sup> of eternal life, 6<sup>th</sup> of the living waters, 7<sup>th</sup> of kindness, 8<sup>th</sup> of truth, 9<sup>th</sup> of faith, 10<sup>th</sup> the pure world<sup>2</sup>. Similarly there are according to Mani 10 heavens and, above the Light-earth, 5 worlds, *i. e.* of insight, knowledge, secrecy, intellect and of gentleness<sup>3</sup>. If we found in Manicheism the 2 divinities "*call and answer*" (Xrōštag and Padwaxtag) closely combined with the 5 divine elements to a septenary, this shows the powerful influence of Mandaeanism, from which Mani had taken those two gods<sup>4</sup>. It is, therefore, not the Iranian spirit that forms the undertone of the Manichean notions treated so far.

12. But Reitzenstein has yet another argument as striking evidence of the dependence of Manicheism from the Avesta teachings: In a Soghdan fragment the element Light is rendered by the expression *Aša vahišta*, and in another fragment by "*perfectedness*", whereas a Turco-Manichean fragment connects "*knowledge of fulfilling the commands*" with the element "Light". These two (*perfectedness* and *knowledge of fulfilling the commands*) correspond for Reitzenstein with the Avesta notion of *Aša-vahišta*, which can only be brought into connection with "Light". Thereby, as Reitzenstein (p. 255) emphasizes, "the proof of the connection between Manichean and Avesta teachings is afforded". But this important conclusion is drawn from wrong premises. *Aša vahišta* in the Avesta is the genius of heavenly and earthly fire. As the heavenly fire is a divine element in Manicheism, one must expect, *Aša* to have in Manicheism the same place as in the Avesta, and the Avestan *Aməšaspənta Ārmaiti*, as protectress of the earth, which was holy in Iranian but became demonian in Manichean, must appear as demoness. As, however, *Ārmaiti* is called in Manicheism a divine

<sup>1</sup> Brandt, *Mand. Schriften* 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 14. In the parallel passage p. 57, the 7<sup>th</sup> member "the World of Kindness" is missing, presumably because "radiance and light" (of the 1<sup>st</sup> member) were conceived as 2 different qualities, so that one member was eliminated.

<sup>3</sup> Fihrist in *Flügel*, *Mani* 87.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sebeftelowitz, *ibid.* p. 17-33.



being, and the element originally entrusted to her is replaced by "Light," she alone, and not Aša, must have become the genius of light. This Manichean transformation has nothing of Avestan spirit; neither can the quality: "perfectedness" be brought into connection with Aša vahišta, but only with the Amāšaspanta Haurvatāt "Perfection". And what is the matter with the expression of "knowledge of fulfilling the commands?" According to a Turco-Manichean fragment<sup>1</sup>, of the 5 gods living in an Electus, the god "soft breeze" is wrapped in "knowledge of Love," the "wind-god" in "knowledge of faithfulness," the "Light-God" in the "knowledge of fulfilling the commands"<sup>2</sup>, the "water-god" in the "knowledge of longanimity", the "fire-god" in the "wise knowledge". Above all Reitzenstein has concealed from his readers, that the expression "Vorschriften, Befolgungs-Wissen" (*i. e.*, knowledge of fulfilling the commands) is a rather dubious translation. Moreover of the 5 enumerated qualities, none but "the knowledge of faithfulness" could correspond with Aša, which means "righteousness" and "faithfulness", and the adjective *ašavan* derived from Aša is, as hebr. *saddiq*, 'righteous, religious, faithful'. But the "knowledge of faithfulness" is connected in the Turco-Manichean fragment with the water, though in the Avesta the water-genius is not Aša, but Haurvatāt. The fact that there is no historic connection between the material elements is most evident from the Chino-Manichean treatise in which "Light" is even connected with "Contentment" (Journ. A. 1911, 541). *Mani's System of elements can, therefore, not be brought into an inherent connection with the Avestan Amāšaspantas. The Manichean names for elements do not occur anywhere in an abstract meaning.*

13. But Reitzenstein states one more connection between the Avesta and Manicheanism: He assumes<sup>3</sup> that the 5 spiritual powers of man, enumerated in Yasna 26, 3, mean the priests' speculations about a sort of fivefold divinity, which he likewise tries to prove by Manicheanism. A report of Fihrist (Flügel, Mani 86) ascribes to the Light-God 5 limbs: Gentleness, knowledge, reason, mystery, insight; also five spiritual limbs: Love, faith, truth, highmindedness, and wisdom. Similarly runs the Chinese doctrinal work published by Chavannes and Pelliot (Journ. As. 1911, 567, Reitzenstein 253). The

<sup>1</sup> Coq, Türk. Manich. III, 1922, 16.

<sup>2</sup> The translation of this word is very dubious acc. to Coq.

<sup>3</sup> Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss. 1922, 250.



envoy of Sun-Light in macrocosm is symbolised by: "pensée, sentiment, réflexion, intellect, raisonnement", of which the spiritual limbs are "pitié, bonne foi, contentement, patience, sagesse". With Theodor Bar Khoni we find the 5 "Light-worlds," the names of which are, as in the Chinese treatise: "L'intelligence, la raison, la pensée, la réflexion, la volonté," also as parts of the "spiritus vivens." "Schlüsse auf den Ursprung der Vorstellung in dem Avesta-Stück (Yasna 26, 4) würde ich daraus nicht wagen, nur daß eine priesterliche Spekulation über eine Art Gottwesen dort schon vorliegt, in der Tat aus dieser jungen Fortsetzung erschließen." (Reitzenstein, *ibid.* 253 f.) That Zarathustrian literature knows of no fivefold divinity, has been proved by me; Reitzenstein tries to carry Manichean notions into the Avesta. If the fundamental features of the Manichean religion were Iranian, Manichean notions ought to correspond to a certain degree also with those of the Avesta. Nearly all Zarathustrian names of divinities have changed their signification in Manicheism. Sun and moon, the adoration of which is not exclusively Iranian, are not of Zarathustrian character. The Manichean Sun with his ship is more of a Babylonian nature. The "12 navigator-gods" (Coq. III 6) and the 12 "divine virgins" of Mithra (Coq. III 16), who is the solar god—at the same time the Saviour (tarkumān dēn=interpreter of religion)—is also non-Iranian, as the Iranians do not know the duodecimal computation of deities, and Mithra is—as saviour—combined with the Babylonian god Šamaš (cf. Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* I, 69)<sup>1</sup>. "The lunar god quickening the dead," the goddess "Mother of the Living," the "Goddess of Lightning," who is "Zarvan's beloved daughter," the male god of the morning dawn are not Aryan. Entirely unknown divinities occur in

<sup>1</sup> From the fragm. T.H.D 173a (Coq. Türk. Man. I 10 ff.) is evident, that the Manicheans still eagerly expect a divine saviour, who will redeem them from the long suffered torments, that they will then live eternally full of love and joy as comrades of the saviour. If this Jewish-Christian belief on the appearance of Messiah would not exist among the Manicheans, it would not be understood, why especially texts of the New Testament dealing with the coming of the "son of man" would be read so eagerly by them. The Manicheism has a trinity of saviours. Thus *Yēsū* is called *tarkūmān razzar* 'dragoman (= saviour) and vine' (Müller II 36), *Mani* is *nūzūdag īg tarkūmān* 'the first-born, the dragoman' (Müller II 80) and in M 38 (Müller II 77) Mani and Mithra are called 'the dragomans of religion'. As Mani explicitly calls Jesus his predecessor, Jesus is the first saviour, Mani the second, and Mithra the third. The antipode of the latter is "the wrong Mithra", who pretends to be the third Messiah (cf. Scheftelowitz, *Entsteh. d. manich. Rel.* 38).



the Turkish-manichean texts as god Chorug and goddess Anvam (v. Le Coq III, 23, 3). Mandaean are the Manichean terms for gods: Master of Grandeur, Father of Sublimity, King of Light, Sons of Salvation, the Living<sup>1</sup>, Son of Gentleness<sup>2</sup>; also the quadruplication of the deity (God, Light, Power, Wisdom), the important gods Xrôstag and Padwaxtag "Call and Answer", the deity "Column of Light," the deification of the *heavenly* element "Fire" in contrast to the demonization of the *terrestrial* fire, finally also the Manichean notion of the demonian earth and the "foul body" (Coq III 36). Not Zarathustra, but Jesus is adored, not Zarathustrian but christian scriptures are sacred to Mani, who considers himself "Jesus' messenger" (Müller II, 26) and had closely united the ideas of god of the more monotheistic Mandaeans, Zervanites and Christians, from whom he also took the names for the supreme or primary god. By christian influence Ōrmazd was brought into connection with Jesus, while Ahriman was changed into a Christian-Mandaean Satan<sup>3</sup>. A genuine christian idea is the adoration of the trinity "Father, Mother and Son," or "Father, Son and Holy Ghost"<sup>4</sup>, also the contrasting of the "Old Adam of Flesh" and the "New spiritual Man," the notion of the "New Man" whose soul is enlightened by the Saviour (Journ. As. 1911, 540, 546 ff., cf. Eph. 4, 22—24; Corinth. 2, 14; Romans 8, 5—13). The Pauline idea of an "old", and "new" man is not Iranian, but originates from Judaism, according to which the sinner beginning to lead a righteous

<sup>1</sup> The Mandaean term "Living" (=god) points to Judaism, cf. Kōb. Rabba 7, 2. "By the expression 'Living' is to be understood the eternally Living (=god)." Berēš. Rabba P. 43: "The eternally Living (=god) lighted him on every place, which he was going." In Šemōt Rabba P. 5 god is called 'the Living' (חַי), but the idols the "dead" (מֵתִים) cf. also Ps. 106, 28). In Šem. Rabba P. 41 god is signified as "the life of the world" (חַיִּים עַל עוֹלָם), further Wajjiḡra R. P. 26: שְׁמוֹת מַלְאָכֵי הָאֵלִים, Dt. 5, 23; 2 K. 19, 4; Hos. 2, 1; Ps. 42, 3 (אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים) and Dan. 12, 7 (חַיִּים עוֹלָם). Still to this day the expression חַיִּים עוֹלָם (= the Living and Constant) for God is well known to the Jews.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Scheftelowitz, *ibid.* 29.

<sup>3</sup> For this the Chin-Man. text has "Father of the Light, Son of the Light, wind of the pure law" (J. A. 1911, 556). "Die Manichäer beanspruchten selbst ausdrücklich Christen zu heißen. So bezeugt es nicht nur Augustin, sondern auch Epiphanius. Dies bestätigen aber auch bestimmte Tatsachen. Bei der Disputation mit Augustin unterschreibt sich der Manichäer Felix ausdrücklich als Felix Christianus. Ja der Manichäismus rühmte sich, daß er allein im Gegensatz zu katholisch kirchlichen Abschwächungen die christliche Auffassung des Bösen ernsthaft vertrete." (K. Holl, Augustins innere Entwicklung 1923, 4) Jesus is called *razvar* (Müllers Handschr. II, 36) i. e. 'vine.' This meaning was introduced by Christianity (cf. Scheftelowitz M. G. W. J. 1921, 115 f.).



life creates in himself a new heart and a new spirit (=soul) (Ez. 18, 31; 36, 26; Ps. 51, 12), whereas the heathen who follows and obeys the Tōrā is freed from his sins and is "like unto one newly born" (cf. Scheffelowitz A. R. W. 1914, 367). The Manichean days of Lent, the idea of the "wrong Messiah," the burying of the dead are Jewish-Christian ideas. In direct opposition to Zarathustrianism, which considers the south as the Light-abode of the heavenly and the north as the dark-seat of the demons, Mani considers the south as the seat of the devils and the North as the realm of the gods. The Fravaši-idea of the Iranians, on which their dogma of immortality mainly rests, entered as Manvahmed into Manicheanism by Mandaean mediation<sup>1</sup>, while the Iranian word for "fravahar" (Fravaši) became by Indian influence the element "soft breeze". We would seek in vain in Manicheanism for anything of the Iranian Haoma-and Anahita-cults, though the latter (Meter Anaitis) had spread all over Asia minor just in the first centuries A. D.<sup>2</sup> But we find, as part of the original Manichean doctrine, Jacob as "the great angel, the leader of the angels" and "the mighty angels Rafael, Michael, Gabriel, Sariel". The Manichean word for "angel", belonging to the rudiments of Manicheanism, is the literal translation of the Hebrew word מַלְאָךְ ("messenger, angel"). Mani's alimentary rite "The flesh of the innocent, sinless, dear lamb you may eat, but do not break its bones" (Coq. III 39), corresponds with the prescribed observances concerning the Easter-lamb, whose bones were not to be broken (Ex. 12, 46). The syncretism of the Manichean religion may be illustrated by the following instance: In a Middle Persian-Manichean fragment we find the passage: "O perfect seal of my *hand, mouth and thoughts*" (Müller II 63). Now for the tripartition of human action a stereotype formula was coined in Zarathustrianism and in Buddhism. In all Zarathustrian writings we find the fixed formula: "Thought, word and deed"<sup>3</sup>, whereas the inalterable Buddhist trinity runs "body, word, and thought" (cf. Dhammapada V. 391: yassa kāyena, vācāya manasā n' atthi dukkatam (also 231—33, Digh-Nik. 16, 1, 11; 27, 27, Samyutta-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 53 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Weinreich, *Stiftungen und Kultstätten* 1919, 40; Camont, *Notes sur le culte d'Anaitis*, R. A. 1905 I, 28 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vait 11, 4. Scheffelowitz, *Alpers. Religion*, 141 f.



Nik. III, 2, 10)<sup>1</sup>. As the Manichean trinity of the seal corresponds in sequence accurately with the Buddhist (but for "body" substituting "hand"), Buddhist influence is evident. In a Turkish Manichean fragment, we also find the Iranian tripartition of human action: "How many wicked *thoughts* do we think, how many unspeakably ugly *words* do we speak, how many unfeasible *deeds* are we doing" (Müller II 112). But the notion "seal" comes neither from Buddhism nor from Iranian, but from Christianity. The Christian is "sealed by the baptismal with 3 seals" (those of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost)<sup>2</sup>. Thus Mani changed the signification of the 3 Christian seals<sup>3</sup>. Christianity again took the notion of "seal" from Judaism. Circumcision is called the seal (חותם) of the Covenant with God<sup>4</sup>. A sort of tripartition of the divine seal is mentioned in Midr. Jalamdenu Wajjiqra Šaw. § 14: "To every Israelite God imprints his seal שדי ("Allmighty") viz. the first letter (ש) on the root of his nose, the second (ד) on his hand<sup>5</sup> and the third letter (י) on the circumcision". In other passages we find: "The seal of God is truth" (Jōmā 69 b, Šabb. 55 a, Sanh. 64). The Mandaean term for baptism: "The great seal" (Brandt, M., Schriften 71, Lidzbarski, Mand. Lit. 22, 121) also points to Judaism. Therefore Reitzenstein is wrong in his assumption that the Manichean tripartite seal "corresponds with most ancient Persian conception"<sup>6</sup>. The present investigation shows that Reitzenstein's method of religious history, by which Manichean notions are proved to be Old Iranian, is untenable; his most important results rest on his singular method<sup>7</sup>. Thus he pretends to prove the Manichean

<sup>1</sup> In Brahmanism we find the reversed formula: *manomūgdeha* "thought, word, body" (Manu IX, 29).

<sup>2</sup> Thomasakt 27, 49; cf. epistle of Clemens 7, 6; Eph. 1, 13.

<sup>3</sup> As Mani had taken from Mandaeanism the fourfold God, he created, beside the threepartitioned seal (*pek mader*, Coq, Manich. Miniaturen 40), also a fourpartitioned one. cf. Scheftelowitz, Entstehung der manich. Rel. 37 A, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Jalqū Šir halšir, 8, 6; also the grace Birkat hammašon, which runs: "... we thank you ... for your covenant, the seal of which you imprinted unto our meat."

<sup>5</sup> The phylacteries (Tefillin) are worn as "signs" between the eyes, i. e., at the root of the nose, and at the arms (Ex. 13, 16; Dt. 6, 8; 11, 18).

<sup>6</sup> GGA. 1923, 54; the same: Iran. Erlösung 203.

<sup>7</sup> The following example may illustrate very evidently Reitzenstein's method. He affirms G. G. A 1923, 41: „Er (Mani) wird nach einem schönen Funde Lidzbarski's auf den frühesten Münzen als der Eingesetzte (Stellvertreter) des Gottes Mithra, also des von ihm besonders gefeierten dritten Gesandten, bezeichnet." But this his assertion is wrong. From the little kingdom of Characene (in South-Babylonia) a



divinities of Redemption as "Mother of the Living", Sun and Moon as belonging to "Old Iranian popular belief", which he infers from the Middle-Persian names Mātboγ (probably from the 1<sup>st</sup> ct. A. D.), Mitrobuzanes, and Maibuzanes. The meaning of the first of these names is "having redemption through the mother", which according to Reitzenstein G. G. A. 1923, 51 explains the following mystery: "In Manicheism the Mother of the Living reaches out her right hand to Ōrmazd when rising from Hell, he comes to the circuits of the Heavens and thereby she redeems him". And the other two names are to signify (Iran. Erlösungsmyst. 159, G. G. A. *ibid.*) either "the one adorned by the Gods of the Sun and the Moon", or "the one redeemed by Mithra, redeemed by the Moon", and that is to prove the Iranian origin of Sun and Moon as Redeemers. But against this must be stated, that Mātboγ may also refer to the Semitic cult of the Mother Goddess, which cult was far spread just in the first century A. D., so that Iranians may have prayed to her too, as single Iranians also adhered Mandaeism<sup>1</sup>. Considering two other Middle Persian names:

number of coins descending from the first century have been found, which are furnished partly with Greek legends partly with Mandaean ones. On two coins with Mandaean legends two quite different persons, of which one is named Mani, have the same epithet consisting of three words which can be differently interpreted. The first word can be read as מַסְתָּר or מַסְתָּר (cf. pers. *mastr* 'a certain coin') or מַסְתָּר (= pers. *mastr* 'master' or *mastr* 'appointed'), the 2<sup>nd</sup> word as מ or מ or מ and the 3<sup>rd</sup> as מַסְתָּר or מַסְתָּר or מַסְתָּר (perhaps either pers. *mastr* 'stamp, seal' either *mastr* 'Mithra,' furnished with the aram. ending *ā*). Suppose that only the reading מַסְתָּר מַסְתָּר is right, these three words, as they are also added to another person than Mani, can mean only a kind of title, which according to Lidbarski (*Zachr. f. Numismat.* 1921, 92 ff.) „unabhängig von Mani und vor Mani gebraucht wurde", so that it is very dubious altogether whether the name "Mani" on the coins signifies the founder of Manicheism. This title (*mastr & mastr*) could mean "master of the seal = mintmaster." In India the meaning of pers. *mastr* is 'a golden coin' (Vulliamy, *Les.* II 1237). The name of the mint-master is also often on Roman coins (Dressel, *Ztschr. f. Numism.* 33, 31). Thus Reitzenstein's idea that on the coins Prophet Mani is designated as "substitute of Mithra" is untenable.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schrieblowitz, *Entstehung* etc. 2. As my treatise on account of the constantly rising expenses of publication, had to be quickly finished in June 23, a number of errata could not be corrected. P. 7, l. 21 must be "der zu den Texten gehört, die sich schon dadurch als jung erweisen". Page 64 lines 3—8 ought to read: In einem Fragment heißt es zwar: "Dann [schuf Gott der Verstandeswelt (= Zarwan)] zuerst jenen ersten Mann (nar), das ursprüngliche Geschöpf, den ersten Verstand und das erste Wissen" (Adresse bei Reitzenstein, *Mand.* Buch 50). Hier kann jener erste Mann nur Ōrmazd sein. *Nar* bedeutet etc. Page 78 lines 9—10 ought to be: "Denn Paulus, der wegen seines Glaubens an die Auferstehung Jesu vom jüdischen Gericht angeklagt war, beteuert, daß er im



Pitarbuxt (= "redeemed by the Father", cf. Justi: Iran. Namenbuch 254) and Jēšubuxt (= "redeemed by Jesus", Justi 149) we even find the Christian trinity, Mātbōr then meaning "redeemed by the Mother of God". The two other names, Reitzenstein quotes, are translated wrong: for they mean "freeing himself from Mithra, freeing himself from the Moon". Thus no Iranian Mystery of Redemption can be inferred from those three theophore names. Non-Iranian is the Manichean Redemption-Mystery, according to which those Light-Divinities which succumb partly in their fight against the dark powers, must surrender their divine Light, their souls, as prisoners to the Demons: and these souls are bound—against the divine will—to the demonic matter, and thereby forget their heavenly origin so that they must be awakened and set free by a heavenly messenger.<sup>1</sup> The stages of purification which must be passed on the way upward, are just a characteristic of the Manichean mystery. According to the Dinkerd (ed. Sanjana 5, 242f.) the Zarathustrism differs already from Manicheism thereby that the former seeks to banish the demon from the body and to make God, who is the "creator of the incarnate bodies" (Vend. 3), a guest in the body, whereas Mani teaches that mankind is the body of the demon and God is but a prisoner in the body.

14. Now Reitzenstein asserts, that the Manichean conception of drunkenness and of the soul slumbering within the body until awakened by a heavenly messenger, is genuine Iranian, and hinted at even in the oldest parts of the Avesta in Yasna 28, 4. "This Iranian notion had spread far in the 1<sup>st</sup> ct. A. D., as it proved by its imitation in the Jewish or Early Christian anonymous quotation

Einklang stehe mit dem Auferstehungsdogma der Pharisäer". Page 7, l. 29, and p. 8 lines 1—5 must be cancelled. Page 46 note, lines 1—4 ought to be: "a. a. O. 543"). Mithra wird auf dem Denkmal d. Antiochos I. v. Kommagene, der sich als Verehrer des "Zeus-Orontes" ausgibt, als Sonne dargestellt (vgl. Dittenberger, Orient Graec. inscr. Nr. 383).

1. If it is said about the Manichean *elect*, that they fight the demons of vices, I might point out that every redemption-religion commands its confessors to fight against wickedness, thus compare in Buddhism Dhammapada 40, 175, 179, 296 ff. 343. Not only Buddha, but every ascetic who conquers the "satirical laws" (*āpāśā dhammā*) is called a "victor" (*jina* cf. Vin. 1,8), because he has caused that "the light of the lights" (*vyōdijāno vyōdiko*) i. e. the celestial *ārahan* in his heart (Bh. Ar. Up. 4.4, 16; 4.3, 7) is finally redeemed. In Parsism the demons are chiefly fought by exercising various external ceremonies prescribed, but in Manicheism and Buddhism by endeavours to overcome all sensual desires principally by the power of will.

in Ephes. 5, 14, the heathen mystery imitated in alchemists' treatises, the Baruchtext of the Jewish-Christian Gnosis". Just this Ephesian letter, remarks Reitzenstein (G. G. A. 1923, 52 f.), shows some more Iranian influences; the rhethoric picture Eph. 6, 13 διὰ τοῦτο ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ he takes for genuine Iranian. But here too Reitzenstein is wrong in his premisses; neither the Ephesian letter, nor the alchemistic texts, nor the Baruchtext can be taken as documenting Iranian notions, as they are no Iranian texts. Eph. 5, 14 can be traced back to the Greek mystery (cf. Leisegang, Z. M. R. W. 1921, 295), and the passage quoted from Ephes. 6, 13 is genuine *biblical*, cf. Isa. 61, 10 "He (God) has clothed me with the garments of salvation and covered me with the robe of righteousness". Isaiah 59, 17: "And he put righteousness as a harness and the salvation as helmet on his head" cf. also Ps. 91, 4; II. Corinth 6, 7: "By the armour of righteousness (διὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν τῆς δικαιοσύνης) on the right hand and on the left". "The harness of God", which means Righteousness is, then, a *biblical*, not an Iranian notion. And I can also give the proof, that *only* the *one* passage from the Avesta by which Reitzenstein substantiates his theory, Yasna 28, 4: yā urvānəm mān gairē... dadē, must be translated with Bartholomae and Geldner: "who I have directed my mind upon *watching over the souls*"; though the translation proposed by Andreas "that the soul be wakeful" be grammatically without mistake, this meaning is contradicted by another passage from the Gāthās which emphasizes that Zarathustra is called for "to watch over the souls of the righteous", cf. Yasna 49, 10. "And that I (Zarathustra) will watch over, o Mazda, in your creation, namely the good mind, *the souls of the pious*, their prayers, devotion and religious zeal, I will watch over with sovereignty and constant not-slumbering"<sup>1</sup>, cf. also Yasna 28, 11: "I (Zarathustra) who will watch therefore over the right doing and the good mind for ever". Exactly the same task is set to the Israelite prophet as God's elect; he is bound to watch as a "watchman" (Jer. 6, 17) over the souls entrusted to him (Ezek. 33, 6). Thus in Ezek. 3, 17; 33, 7 the prophet is summoned: "Son of man, I (god) have set thee as watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore

<sup>1</sup> I read the obscure "avēmōrā" as *avomēd* = a-vi-mīrē: O. Ind. mī "to close one's eyes, to sleep." Aw. ē is alternately written with /, cf. Y. 23, 2. ā / *fravāh* beside *āfravah*, *āfravah*?; Y. 30, 4: *dand* beside *dand*, *dand*?; 30, 5: *vast* beside *vast*, *vast*?; Y. 32, 11: *mauūh* beside *mauūh*?; Y. 33, 4: *taurimaūh* beside *taurimaūh*.



shalt thou hear the word of my mouth and give them warning from me." Of the neglectful prophets is said: "Their watchmen are all blind, and altogether without knowledge; they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark, *dreaming, sleeping, loving to slumber*;" (Isaiah 56, 10). Exactly like the Iranian, then, the Israelite prophet is to watch over the souls "with constant not-slumbering". This is another of the numerous evidences quoted in my book "Altpersische Religion und das Judentum", that two entirely different religions can develop quite independently from each other, the same or parallel ideas<sup>1</sup>. If Mani has drawn thoughts alternately from Mandaeism, from Christianity, from Parsism, from Buddhism, which partly contradict one another, this may be because these thoughts belong to different epochs of his activity and have been adopted according to the circumstances of the different times and countries in which he appeared as "waker".—

15. The results of this research must be summed up as follows: 1) The assumption of five Zoroastrian elements is untenable. 2) The Avesta knows of no five-fold divinity. 3) Mani's system of elements never occurring in abstract meaning cannot be brought into an inner relation to the Avestan Aməšaspentas; nor is there any possibility of the five Manichean elements having their roots in the Iranian popular belief, which accepts the existence of 4 elements only. 4) None of the leading thoughts of Manicheanism can be brought into relation to the Avesta, the tenor of Manicheanism cannot be considered as Iranian. 5) In historically considering the Manichean redemption's doctrine, the Indian and Mandaean texture must be regarded. 6) Reitzenstein is the creator of a new mystic religion which he calls Iranian, but which in reality has as little to do with genuine Iranianism as the figure of Nietzsche's Zarathustra with the prophet of Ahuramazda.

<sup>1</sup> If the thought of a spiritual awakening of the soul from "slumber" could even be proved in Iranianism, it would not necessarily follow thereof that all other religions containing the same thought must have drawn it from Iranian sources. For an individual with reason this thought lies so near, that it appears quite independently again and again. I heard it in March 1923 in the speech delivered by a gentleman who had not the slightest knowledge of the religious mysteries, yet he detailed that thought very pregnantly at the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of a person's presidency of a charitable society.

## Annotation to p. 468 n. 4:

In the old-Iranian era Zarvanism did not yet exist. The two epithets of the Zrvan in Avesta do not justify the presumption of an original godfather Zrvan. Not only he, but also the air (Ny 1,1) has the name *darayo-xradāta* ('long independently governing'), and the other epithet of Zrvan, *abaranu*, is the opposite of *anayra* (comp. Yalt 8,48). The former means 'endless,' the latter 'beginningless.' Zrvan is in Avesta only 'endless' (*abaranu*), Ahuramazda however "the first and the last" (Yasna 31,8). Not Zrvan but Ahuramazda's light heaven and Angromainyu's dark hell exist "beginningless" (cf. *anayra rased*, *anayra tmed*). The Grand Bund. (ed. Anklesara 1908 p. 9,2) distinguishes Zrvan *abaranu* strictly from Zrvan *darayo-xradāta*, which both were created by Ōrmasd. According to the Gr. Bund., the "long independently governing" Zrvan has been shaped soon after the "endless Zrvan" by Ōrmasd (cf. Blochet R.H.R. 1895, 108, Darmesteter Z. A. I 221). Ever since the dualism has existed in the old Iranian religion, wherefore it is taught, that the good and the evil do not descend from one heavenly origin, but from two quite different ghosts: "And when both these ghosts originally came together, they decided life and death and that lastly the worst existence must be for the false believers, but the reward of the best mind for the right-believers" (Yasna 30,4 f, Scheftelowitz, *Altperische Religion* p. 16). In consequence of the old idea, that two ghosts have existed ever since, from which each of them has produced an especial creation (yasna 8,8), they are signified as *mainyū* (dual) 'the two ghosts' and therefore it must be understood to characterise them as "two twin-gods" (Yasna 30,3, Scheftelowitz l. c. 31 f.). When Eudemos with Damaskios reports, that the Persians supposed only one original principle which they called partly 'abode' partly 'time,' I should like to ask what is to be understood under "abode?" Between the lifetime of Eudemos and Damaskios lie many centuries, so that the latter was not able to prove the genuineness of this tradition (cf. Scheftelowitz, *Beitrag z. Methode der vgl. Religionsforschung* in M. G. W. J. 1921, 113 ff.). When in a hymn of Atharvaveda at first time *Kāla* "time" is praised as the only one creator, and in *Maitr. Up.* *Brāhman* is identified with *Kāla*, this speculation of single Indian philosophers did not have any influence on a large circle and cannot be a testimony for the high age of the Iranic Zarvanism. Even the pure monotheistic idea can be proved as speculation in several Upaniṣads (cf. Śivasamkalpa-Up. Z. D. M. G. 1921, 201 ff.). Quite different is that Zarvanism which first appears in the era after Christ as an Iranic religion of vital power and not as speculation, so that scriptures of Persians dispute with it. Jewish and Christian monotheism widely spread since the 1<sup>st</sup> century A. D. gave rise to the formation of that Zoroastrian sect. Would Zrvan already in the pre-Christian time have been the main god in the Iranic popular religion, Antiochos I. of Commagene, who confessed the Iranic popular belief, would have mentioned him in his inscription beside Zeus-Oromasdes, Mithra, Artaganos (= *Περθεργμος*). Only in one place χρόνος ἀειρος is used in the meaning of 'divine fate', which also Theodor of Mopsuest (with Photius, *Bibliotheca* 81, ed. Becker) knows for Zrvan: Περ τοῦ Ζωροουστ, ὃν καὶ Τέχην καλεῖ. Thus Antiochos I. says: ὃν θέμις ἀνδράσιν γενεαῖς ἀπάντων, οὗς ἀν χρόνος ἀειρος εἰς διαδοχὴν χάρας ταύτης ἰδίᾳ βίον μοῖρα καταστήσῃ (Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones* Nr. 383, 111 ff.). Similarly



"fate" (mp. *haxf*) is in middle-Persian era a god (cf. *Mên i Xrat* 8, 13) as with Firdôš "the wheel of fate" (*enay*). The very young Pārses work *Mên i Xrat*, influenced in two places by Zarranism, has been written in Mohammedan times and also mentions the Turks. VIII 8: "The creator Ōrmazd produced these creatures and the creation, and the Amēšaspemas and the Spirit of Wisdom, from that which is his own splendor and with the blessing of the endless Zərwan, because the endless Zərwan is undecaying and immortal and painless and thirstless and unafflicted; and for ever and everlasting, no one is able to stop it and remove its control from his affairs." XXVII 10: "Since the affairs of the world altogether proceed through destiny and time and the supreme decree of the self-ordained Zərwan the King and long independent governor." But in the older work *Bend. c.* I line 10 (ed. Justi 1869) we find: "One is always this endless Zərwan like Ōrmazd, region, religion and time; *Ōrmazd yehaunūd va ā va hamē yehaunūd* "Ōrmazd was, is, and shall be for ever". In *Zdšpar.* I, 24 Zərwan is distinctly stated to be a creature of Ōrmazd. About the Zərwanian comp. also Darmeneter, Ōrmazd at Akri-man p. 316 ff.

## LIT'AIPO'S ARCHAISTISCHE ALLEGORIEN (古風)

(GES. WERKE BUCH II)

ÜBERSETZT

VON E. v. ZACH

1. Größere Oden (wie im Shihking) werden seit langem nicht mehr  
gedichtet.  
Ich bin schon alt, wer sollte da vorliegende noch dem Hofe  
unterbreiten?  
Die Sitten der Herrscher waren in Verfall geraten,  
In der Periode der kämpfenden Reiche sehen wir nur viel Dornen-  
gestrüpp.  
Wie Drachen und Tiger fressen sie sich gegenseitig auf,  
Diese kriegerischen Zeiten reichen bis zum wilden Kaiser Ch'in-  
shih-hwang.  
Die korrekte Poesie, wie unbedeutend und verschwommen ist sie  
geworden!  
Die Klagelieder rühren von Ch'u Yüan her.  
Yang Hsiung und Sze-ma Hsiang-ju suchen die verrinnenden  
Wogen aufzuhalten.  
Und eröffnen selbst eine grenzenlose Überschwemmung.  
Obwohl Verfall und Blüte in hundert Gestalten erscheinen,  
Sind die Gesetze der Poesie doch schon verschwunden.  
Schließlich seit der Chien-an-Periode (196—220 n. Chr.)  
Zeigt sich nur noch wertlose Manieriertheit (schönes Wortgeklänge). —  
Unsere große T'ang-Dynastie ist die Renaissance des Altertums.  
Ihre mühelose Regierung schätzt Klarheit und Wahrheit.  
Zahlreiche Talente dienen dem Fortschritt.



Durch die Zeit begünstigt entfalten sie ihr Können  
 Und weitteifern in glänzender Form und Inhalt.  
 Wie die Sterne im Herbst funkeln sie gedrängt nebeneinander.  
 Meine Absicht ist es verkürzte Erzählungen zu geben,  
 Um darin den Ruhm vergangener Jahrtausende zu reflektieren.  
 In Nachahmung des Confucius, vom Anfang bis zum Ende,  
 Werde auch ich erst den Pinsel niederlegen bei Ergreifung des  
 Einhorns (vgl. Ende des Ch'un-ch'iu, Legge V 833).

2. Die (dreibeinige) Kröte machte einen Einfall in das Firmament  
 Und verspeiste dessen Jaspis-Söller, den Mond (= die kaiserliche  
 Konkubine Wu [Hui-fei] verdrängte die Kaiserin Wang).  
 Die runde Scheibe wurde immer kleiner inmitten des Himmels,  
 Bis sie, die Silberseele, endlich ganz erlosch (= bis die Kaiserin  
 Wang abgesetzt war).  
 Der Regenbogen drang in die Konstellation Tzu-wei ein (= Wu  
 Hui-fei wußte sich die kaiserliche Gunst zu verschaffen).  
 Der Sonne Morgenglanz erlosch (= sie betörte und verwirrte den  
 Kaiser).

Die ziehende Wolke trennte Sonne und Mond.  
 Die ganze Natur wurde in Dunkelheit gehüllt.  
 Vormalis lebte Kaiserin Ch'ên nach ihrer Absetzung ruhig im  
 Ch'ang-mên-Palaste.

So war es einst; heute aber ist es schon anders.  
 Der Zimmitbaum, vom Wurm angefressen, blühte, konnte aber  
 keine Früchte tragen.

Die kaiserliche Ungnade zeigte sich in all' ihrer Strenge.  
 In Kummer versunken ging sie ein in die ewige Nacht (= Kaiserin  
 Wang starb bald nach ihrer Absetzung).

(Diese Geschichte) rührt mich, daß Tränen mein Kleid benetzen.

Das Gedicht bezieht sich auf Kaiserin Wang, Gemahlin des Kaisers Ming-hwang der T'ang-Dynastie, deren Schicksal dem der Kaiserin Ch'ên, Gemahlin des Kaisers Wu der Han-Dynastie, ähnelt: letztere wurde wegen ihrer Eifersucht 130 v. Chr., erstere schuldlos 724 n. Chr. abgesetzt (vgl. Tung-chien-kaug-mu, Cap. 4 S. 27 u. 44 und Cap. 43 S. 30 u. 35), nachdem der Kaiser durch die Konkubine Wu betört war. Diese wird hier der Reihe nach mit der Mondkröte, dem Regenbogen, der treibenden Wolke, endlich mit einem Wurm verglichen. —

3. Kaiser Ch'in-shih-hwang legte die sechs Richtungen des Raumes,  
 Blicke wie ein Tiger umher, voll wilden Mutes,  
 Schwang sein Schwert und trennte damit die ziehenden Wolken.  
 Die Lehensfürsten kamen alle nach Westen (Ch'ang-an).  
 Aus seinen klaren Entscheidungen erkennt man den Gottbe-  
 gnadeten (vgl. Tsochuan, Legge V. 185 Z. 6).  
 Seine großartige Veranlagung wußte sich zahlreiche Talente dienst-  
 bar zu machen.

Er sammelte die Waffen und goß daraus Erzstandbilder.  
 Er öffnete den Han-ku-kwan-Paß dem Verkehre nach Osten.  
 Er schrieb seine Verdienste auf eine Stele des Berges Kuei-chi.  
 Er eilte die Lang-ya-Terrasse zu sehen (vgl. Chavannes, Mém.  
 hist. II 144).

(Bei seinen Bauten) verwendete er siebenhunderttausend Sträflinge  
 (Chav., Mém. hist. II 176)

Er errichtete sein Grab in einer Vertiefung des Li-shan-Berges  
 (in Shensi, Chav., Mém. hist. II 90).

Und doch suchte er noch nach der Arznei der Unsterblichkeit:  
 Dies läßt das menschliche Herz unsagliches Mitleid mit ihm haben.  
 Mit der repetierenden Armbrust schoß er den großen Fisch des  
 Meeres (Chav. Mém. hist. II 190).

Den langen Wal von wirklich imposanten Dimensionen,  
 Dessen auf der Stirne gelegene Spritzlöcher den fünf Riesen-  
 bergen gleichen.

Der die Wellen peitscht, Wolken unter Donnergetöse ausstößt,  
 Und dessen Flossen den blauen Himmel verdecken.

Wozu wandte er seinen Blick nach der Genien-Insel P'eng-lai?

Hsü Shih (Giles, B. D. Nr. 788) brachte die Mädchen von Ch'in  
 dahin.

Wann wird sein Hausboot wieder zurückkehren?

Wohl nur um unter den drei Quellen

Den Bronzesarg (des Kaisers) zu finden, gebettet in kalte Asche.

Zu diesem Gedichte vgl. Nr. 48.

4. Der Phönix fliegt neuntausend Kläfter hoch.  
 Alle fünf Arten der Ausschmückung zieren sein herrliches Gefieder.  
 Im Schnabel bringt er ein Schreiben, um gleich wieder in den  
 Äther zurückzukehren.



Umsonst fliegt er nach Chou und nach Ch'in.  
 Er überquert die vier Meere  
 (Zurück) zu seiner Behausung, die keine Nachbarn kennt.  
 Was ich anstrebe, ist auf den violetten Dünsten zu reiten  
 Und für tausend Jahre den Erdenstaub abzuschütteln.  
 Die Ingredienzien (zum Lebenselixier) sind verborgen im Meere  
 und auf den Riesenbergen.  
 Und das Blei sammle ich am Ufer des Ch'ing-hsi-Baches (in Anhui).  
 Oft steige ich auf den Ta-lou-shan-Berg (bei Ch'ih-chou-fu, Anhui),  
 Hebe den Kopf und blicke aus nach den Unsterblichen,  
 Um auf einem Phönix reitend für immer den Schatten zu verlieren  
 Und auf einem Wolkenwagen der Wiedergeburt zu entinnen.  
 Doch fürchte ich, daß das Lebenselixier zu spät kommt,  
 Um meine Wünsche befriedigen zu können.  
 Denn im Spiegel sehe ich mein Haar schneeweiß.  
 Ich würde mich vor jenem auf einem Kranich reitenden Un-  
 sterblichen schämen (vgl. Nr. 7).  
 Pfirsiche und Pflaumen blühen überall.  
 Die Blüten hier sind nicht die meines Frühlings.  
 Aber sie entsprechen den Regionen der himmlischen Residenz,  
 Und sind ewig mit dem Genius Han Chung zusammen.

Letzte Verse unklar. — 桑河車, vgl. Palladius II 499, in der tao-  
 istischen Alchemie letztes Produkt bei Bereitung des Lebenselixiers.

5. Wie herrlich blaugrün erscheint der Tai-po-shan-Berg (in Wu-  
 lung-hsien, Shensi),

Die Sterne sind über ihm dicht geordnet.  
 Vom Himmelsgewölbe ist er dreihundert Meilen entfernt,  
 Von der Welt der Menschen ist er weit entrückt.  
 Dort lebt ein Greis mit schwarzen Haaren,  
 Die Wolken zerteilt er und schläft auf dem Schnee der Pinie.  
 Er lacht nicht, er spricht auch nicht.  
 Im Dunkeln haust er in seiner Felsenhöhle.  
 Als ich diesen Unsterblichen besuchen kam,  
 Kniete ich lange (vor ihm) und frag nach dem kostbaren Ge-  
 heimnis (der Herstellung des Lebenselixiers).  
 Laut lachend öffnet er die Reihen seiner weißen Zähne  
 Und lehrt mich die Bereitung der Arznei.

Seine Worte präge ich tief in mein Gedächtnis („Knochen“) ein.  
 Da hebt sich sein Leib und schon ist er wie der Blitz verschwunden.  
 Ich schaue empor, kann ihn aber nicht mehr erblicken.  
 Da werden plötzlich die fünf Affekte (von neuem) in mir wach („heiß“).  
 Ich will nun den Stein der Weisen zu erlangen trachten,  
 Um für immer mich von den Menschen zu trennen.

Zu 五情熱 vgl. Bernhardt und Zach, Tao Yuan-ming S. 78 u. 11:  
 da überläuft es uns heiß.

6. Das Pferd aus Tai-chou (Playfair Nr. 6956) denkt nicht an Yüeh  
 (Chèkiang).

Der Vogel aus Yüeh hat keine Sehnsucht nach Yën (Chihli) —  
 Die Gefühle sind der Gewohnheit unterworfen,  
 Und diese wird durch die Sitten des Landes befestigt (bestimmt).  
 Einst nahm ich Abschied vom Yen-men-Passe (bei Tai-chou),  
 Jetzt stehe ich als Krieger vor dem hunnischen Lung-t'ing.  
 Der Sandsturm verdeckt die aus dem Meere aufgestiegene Sonne,  
 Das Schneegestöber macht den Himmel Zentralasiens unsichtbar.  
 Läuse nisten in Tigerfell und Mütze meiner Uniform,  
 Und das Herz zeigt Unruhe wie die Fahnen im Winde.  
 Wenn nach bitterem Kampfe das Verdienst keine Anerkennung  
 findet,

Kann Loyalität nur schwer sich kundtun.

Wer bedauerte (nicht) Li Kwang, den „fliegenden General“ (vgl.  
 Giles, B. D. Nr. 1159),

Der in hohem Alter an den Grenzen sein Leben ließ.

三邊 ist Yu-chou, Ping-chou, Liang-chou (Playfair Nr. 8710, 548  
 u. 4211).

7. Zu den Wanderern gehört auch der auf einem Kranich reitende  
 Unsterbliche.

Fliegend überquert er den weiten Himmelsraum,  
 Und brüstet sich in den dunklen Wolken (? vgl. Liki, ed. Couvreur,  
 I 471).

Selbst nennt er sich An-ch'i-shéng (Chav., Mém. hist. III 465,  
 Giles, B. D. Nr. 7).

Zwei Knaben mit Alabastergesichtern

Blasen auf der Flöte des violetten Phönix. (?)



Ihre ziehenden Schatten werden plötzlich nicht mehr gesehen.  
 Ein Zyklon begleitet die Musik der Himmelssphären.  
 Ich hebe das Haupt, um aus der Ferne sie zu erspähen.  
 Da fahren sie wirbelnd dahin wie Sternschnuppen.  
 Ich möchte das Goldglanzkraut essen,  
 Damit ich ebenso alt wie der Himmel werde.

8. In Hsien-yang (Ch'ang-an) im zweiten oder dritten Monat  
 Zeigen die Weiden des Palastes goldgelbe Zweige.  
 Wer ist der junge Mann dort in grüner Mütze?  
 Es ist Bruder Liederlich, der frühere Korallenverkäufer.  
 Jeden Abend kehrt er vom Weine trunken nach Hause zurück.  
 Sein Schimmel bewegt sich stolz und geschwind.  
 Sein Äußeres läßt die Menschen respektvoll aufblicken.  
 Wenn er lustwandelnd gerade ankommt.  
 Yang Hsiung verstand von den Staatsgeschäften nichts.  
 Spät überreichte er seine Beschreibung des Ch'ang-yang-Palastes.  
 Seine Arbeit war gut, aber sein Körper schon alt.  
 Die Schläfen des Verfassers des T'ai-hsüan-ching waren wie weiße  
 Seidenfäden.  
 Er stürzte sich von dem Turme hinunter, was wirklich bedauerlich ist,  
 Nur wegen des Holnes solcher Buben.

Im ersten Teile dieses Gedichtes ist die Rede von Tung Yen, dem Mignon des Kaisers Han Wu-ti (T'ung-chien, C. 4, S. 44 verso), im zweiten Teile vom Philosophen Yang Hsiung (Giles, B. D. Nr. 2379), der sich seiner Verhaftung wegen angeblicher Teilnahme an einem politischen Vergehen seines Schülers 劉棻 durch Sturz vom 天祿閣 (T'ung-chien, C. 8, S. 34) entziehen wollte. In welchem Zusammenhang diese beiden zeitlich weit auseinanderliegenden Ereignisse (130 v. Chr. und 10 n. Chr.) stehen, ist mir unklar.

9. Chwangtzu träumte, daß er ein Schmetterling war,  
 (Oder nach dem Erwachen) war es vielleicht der Schmetterling,  
 der träumte Chwangtzu zu sein?  
 Ein Wesen wechselt immer von neuem in seinen Verwandlungen,  
 Und die ganze Natur ist wirklich von unendlicher Unbeständigkeit.  
 Weiß ich doch, daß das Meer um die Genien-Insel P'êng-lai  
 Wieder zu einem klaren, seichten Wasserlauf wird.

Der Mann, der Kürbisse pflanzte außerhalb des blauen Tores von  
Ch'ang-an,

War früher Marquis von Tung-ling (Shao P'ing).

Mit Reichtum und Ansehen verhält es sich also ganz ebenso.

Wozu dann alles geschäftige Treiben?

Zu Chwangtzu's Traum vgl. Legge, *Texts of Taoism*, I 197.

10. Das Ch'i-Reich besaß unbandige Männer.

(Darunter) war Lu Chung-lien (Giles, B. D. Nr. 1408) besonders  
hervorragend.

Die Mondglanzperle stammt aus den Tiefen des Ozeans.

Eines Morgens zeigt sie ihren leuchtenden Glanz.

Jener veranlaßte das Han-tan belagernde Ch'in-Reich zum Rück-  
zug und erlangte dadurch herrlichen Ruhm.

Die Nachwelt sieht auf zu dessen letzten Strahlen.

In seiner Meinung war ein Geschenk von 1000 Goldstücken wertlos,

Und er sah lachend auf P'ing-ylan Chün (der ihn belohnen wollte,  
Giles, B. D. Nr. 1652) herab.

Auch ich bin ein solch wilder Geselle,

Schüttle die Kleider und kann dasselbe Lied singen.

11. Der Hwangho eilt nach dem östlichen Ozean.

Die glänzende Sonne versinkt im westlichen Meere.

Die wandernden Wasser und fliehenden Strahlen

Warten auch nicht einen Augenblick aufeinander.

Die frühlingsgleiche Schönheit hat mich verlassen,

Der Herbst des Lebens hat mein Haar gebleicht.

Des Menschen Natur ist nicht der kalten Pinie zu vergleichen.

Wie könnte sein Aussehen mit den Jahren stets das gleiche bleiben?

Ich muß mich auf einem Drachen in die Wolken schwingen,

Das Himmelslicht einschlürfend die Zeit zum Stehen bringen.

12. Der Stamm der Pinie und Zypresse steht einsam aufrecht

Und hat nichts vom Aussehen der Pfirsich- und Pflaumenbäume.

Berühmt war einst Yen Kwang (Giles, B. D. Nr. 2468).

Er ließ seine Angel in die Fluten des Ts'ang hängen (Ts'ang-  
lang? Mengtzu II<sup>2</sup> 299).

Sein Leib verbarg sich wie ein Komet.

Sein Herz war zufrieden wie die treibende Wolke.



Tief verbeugte er sich vor dem Kaiser,  
 Dann begab er sich zurück nach dem Pu-ch'un-Berge (in Chêkiang).  
 Ein kühler Wind weht über die sechs Richtungen des Raumes  
 (über die ganze Welt).  
 Er ist zu ferne um sich an ihn anzuklammern.  
 Dies läßt mich tief aufseufzen.  
 So bleibe ich im Dunkeln zwischen den Felsen hausen.

邈然 hier mit „ferne“ übersetzt, wurde irrtümlich von Bernh. und Zach, Tao Yuan-ming S. 41 mit: „in seiner Bescheidenheit“ wiedergegeben.

13. Yèn Chün-p'ing (Giles, B. D. Nr. 2476) verwarf einmal die Welt,  
 Und auch die Welt verwarf Yèn Chün-p'ing.  
 Durch Beobachtung der Verwandlungen drang er vor bis zum  
 Uranfang alles Werdens.  
 Durch Erforschung der Mysterien lösten sich ihm alle Lebewesen auf.  
 Schweigend setzte er seine taoistischen Studien fort.  
 Hinter einem Vorhang lebte er verborgen mit seinen geheimen  
 Gedanken. (?)
- Das Tier der Gerechtigkeit kommt nicht grundlos.  
 Auch die Phönixe singen nur zu gewissen Zeiten.  
 Wie wußte selbst der Kinderhirt der Milchstraße  
 (Yèn Chün-p'ing's) von der glänzenden Sonne bestrahlten Ruhm?  
 Die vom Meere aus in die Milchstraße hineinfahren und denen  
 der Rinderhirt Yèn's Name nannte, sind schon lange tot.  
 Wer kann daher jetzt noch dieses Rätsel lösen?

Über 太易 vgl. meine Ergänzungen zu Palladius Nr. 69; über Taonyü, das Tier der Gerechtigkeit (mandschur. jurgantu) vgl. Legge, Shihking IV 37: es erscheint, wenn mit Gerechtigkeit regiert wird. — Nach chinesischer Auffassung fließt die Milchstraße („der Himmelsstrom“) in das östliche Meer.

14. Die Pässe nach Zentralasien sind reich an Sandstürmen.  
 Seit altersher wehen sie eisig darüber hinweg.  
 Die Bäume stehen entblättert, die Vegetation zeigt herbstliches Gelb.  
 Ich steige eine Anhöhe hinauf, um Ausblick zu halten nach den  
 kriegerischen Horden des Feindes.  
 Verlassene Städte sind versunken im großen Sandmeer der Shamo.  
 Von den Grenzorten ist keine Mauer übrig geblieben.

Weiße Knochen liegen seit Jahrtausenden herum (oder: trotzen  
Jahrtausenden),

Ihre hohen Häufen werden von dichtem Gestrüpp verdeckt.

Ich frage: wer ist schuld an dieser grausamen Zerstörung?

Es sind die stolzen Söhne Zentralasiens, die alle Autorität untergruben.

Sie brachten unsern Kaiser in majestätischen Zorn.

Er befahl den Truppen die Trommeln zu rühren.

Die Harmonie verwandelte sich in Mordlust.

Ganz China wurde verpflichtet (geplagt), Soldaten zu stellen.

Im ganzen waren es 360 000 Mann.

Laut klagend vergießte ich Ströme von Tränen wie Regen.

Und jammere überdies, daß ich ins Feld ziehen muß.

•Warum kann ich nicht das Land bebauen oder den Garten bestellen,  
Und diese zu Kampf und Verteidigung ausziehenden Soldaten  
unbeachtet lassen?

Denn wer kennt (nicht) die Strapazen der Pässe und Berge?

Einen Führer wie Li Mu (Giles, B. D. Nr. 1177) gibt es heutzutage nicht mehr.

So sind die Grenzbewohner nur ein Futter für Wolfe und Tiger.

15. König Chao von Yen (vgl. Chav., Mém. hist. IV 144) lud Kuo  
Wei zu sich ein

Und erbaute für ihn die Goldterrasse.

Da kam Chi Hsin aus dem Reiche Chao

Und andererseits Tsou Yen (Giles, B. D. Nr. 2030) aus dem Lande  
Ch'i.

Wie könnte es auch anders sein mit so hochstehenden Gelehrten?

Mich aber hat (mein Fürst) wie Dreck verworfen.

Wenn man mit Korallen und Edelsteinen sich Sängerinnen und  
Kurtisanen kauft,

Mit Kleie und Trebern dagegen die weisen Männer füttert,

Da versteht man erst, warum der gelbe Kranich sich erhebt

Und in einer Entfernung von tausend Meilen allein umherfliegt.

Letzteres sind Worte des Tien Jao (Giles, B. D. Nr. 1918).

16. Die beiden kostbaren Schwerter waren gleich Drachen,

Ähnlich wie der Glanz der Schneeflocken Eibischblüten zu ver-  
gleichen ist





Der Mond sinkt westlich vom Shang-yang-Palaste.  
Seine letzten Strahlen sind teilweise noch auf den Mauertürmen  
zu sehen.

Die Uniformen der Beamten glänzen wie Wolken und Sonne.  
Nach Ende der Audienz verteilen sie sich in der Kaiserstadt.  
Ihre Reitpferde sehen wie fliegende Drachen aus.  
Gold schmückt deren Gebiß und Zaumzeug.  
Die Vorübergehenden stieben alle auseinander.  
Das energische Aussehen trotzt selbst dem Sung-shan-Berge (in  
Honan).

Zu Hause angelangt steigen sie hinauf zur hohen Halle,  
Wo in aufgestellten Dreifußen herrliche Delikatessen angeordnet  
sind.

Ein duftender Wind kündigt den Eintritt der Tänzerinnen von  
Chao an,

Und heller Flötenklang begleitet die Sangerinnen von Ch'i.

Siebzig violette Mandarinenenen

Tanzen in Paaren im Dunkel des Vorhofs.

Die Belästigungen lösen sich Tag und Nacht ab,

Man möchte sagen, sie dauern tausend Jahre fort.

Daß man nach vollbrachtem Verdienst sich nicht zurückziehen  
versteht,

Ist seit altersher ein oft vorkommender Fehler.

(Li Ssü) hat vergebens nach seinem braunen Hunde gescuift.

(Shih Ch'ung's Konkubine) Lü Chu wurde die Ursache seines  
Unterganges.

Warum daher nicht so handeln wie Fan Li,

Der mit aufgelöstem Haare (= ohne Amtsmütze) in einem flachen  
Boote davonruderte.

Zu Li Ssü's Seufzer vgl. Zach, Ein Briefwechsel in Versen, Tokio 1913,  
S. 218; über Shih Ch'ung vgl. Giles, B. D. Nr. 1709, über Fan Li Giles,  
B. D. Nr. 540.

19. Im Westen ist der Lotusblüten-Berg (westlicher Riesenberg oder  
Hwa-shan in Shensi).

In der Ferne sieht man (am Himmel) die Venus.

Mit weißer Hand pflückt sie den Lotus.

Schwebenden Fußes durchheilt sie das Firmament.



Ihre regenbogenfarbigen Kleider schleppen einen breiten Gürtel  
nach.

Wirbelnd streift er mich, und ich klettere daran zum Himmel empor. (?)  
Sie lädt mich ein, die Wolkenterrasse (höchster Pik des Hwa-  
shan) zu besteigen.

Ich verbeuge mich tief vor dem (dort weilenden) Unsterblichen  
Wei Shu-ch'ing.

Plötzlich ist es mir, wie wenn ich mit ihm zusammenginge.  
Auf einem Storche reitend überquere ich das purpurne Dunstmeer.  
Ich sehe hinab auf die Gewässer von Loyang.  
Verschwommen erscheinen marschierende Krieger fremder Nationalität.

Das vergossene Blut färbt die Vegetation des platten Landes.  
Und es sind nur Wölfe, welche die Beamtenposten füllen.

Wei Shu-ch'ing ist ein auf dem Hwa-shan lebender Genius, der 109  
vor Chr. dem Han Kaiser Wu erschienen ist.

In den letzten Versen wird auf die Rebellion des An Lu-shan, Giles,  
B. D. Nr. 11, angespielt.

20.

a)

Einst wanderte ich nach der Hauptstadt von Ch'i,  
Bestieg den Blumenstengel-pik (Hwa-fu-chu-shan, Berg bei Chi-nan-  
fu, Shantung).

Wie stolz und schön ist dieser Berg!  
Sein tiefes Grün ist wie das der Eibisch(blätter).  
Da kam herangerauscht ein alter Unsterblicher,  
Ich erkannte ihn als Ch'ih Sung Tzu (Giles, B. D. Nr. 377)  
Er ließ mir einen weißen Hirsch.  
Er selbst stützte sich auf zwei blaue Drachen.  
Mit Lächeln überflog er die Reflexe der Welt unter ihm.  
Freudig wünschte ich ihm folgen zu können.

不 im Namen des obeliskartigen Berges wird wie 樹 fu gelesen, vgl.  
Legge, Shihking IV S. 251. Der Berg erhebt sich „wie ein im Wasser  
festsitzender (注) Blumenstengel“.

b)

Ich weinte beim Abschiede von meinen Verwandten und Genossen,  
Ich wollte sprechen, schluchzte aber nur wiederholt.  
O Freund, nimm dir ein Beispiel an der dunklen Pinie!

Mit Aufbietung aller Kräfte weiß sie sich gegen Reif und Schnee  
zu wehren.  
Die Wege der Welt bergen so viele Schwierigkeiten und Gefahren,  
Das Sonnenlicht täuscht nur eine rote Gesichtsfarbe vor.  
Nach der Trennung geht ein jeder von uns tausend Meilen weit,  
Und wann wird er wieder aus der Ferne zurückkehren?

## c)

Wie lange noch sind wir in dieser Welt?  
Einen Augenblick nur wie das Vorüberwehen eines Wirbelwindes.  
Vergebens habe ich von den Büchern der Alchemie (zur Be-  
reitung des Lebenselixiers) vernommen,  
Mit weißen Haaren beklage ich jetzt meinen Irrtum,  
Mein Inneres erforschend lache ich plötzlich über mich selbst.  
In Gedanken versinkend frage ich: Warum (all dies Streben)?  
Ruhm und Gewinn haben umsonst mich (zeitlebens) gequält.  
Könnten meine Schritte nicht endlich zur Ruhe kommen?  
(Auch An-ch'i-shêng) ließ schließlich seine roten Edelstein-pantoffeln  
zurück  
Und nahm nach Osten den Weg zur Genieninsel P'êng-lai.  
Wie ich jetzt, suchte diesen Weg einst der Kaiser von Ch'in  
(Ch'in-shih-hwang),  
Aber über den blauen Wassern des Meeres schweben nur Wolken  
und Nebel.

Über An-ch'i-shêng vgl. Giles, B. D. Nr. 7, Chav., Mém. hist. III. 465.  
Strophe b) dieses Gedichtes hat mit a) und c) absolut nichts zu tun; ob  
hier Lücken vorliegen oder Nicht-zusammengehöriges vereinigt wurde, ist  
schwer zu entscheiden. —

21. Der Wanderer von Ying besang den weißen Schnee (Wên  
Hsüan, C. 45).

Die verhallenden Töne flogen auf gegen den blauen Himmel.  
Er gab sich umsonst die Mühe, dieses Lied zu singen,  
Denn wer in der ganzen Welt sollte es weitergeben?  
Er versuchte es den Leuten von Ssü-ch'wan vorzusingen.  
Die da (bei leichteren Liedern) mitsangen, waren doch einige  
Tausende.



Er unterdrückte sein Schluchzen, wozu noch davon sprechen?  
 Er seufzte vergeblich in seinem tiefen Kummer.

Dieses sehr unklare Gedicht soll eine Anspielung auf den Weisen sein,  
 der unverstanden und erfolglos bleibt.

22. Wenn die Wasser von Shensi sich vom Lung-shou-shan-Berge  
 trennen,

(Hört man) verborgen in ihrem Rauschen viele klagende Laute.

Wenn das Hunnenpferd den Schnee des Nordens erblickt,

Wiebert es lange in seinem tänzelnden Gange.

Von der Natur getroffen ist mein Herz gerührt,

In der Ferne beherrschen mich Gefühle des Heimwehs.

Einst sah ich den Schmetterling des Herbstes fliegen,

Jetzt sehe ich die Seidenraupe des Frühlings wachsen (d. h. die  
 Zeit verfließt und ich kann noch immer nicht heimkehren).

Schwach war (damals) der Blätteransatz des Maulbeerbaumes,

Üppig ist (jetzt) der hängende Blütenschmuck der Weide.

Die Jahreszeiten verlassen uns mit der Schnelligkeit fließenden  
 Wassers.

Mein in Banden gelegtes Herz ist unruhig wie eine flatternde Fahne.

Ich wische meine Tränen weg, aber sie erscheinen von neuem.

Wann wird mein Leid (endlich) beruhigt sein?

23. Der Reif des Herbstes ist weiß wie Jade.

In Tropfen fällt er auf das Grün (die grüne Vegetation) des Vorhofes.

Während ich wandle, erblicke ich ihn plötzlich.

Der kalte Morgen läßt mich klagen über das Vorwärtseilen des  
 Jahres.

Das Leben des Menschen ist wie ein am Auge vorbeihuschender  
 Vogel.

Warum doch legt er sich selbst Banden an?

Wie töricht war doch der Herzog Ching! (daß er an seinen Tod dachte.)

Seine Tränen, am Niu-shan-Berge vergossen, haben Nachfolger  
 gefunden.

Leider weiß die Welt nichts von Zufriedenheit (Genügsamkeit).

Kaum hat man Kansuh erobert, so sieht man schon verlangend nach

Ssüch'wan aus (vgl. Biogr. des Ts'ên P'êng in den Hou-han-shu).

Das menschliche Herz erinnert an Wellen.

Die Wege der Welt haben Krümmungen.

In den hundert Jahren unseres Lebens

Muß man eben allnächtlich die Kerze ergreifen.

(D. h. wenn die Tage zu kurz für Freude und Lustbarkeit sind,  
muß man eben auch die Nächte dazu verwenden, vgl. Wên

Hsüan Cap. 29 S. 7 recto.)

Lieh-tzu erzählt uns von dem mit seinen Ministern über den Niu-shan-Berg wandernden Herzog Ching von Ch'i eine Geschichte, die bei Ssu-ma Ch'ien (Chav., *Mém. hist.* IV 76) kondensiert wiedergegeben ist: *le duc dit en soupirant: „qui jouira après moi de ce beau palais“. Tous ses ministres pleuraient.* —

24. Die großen Wagen wirbeln so hoch den Staub auf,  
Daß selbst um Mittag die Wege verdunkelt sind.  
Die Günstlinge unter den Eunuchen haben viel Gold.  
Ihre Gebäude erheben sich bis an die Wolken.  
Am Wege begegne ich einem Kampfhahnzüchter.  
Wie glänzend und imposant erscheint seine Mütze und sein  
Sonnenschirm.  
Sein Atem wird zu einem Regenbogen (so hoch trägt er seine Nase).  
Die Vorübergehenden sind alle von Furcht erfüllt.  
Die jetzige Welt kennt keinen Greis, der sich die Ohren wäscht (wie Hsu  
Yu, Giles, B. D. Nr. 797, nachdem ihm der Thron angetragen war).  
Wer weiß zwischen Kaiser Yao und Räuber Chih zu unterscheiden?

Über Räuber Chih vgl. Legge, *Texts of Taoism* II: 66.

25. Die Welt und ihre Wege (Grundsätze, Normen), beide degenerieren  
von Tag zu Tag mehr.  
Die schlechten Sitten fegen das Einfache und Ursprüngliche hinweg.  
Man pflückt nicht mehr duftende Zimmtzweige,  
Man läßt sich vielmehr an der Wurzel des Giftbaums nieder.  
Daher (?) entfalten Pfirsich- und Pflaumenbäume  
Ihre Blüten, ohne sie jeden Menschen anzupreisen (vgl. Petillon, S. 178).  
Das mächtige Schicksal kennt Steigen und Sinken.  
Alle Lebewesen wetteifern in fliegender Hast,  
Bis auf Kwang Ch'êng-tzu (ein Unsterblicher aus der Zeit des  
Gelben Kaisers),  
Der ein- und ausgeht die Tore der Unendlichkeit.





Nur der einzige Kwang Ch'êng-tzû (vgl. Gedicht Nr. 25)  
 Erhob sich auf einem leichten Schwan in die Wolken.

Eine Sage erzählt, daß König Mu von Chou (Giles, B. D. Nr. 1559)  
 von einem Feldzug nach Süden nicht zurückkehrte, weil er und seine  
 Generäle in Affen und Kraniche, seine Soldaten in Sand und Insekten  
 verwandelt wurden; vgl. dazu Han Yü's Gedicht Cap. 4 S. 6.

29. Die drei Dynastien in ihrem Niedergange teilten sich in die kämpfen-  
 den Staaten,  
 Die sieben mächtigen Reiche (Han, Wei, Yên, Chao, Ch'i, Ch'u,  
 Ch'in) wurden ein verworrenes Durcheinander.  
 Wie entarteten die Sitten der Herrscher in Haß und Zorn!  
 Die Wege der Welt zeigten schließlich nur ein wüstes Handgemenge.  
 Der erhabene Weise suchte in die Geheimnisse des Sternenhimmels  
 einzudringen.  
 Das hohe Streben nahm seinen Flug bis in die Purpurwolken.  
 Konfucius wollte auf das Meer hinausfahren (vgl. Legge I\* 174)  
 Und mein Ahne Laotzû ging in den Treibsand der westlichen Wüste.  
 Beide Weisen sind schon für immer verschwunden.  
 Was nützt es am Scheidewege zu weinen (vgl. Gedicht Nr. 59).
30. Ein mysteriöser Wind hat das hohe Altertum verändert.  
 Die Prinzipien sind entartet und werden in keiner Zeit wieder  
 hergestellt werden.  
 Verwirren sind die Menschen der letzten Generation.  
 Bei Tagesanbruch eilen sie nach den vier Pässen (= Ch'ang-an)  
 Und kennen nur das Bronze-pferd-tor (den Kaiserpalast).  
 Wer denkt an die Genieninsel P'ênglai?  
 Mit weißem Kopfe sterben sie vom Luxus umgeben.  
 Heitere Lieder werden ohne Aufhören gesungen.  
 Der grüne Wein lacht über das (wird vorgezogen dem) Lebenselixier.  
 Dem schönen Weibe welkt das weiße Gesicht.  
 Der große Gelehrte schwingt den Metallhammer (Texts of  
 Taoism, II 134)  
 Und bricht Gräber auf, trotz seiner Beschäftigung mit Oden und  
 Zeremonien.  
 Üppig grün sind die drei Korallenbäume (der Genieninsel).  
 Doch wenn das Auge blind ist, ist es unmöglich, sich daran an-  
 zuklammern.



31. Ch'eng Jung wanderte nach Westen über die Pässe nach Ch'ang-an.  
 Seine Reise war noch nicht zu Ende,  
 Da kam ein Mann auf weißem Pferde vom Hwa-shan-Berge  
 (= westlicher Riesenberg) herunter,  
 Und sie trafen einander beim Dorfe P'ing-yuan-li.  
 (Dieser sagte zu ihm): „Gib diesen Jade-ring dem Fürsten (Wasser-  
 geist) des Hao-Weihers;  
 Im nächsten Jahre wird der alte Drachen (erste Kaiser) sterben.“  
 Leute von Ch'in sprachen da zueinander:  
 „Unsereiner kann jetzt das Weite suchen.“  
 Und sie gingen alle nach dem Pfirsichblutenquell  
 Und blieben getrennt von der übrigen Welt (dem fließenden  
 Wasser) tausend Jahre.

Über die Geschichte des Ringes vgl. Chavannes, *Mém. hist.* II 183.  
 Der Hao-Weier war südwestlich von Ch'ang-an. Über die Sage vom  
 Pfirsichblütenquell vgl. Grube, *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur*, S. 256.

32. Der Schutzgeist des Herbstes (vgl. *Liki*, ed. Couvreur, I 373. 378.  
 384) entfaltet die Kräfte des Metallelementes (die zusammen-  
 ziehende Kalte).  
 Auf seinem westlichen Wege zeigt sich über dem Meere der  
 Halbmond.  
 Die Zikade des Herbstes zirpt vor Tür und Fenster.  
 Ich bin von der Natur ergriffen, und mein Leid hat kein Ende.  
 Wo wird endlich für mich die Stunde kommen, um mich ver-  
 dienstlich zu machen?  
 Das mächtige Schicksal hat eben auch seine Nachtseite.  
 Wenn das Wetter kalt ist, erhebt sich ein klagender Wind.  
 Ist die Nacht lang, verschwinden alle Sterne.  
 Mein Schmerz ist unaussprechlich.  
 Mein Klagelied dauert bis zum Tagesanbruch (*Shihking* IV 333).

Zu den zwei ersten Versen vgl. die Tabelle im *Liki*, ed. Couvreur, I 410.

33. Das Nordmeer beherbergt den Riesenfisch.  
 Sein Leib ist einige tausend Meilen lang.  
 Aus drei Spritzlöchern wirft er berghoch Schnee auf.  
 Sein queres Maul verschlingt das Wasser von hundert Strömen.

Voll Verachtung (Tsochuan V 434 Z. 4) läßt er sich vom Meere  
tragen  
Und erhebt sich schreckenerregend (Legge, Texts of Taoism,  
II 133) mit dem Winde.  
Ich sah ihn auffliegen und den Himmel streifen.  
90 000 Li (hoch, wie Chwangtzu sagt) scheint noch nicht das Ende  
zu sein.

Zu diesem Gedichte, vgl. Lit'ai-po's poetische Beschreibung des Vogels  
Rohk (大鵬 賦) Buch 1 S. 2.

34. Die Depeschen wegen Aushebung der Truppen kamen (zahlreich)  
wie Sternschnuppen.

Die mit dem Bilde des Tigers versehenen Beglaubigungstabletten  
veranlaßten die Stadtobrigkeiten sich zu versammeln.

Lärmend rief man um Hilfe wegen Bedrohung der Grenzen.

Selbst die Vögel fanden keine Ruhe und sangen bei Nacht.

(Hatte doch eben noch) die glänzende Sonne den Kaiserpalast  
beschieden.

Die drei höchsten Würdenträger führten eine gerechte Verwaltung.  
Sowohl Himmel wie Erde waren im Besitze des Tao (Laotzu, 39. Cap.)  
Heiteren Frieden genoß die ganze Welt.

Mag ich da fragen, warum (plötzlich) all dieser Lärm?

Da wird mir geantwortet: Das Ch'u-Reich hebt Truppen aus.

Wenn der fünfte Monat gekommen ist, wird über den Lu-Fluß  
(= Goldsandstrom in Yünnan) gesetzt.

Und man will Yünnan bekriegen.

Die furchterfüllten Soldaten sind keine guten Kämpfer.

In den südlichen Gegenden weit vorzudringen wird schwer gehen.

Stets klagen sie über die Trennung von ihren Eltern.

Sonne und Mond scheinen mitleidig auf sie herab.

Ihre Tränen sind schon erschöpft und sie weinen Blut.

Den Eltern ist das Herz gebrochen und sie sind verstummt. (?)

Das ermüdete Tier fällt dem wilden Tiger zur Beute.

Der erschöpfte Fisch bildet für den dahinjagenden Wal nur einen  
Köder.

Tausende sehe ich ziehen, aber auch nicht einer wird zurückkehren.

Wenn man seinen Leib dem Staate gibt, wie kann man sein Leben  
bewahren wollen?



Wie wäre es, mit Schild und Speer Tänze aufzuführen, wie einst  
 Shun (Shuking III 66)  
 Und so eine Unterwerfung zustande zu bringen, wie jene des Miao-  
 Herrschers?

Über diese Expedition des Hsien-yü Chung (751 n. Chr.) vgl. Tung-  
 chien-kang-mu Cap. 44, Bl. 10.

35. Ein habliches Weib machte sich daran, das Stirnrunzeln der schönen  
 Hsi-Shih (Giles, B. D. Nr. 679 und Texts of Taoism I, S. 354)  
 nachzuahmen.

Sie ging nach Hause und erschreckte die ganze Nachbarschaft.  
 Die Studenten von Shou-ling (Texts of Taoism I, S. 389) vergaßen  
 ihren früheren Gang

Und wurden so zum Gelächter des Pöbels von Han-tan.  
 Von gleicher Krümmung (= Richtung) waren jene jungen Leute,  
 die elegante Reimprosa verfaßten.

Deren Neigung, gewissermaßen Insekten zu schnitzen, betrubte den  
 Philosophen.

(Jemand) verstand es, aus Dornen ein Affenweibchen zu verfertigen.  
 Drei Jahre lang verschwendete er daran seine Kräfte.

Und als die Arbeit fertig war, war sie wertlos:  
 (Nichts als) schöne Kleider (Shihking IV 229) und ein geschmückter  
 Leib.

Die „Größeren Oden“ des Shihking feiern König Wên von Chou  
 (Shihking IV 428)

Und die Melodien der Preislieder sind schon lange untergegangen. (?)  
 Wie könnte ich ein Material bekommen gleich jenem von Ying  
 Und mit einem Schwunge der Axt einen Wind erzeugen (der alle  
 Schlacken entfernt)? (vgl. Texts of Taoism II, S. 100).

Sehr unklar! Der Philosoph ist Yang Hsiung, in dessen 法言, Be-  
 ginn des Cap. 2 (吾子) sich die Stelle findet, wo des Autors eigene Reue,  
 in seiner Jugend poetische Beschreibungen verbrochen zu haben, zum Aus-  
 druck kommt.

36. (Ein gewisser Ho) brachte einen Edelstein in das Ch'u-Reich  
 (vgl. Petillon, S. 248).

Sein Ruf (als Kenner) wurde angezweifelt. (?)  
 Das echte Kleinod wurde schließlich verworfen.

Umsonst hatte er sich die Mühe genommen, es dreimal den Fürsten  
(Lí, Wu und Wénwang) zu präsentieren.

Der gerade Baumstamm fürchtet, zuerst umgehauen zu werden.

Die wohlriechende Orchidee beklagt es, zu Räucherwerk verbrannt  
zu werden.

Was übertoll ist, wird vom Himmel erniedrigt.

Was in Dunkelheit versunken, dem gesellt sich das Tao.

Im Ostmeer schritt Lu Chung-lien, (Giles, B. D. Nr. 1408 u. Ge-  
dicht Nr. 10) über das tiefblaue Wasser.

Im Westpass ritt Laotzü auf einer violetten Wolke.

Lu Chung-lien und der Archivar von Chou (Laotzü)

Konnten sich beide auf wahre Tugend stützen.

37. Als einst der Minister Tsou Yén (Giles, B. D. Nr. 2030, u. Forke,  
Lun-héng I 281) schuldlos in Yén eingekerkert war und darüber weinte,  
Da ließ der Himmel im fünften Monat den Reif des Herbstes fallen.  
Das gewöhnliche Weib aus dem Volke (das verleumdet und ein-  
gesperrt wurde) flehte den blauen Himmel an;  
Da riß ein Sturmwind den Palast des Fürsten Ching von Ch'í nieder.  
Vollkommene Wahrheit weiß zu rühren (Shuking III 66),  
Und die Natur wird durch Jammer getroffen.  
Doch welche Schuld kann ich mir am Ende vorwerfen, (daß mir  
der Himmel nicht hilft)?

Ich entfernte mich aus der Nähe des Herrschers,

Denn treibende Wolken verdunkelten den Kaiserpalast.

Die glänzende Sonne erzeugt keine Reflexe mehr.

Sand beschmutzt die helle Perle.

Unkraut überwuchert das alleinstehende aromatische Kraut.

Seit altersher können wir alle darüber nur seufzen.

Stromende Tränen benetzen umsonst (oder unwillkürlich?) meine  
Kleider.

Anspielung auf Litaipo's Verleumdung durch Kao Li-shih.

38. Die alleinstehende Orchidee wächst im verborgenen Garten.  
Alle übrigen Kräuter überwuchern und ersticken sie.  
Obwohl sie von den Sonnenstrahlen des Frühlings genossen,  
Ist sie wieder betrübt wegen der Mondnachte des Spatherbstes.  
Feiner Reif fällt frühzeitig in Menge,  
Und ich fürchte, die grüne Schönheit wird bald aufhören zu leben.



- Wenn aber kein kühler Wind bliese,  
 Durch wen würde der Duft der Orchidee Verbreitung finden?
39. Wenn ich die Höhe besteige und nach den vier Meeren ausblicke,  
 Wie unendlich groß ist Himmel und Erde!  
 Reif bedeckt die herbstliche Natur,  
 Und Wind peitscht die kalte Einöde.  
 Aller Glanz und (alle) Schönheit verminnt wie das nach Osten  
 fließende Wasser.  
 Alle Dinge sind in steter Bewegung wie die Wellen des Meeres.  
 (Vgl. πάντα ρεῖ.)  
 Die helle Sonne sinkt und versteckt ihr wanderndes Licht.  
 Die ziehende Wolke findet keinen Ruhepunkt.  
 Auf dem Wu-t'ung-Baume nisten (— nicht Phönixe, sondern —)  
 Schwalben und Spatzen,  
 Und im Dornengestrüpp hausen die mythischen Vögel.  
 Bald wieder kehre ich zurück,  
 Klopfe an mein Schwert und besinge des Weges (Lebens) Müh-  
 seligkeiten.
40. Wenn der Phönix hungrig ist, pickt er keine Hirse.  
 Was er genießt, ist allein die Frucht des Edelsteinbaumes.  
 Wie kann er sich da zu den Hühnern gesellen  
 Und ihnen mit Schnabel und Sporn (?) einen Brocken streitig  
 machen?  
 Morgens singt er auf den Bäumen des K'un-lun,  
 Abends trinkt er vom Gießbach der Ti-chu-Insel (Shuking, III 129).  
 Er fliegt zurück nach den fernen Gegenden des Meeres  
 Und schläft allein in der Kälte des himmlischen Frostes.  
 Glücklicherweise begegnet er Wang-tzu Chin (Giles, B. D. Nr. 2240)  
 Und schließt mit ihm Freundschaft jenseits der dunkelfarbigen  
 Wolken.  
 Er ist voll Dankbarkeit für die ihm zuteil gewordene Gunst, kann  
 sie aber noch nicht vergelten.  
 Gerührt beim Abschiede, seufzt er unwillkürlich tief auf.
41. Morgens spielt Tung-fang So (Giles, B. D. Nr. 2093) im violetten  
 Schlammeer.  
 Abends trägt er die rötlichen Wolken als Kleid.  
 Mit einer Handbewegung bricht er die Jo-mu-Blume (des K'un-lun)

Und verdeckt damit den Glanz der im Westen sinkenden Sonne.  
Auf einer Wolke ruhend durchschiff't er die acht äußersten Re-  
gionen.

Sein weißes Gesicht ist schon tausend Jahre alt.

Schwebend geht er ein in die grenzenlose Unendlichkeit.

Seinen Kopf tief neigend bringt er am Throne des Allerhöchsten  
eine Bitte vor.

Ruft mich, um mit ihm den himmlischen Tai-su-Palast zu durch-  
wandern.

In einem Jadebecher präsentiert er mir Edelsteinsaft.

Einmal genossen verlängert er das Leben um zehntausend Jahre.

Wozu noch in die Heimat zurückkehren?

Für immer will ich dem Winde in die Ferne folgen,

Und jenseits des Himmels mich, herumliegend, ergötzen.

Vgl. dazu Han Yü's Gedicht 讀東方朔雜事, Cap. 7, S. 9.

42. Es zogen kreisend zwei weiße Mowen dahin.

Sie flogen singend über die Fluten des T'sang-Stromes.

Es behagte ihnen, sich mit dem Manne der Meeresküste an-  
zufreunden.

Konnten sie etwa sich dem Wolkenkranich anschließen?

Schattenwerfend verbrachten sie die Nacht auf dem mondbegänzten  
Sande.

Dem Dufte der Vegetation folgend spielten sie sich auf der Insel  
des Frühlings.

Mein Herz ist auch rein, wie gewaschen.

Ich will die Weltordnung vergessen (Texts of Taoism I 320) und  
zusammen mit euch herumschweifen.

Zum letzten Vers dieses mir sehr unklaren Gedichtes vgl. Bernhardt,  
Li Tai-po, S. 128, wo es heißen muß: Wohlan denn, laßt uns zusammen  
die Weltordnung vergessen!

43. König Mu von Chou (Giles, B. D. Nr. 1559) hatte Sehnsucht nach  
den fernen Weltgegenden,

Der Han-Kaiser Wu trug die Würde des Himmelssohnes (Chav.  
Mém. hist. II 209).

In der Freude am Vergnügen kannten ihre Herzen keine Grenzen.  
Von ihrem wilden Mut zu sprechen ist überflüssig.



Am Westmeere wurde der Königin-Mutter (Giles, B. D. Nr. 680)  
 durch Mu-wang ein Fest gegeben.  
 Im Nord-Palaste wurde die Fee Shang-yuan durch Han-wu-ti ein-  
 geladen.

Der Jaspis-See horte verklingende Lieder.

Der Jade-Becher (der den Himmelstau auffangenden Genienhand,  
 vgl. Chav., *Mém. hist.* III 471) ist am Ende doch nur leeres Gerede.  
 Die wunderbaren Spuren sind längst schon vom Unkraut überwuchert,  
 Es jammert allein noch die tausendjährige Seele

Sehr unklar! Über die Fee Shang-yuan (上元夫人) vgl. Li Tai-po's gleichnamiges Gedicht Cap. 22 S. 14 recto.

44. Grüne Schlingpflanzen in üppigem Wachstum

Umwinden die Zweige von Pinie und Zypresse.

Die Vegetation findet einen Boden, auf den sie sich stützen kann,  
 Und verläßt ihn selbst in der kalten Jahreszeit nicht.

Was kann sie (an der Kälte ihres Mannes) ändern, die junge Frau,  
 deren Schönheit einem herrlichen Pfirsich gleicht (Shihking IV 12).  
 Unbeweglich singt sie seufzend das Lied vom Kohl und Senf  
 (Shihking IV 55).

Ihr weißes Antlitz ist schöner als eine Blume.

Das üppige Haar (Shihking IV 77) zeigt noch keine weißen Fäden.  
 Aber ihres Mannes Gunst ist schon zu Ende.

Was wird das arme Weib nun anfangen?

45. Ein gewaltiger Sturmwind braust über die entlegensten Regionen  
 der Erde.

Die ganze Natur zeigt ein Verdorren und Sterben.

Treibende Wolken verdecken die sinkende Sonne.

Riesige Wellen erschüttern das Ostmeer.

Drache und Phonix sind den Netzen entkommen.

In der Luft kreisend wissen sie noch nicht, wo sie sich nieder-  
 lassen sollen.

Das Land verlassend besteige ich mein weißes Fohlen

Und singe am öden Berge die Ode von den Bohhnensprossen  
 meines Gemüsegartens (Shihking IV 300).

Anspielung auf die Rebellion des An Lu-shan (Giles, B. D. Nr. 11).

46. Durch hundertvierzig Jahre hindurch

Wie majestätisch war das Ansehen des Reiches!





Und alles nur um das Lebenselixier der Genieninsel P'englai zu  
erlangen!  
Hat er etwa an den Ackerbau im Frühling gedacht (wie Shao-hao)?  
Er hat seine Kräfte erschöpft (verschwendet), ohne Verdienstliches  
zu leisten.  
Nach tausend Jahren noch ist dies bitter beklagenswert.

Vgl. dazu Wen Hsüan Cap. 16 Chiang Yën's 恨 賦.

49. Die Schöne verläßt ihr südliches Reich.  
Glanzend sind ihre an Seerosen erinnernden Reize.  
Ihre weißen Zähne zeigt sie durchaus nicht.  
Ihr duftendes Herz hat sie umsonst in Reinheit bewahrt.  
Früher ein Mädchen im Kaiserpalaste  
Wurde sie von allen wegen ihrer schwarzen Brauen beneidet.  
Sie kehrt zurück nach ihrer Heimat, der Insel im tiefen, klaren  
Hsiang-flusse.

(Der Dichter spielt hier an auf die beiden Töchter des Kaisers Yao,  
die dort als Genien hausen.)

Ganz verloren im Gesange — wozu sollte sie auch klagen?

Vgl. dazu Ts'ao Chih's Gedicht, Wen Hsüan Cap. 29 S. 16:

Das Südreich hat eine Schöne,  
Ihre Reize erinnern an Pfirsich- und Pfäumenblüten.  
Morgens wandert sie am nördlichen Ufer des Stromes,  
Abends schläft sie auf einer Insel im Hsiang.  
Die rohen Zeiten denken wenig von einem rosa Gesicht.  
Wem sollte sie also (lachend) ihre weißen Zähne zeigen?  
In einem Augenblick sind die Jahre zur Neige.  
Auf Glanz und Schönheit kann man sich nicht lange verlassen.

50. Im Reiche Sung, östlich von der Wu-t'ai-Terrasse  
Fand ein Landmann den Yën-Stein (vgl. Petillon, S. 219).  
Er rühmte ihn als eine Kostbarkeit der Erde.  
Und lachte über den Edelstein des Königs von Chao (Petillon,  
S. 248).  
Letzteres Kleinod wurde durch Baden in Tinte nicht schwarz,  
durch Schleifen nicht dünn (Legge I\* 321).  
Der Yën-Stein aber zeigte keinen wahren Adel.  
Im Gewoge der Welt gibt es viele Verkehrtheiten.  
Weiß man etwa zu unterscheiden zwischen Jade und Alabaster?

51. Der Yin-Herrscher (Chou Hsin, Giles, B. D. Nr. 414) sündigte gegen  
die Satzungen des Himmels (Shuking III 165).  
König Hual von Ch'u war auch schon verblendet (ergänze: und  
König Hsiang, Giles, B. D. Nr. 503),  
Die Wundertiere I-yang füllten die Wildnis,  
Und der Kaiserpalast war reich an Disteln und Unkraut (Ver-  
leumdern, Li Sao, 35. Stanze)  
Pi Kan (Giles, B. D. Nr. 1645) machte Vorstellungen dem Tyrannen  
Chou Hsin und starb mit aufgeschlitzter Brust.  
Ch'ü P'ing nahm seine Zuflucht im Quellfluß des Hsiang-Flusses  
(= Milo).  
Hat der Rachen des Tigers etwa Anziehungspunkte (daß man  
sich hineinbegibt)?  
Ch'ü P'ings Schwester Nü-hsu suchte umsonst ihn mit sanften  
Worten umzustimmen (Li Sao, 34. Stanze).  
P'eng Hsien (Giles, B. D. Nr. 1636) war lange vorher schon er-  
trunken (Li Sao, 20. Stanze).  
Mit wem hätte Ch'ü P'ing seine Absicht besprechen können?
52. Der Frühling läßt die Wasser in Eile dahinströmen.  
Der Sommer beschleunigt die Entwicklung (das Werden und Ver-  
gehen) der Natur.  
Ich kann nicht ertragen den Pappus des Herbstes zu sehen,  
Wie er wirbelnd dahinfliegt, ohne bestimmtes Ziel.  
Sonne und Wind vernichten die Orchideen,  
Und der glitzernde Tau befeuchtet Malven und Bohnensprossen.  
Die Schöne erwartet mich nicht (d. h. der Fürst will nichts von  
mir wissen).  
Kräuter und Bäume erscheinen täglich welker und kahler.
53. Welches Chaos zeigt sich in der Geschichte der kämpfenden Staaten!  
Die kriegerischen Ereignisse sind verworren wie ziehende Wolken.  
Das Chao-Reich stützte sich auf die Kampflust zweier Tiger (Lin  
Hsiang-ju und Lien P'o, Giles B. D. Nr. 1254 und 1256, Petillon  
S. 121).  
Der Chin-Staat war unter den sechs hohen Würdenträgern ver-  
teilt (Chav., Mém. hist. IV 333).  
Illoyale Minister suchten den Thron an sich zu reißen.  
Koterien wurden gebildet, man scharte Anhänger um sich.



- So kam es, daß Tien Ch'êng-tzû (Giles, B. D. Nr. 1915)  
 Eines Morgens den Herrscher von Ch'i erschlug (Chav., Mém. hist.  
 IV 86 und Texts of Taoism, I 282).
54. Mit dem Schwerte an der Seite steige ich hinauf zur hohen Terrasse.  
 Mein Auge schweift in die weite Frühlingslandschaft.  
 Grünes Gestrüpp bedeckt die Hügel (d. h. die hohen Stellen  
 sind von Unwürdigen eingenommen).  
 Herrliche Kräuter verstecken sich im tiefen Tale.  
 Der Phönix singt über dem westlichen Meere.  
 Er will sich niederlassen, findet aber keinen edlen Baum.  
 Die Raben aber haben ihren Platz gefunden.  
 Unter aromatischen Kräutern sitzen Tausende von ihnen.  
 Über den entarteten Sitten von Chin ist die Sonne schon unter-  
 gegangen.  
 Am Ende des Weges angelangt, bin ich von Schmerz überwältigt  
 und weine.
55. Auf der Gitarre des Ch'i-Reiches spielte man das Lied von Osten,  
 Den Saiten des Chin-Reiches entlockte man die Melodie von Westen.  
 Sehnsüchtige Wünsche kamen im Gebardenspiel zum Ausdruck.  
 (Dies alles) erfüllte den Menschen mit wilden Begierden.  
 Jene Schönen (Musikerinnen) schmeichelten verworfenen Männern.  
 Reize boten sich denen an, die sie suchten.  
 Ein einziges Lächeln wurde einem glänzenden Edelstein gleich-  
 gestellt.  
 Die Wiederholung eines Liedes mit tausend Goldstücken belohnt.  
 Man schätzte Lust und ließ Pflicht unbeachtet.  
 Wer kümmerte sich um den Untergang von Sonne und Mond?  
 Weißt du denn nichts vom Wanderer in der Purpurwolke,  
 Der am Jaspis-Söller auf einer schmucklosen Gitarre spielt?
- Letztes Verspaar bezieht sich vielleicht auf Lao-tzû, der in einer Purpur-  
 wolke nach Westen zog, vgl. Giles, B. D. Nr. 2490 und vorangehendes  
 Gedicht Nr. 29.
56. Der Wanderer im Lande Yüeh fand die helle Koralle  
 Und brachte sie mit sich aus der südlichen Entlegenheit.  
 Sie leuchtete mit klarem Glanze wie der Mond über dem Meere.  
 Der Preis dieser Kostbarkeit zerrüttet die Kaiserstadt.

Dem Fürsten angeboten, wird sie an dessen Schwerte befestigt.  
Er, der dieses Kleinod besitzt, seufzt unwillkürlich tief auf.

(Nur) das Auge des Fisches (vom reinsten Weiß) lächelt dem  
weißen Kleinod entgegen,

Das arme kleine Herz aber hat seine sorgenvollen Gedanken vermehrt.

57. Die Vogelwelt wird von der Natur ausgestattet,  
Und Groß und Klein hat seine Lebensmöglichkeit.  
Und auch der Vogel Chou-chou, was ist sein Fehler?  
Er legt die sechs langen Schwanzfedern zusammen, ohne sie zu  
bewegen (und nimmt sie beim Trinken in den Schnabel??).  
Ich möchte mich an die Flügel aller Vögel hängen (wörtlich:  
mit dem Munde festhalten).  
Und zusammen mit ihnen gegen den Huang-ho fliegen.  
Ihr Vögel, die ihr flieget, sehet nicht auf mich!  
Ich seufze beim Gedanken an wohlbehaltene Rückkehr. —

Sehr unklar! Auch die Stelle im Han-fei-tzu, Cap. 8 S. 1 verso, wo vom Vogel Chou-chou (wahrscheinlich Kuckuck) die Rede ist, ist mir unklar.

58. Als ich die (Halb)insel des Wu-shan-Berges bereiste,  
Suchte ich nach Spuren des Altertums und stieg auf die Yang-terrasse.  
Vom Himmelsraume waren die farbigen Wolken verschwunden,  
Aus fernen Regionen der Erde wehte ein kühler Wind.  
Die Elfen haben schon lange den Ort verlassen,  
Und König Hsiang, wie könnte er noch hier sein?  
Die wilden Begierden (vgl. Litaipo II 55) sind schließlich alle  
verschwunden,  
Und nur Holzfäller und Hirten lassen ihre Klagen ertönen.

Zu diesem Gedichte ist Sung Yü's Kao-t'ang-fu, Wên Hsüan Cap. 19 zu vergleichen. Der Wu-shan ist in K'uei-chou-fu, Wu-shan-hsien, Playfair<sup>1</sup>, Nr. 8176.

59. Yangtzü (Giles, B. D. Nr. 2370) weinte bitterlich beim Anblick  
eines Scheideweges,  
Motzü (Giles, B. D. Nr. 1537) klagte jämmerlich beim Anblick  
weißer Seide.



Denn der Scheideweg läßt den Weg offen nach Süden oder Norden,  
 Und die weiße Seide kann mit Leichtigkeit verschieden gefärbt  
 werden (vgl. Forke, Lun Hêng I 374).

Alle Dinge zeigen sicherlich damit gleiches Verhalten.  
 Das Leben des Menschen hat keine bestimmte Dauer (ist bald  
 lang, bald kurz).

T'ien Fên und Tou Ying (Giles, B. D. Nr. 1965) stritten mitein-  
 ander um den Vorrang

Und ihre Freunde wandten sich abwechselnd bald dem einen  
 bald dem andern zu.

Die Wege der Welt zeigen oft ein Drunter und Drüber,  
 Und auch die Freundschaft hat ihr Auf und Ab.

Beim Humpen Wein, da sagt man bald ein kräftig' Ja.

Das arme kleine Herz ist aber am Ende wieder von Zweifel erfüllt.

Die früheren Freunde Chang Erh und Ch'ên Yü wurden zuletzt  
 bittere Feinde.

Hsiao Yu und Chu Po (Petillon S. 312) entfernten sich auch  
 wieder voneinander so weit wie Sterne.

Alle Vögel lassen sich auf blütenreichen Zweigen nieder,

Und (nur?) der Fisch in Not verbleibt im ausgetrockneten Teiche.

Ach über die Freunde, die eines Genusses verlustig geworden!

Geschäftig fragen sie, welchem neuen Weg sie folgen sollen.

# LIT'AIPO'S GEDICHTE

## III. BUCH

(30 lyrische Gedichte)

ÜBERSETZT

Von E. v. ZACH

1. *Der Kummer über die weite Trennung*<sup>1</sup>.

Den Kummer über die weite Trennung

Hatten im Altertume die beiden (Kaisers)töchter O-hwang und

Nü-ying (Chav. Mém. hist. I<sub>23</sub>, II<sub>114</sub>, Giles B. D. No. 1582,

Petillon pg. 43, Wên Hsüan C. 32<sub>12</sub>.)

(Sie wandeln nun als Genien) im Süden des Tung-t'ing-Sees, am

Ufer der vereinigten Flüsse Hsiao und Hsiang (die beiden

Frauen Shun's stürzten sich nach dessen Tode in die Fluten

des Hsiang).

Tausend Meilen tief wie das bodenlose Weltmeer (war ihr Schmerz).

Wer würde den Schmerz dieser Trennung können leugnen? —

Die Sonne scheint glanzlos, Wolken verdunkeln das Firmament.

Der Riesenaffe weint im Nebel, Dämonen schreien im Regen.

Selbst wenn ich es wollte (言 ist gleich 願, vgl. Bernhardt & Zach,

T'ao Yuan-ming, 1915 pg. 3 Note 1), wie könnte ich es ändern?

Ich fürchte, daß der Himmel (W. H. C. 16<sub>13</sub>, hier der Himmels-

sohn) mein loyales Herz nicht kennt.

Der Donner grollt und will vor Zorn brüllen.

<sup>1</sup> In diesem sehr unklaren Gedichte soll Lit'ai-po seinen Schmerz über die Machtsstellung des Ministers Lin Fu-kuo (Giles B. D. Nr. 1126) oder jene des Li Lin-fu (B. D. Nr. 1170) zum Ausdruck gebracht haben.



Yao und Shun wären ihrer Aufgabe gewachsen und doch gaben  
sie den Thron an Yü (Lunyü, Legge I<sup>2</sup><sub>320</sub>, Méngtzu II<sup>2</sup><sub>321</sub>).  
Der Herrscher verliert seinen Minister — der Drachen wird zum  
Fisch.

Die Macht ist in Händen des Ministers — die Ratte verwandelt  
sich in einen Tiger.

Es heißt wohl auch, Yao sei durch Shun gefangen gesetzt worden,  
Shun sei in der Wildnis von Ts'ang-wu gestorben (Chav. I<sub>91</sub>).

Die „Neun Zweifel“ bilden eine Bergkette, deren Höhen von-  
einander nicht unterschieden werden können (so ähnlich sind  
sie einander).

Wo (in dieser Bergkette) ist das einsame Grab des Shun, der  
doppelte Pupillen hatte (Giles B. D. No. 1741, Chav. I<sub>71</sub>),  
schließlich zu finden?

Die Kaiserstöchter (O-hwang und Nü-ying) weinen in den grünen  
(d. i. dunklen) Wolken.

Sie folgen Wind und Wogen und kehren nicht mehr zurück.

Sie sind in Schmerz aufgelöst und blicken aus der Ferne nach  
den hohen Bergen von Ts'ang-wu.

Wenn die Berge von Ts'ang-wu bersten und der Fluß Hsiang  
aufhört zu fließen,

Dann erst werden die Tränenflecken auf dem Bambus ver-  
schwinden (Giles B. D. No. 1582).

2. Vgl. Edkins, China Review, XVII<sub>35</sub>.

3. *Die Schwierigkeiten des Weges nach dem Lande Shu* (= Ssü-ch'uan).  
O über die furchtbaren Gefahren!

Gewaltig sind die Schwierigkeiten des Weges nach dem Lande Shu,  
Schwieriger als der Aufstieg zum blauen Himmel.

Ts'an Ts'ung (Giles B. D. No. 1987) und Yü Fu (jene ersten  
Herrscher von Shu, Chav. II<sub>72</sub>).

In welch' nebelhafter Ferne liegt deren Reichsgründung!

Seitdem sind 48000 Jahre verflossen,

Und ein Verkehr mit den Grenzlanden von Ch'in (China) war  
unmöglich.

Der im Westen vorlagernde Taiposhan-Berg bot nur den Vögeln  
einen Weg,

Die die Spitzen des O-mei-shan quer überflogen konnten.

(Endlich) harst die Erde, spalteten sich die Felsen und tapfere

Männer kamen dabei um (die fünf Riesen Wu-ting-li-shih, vgl. Rosthorn, Ausbreitung der chinesischen Macht, pg. 28 und Petillon pg. 223).  
 Später wurden die schwierigen Stellen (Himmelsleitern und Steinbrücken) miteinander zu einem Wege (dem berühmten Chan-tao, Plankenweg) verbunden.

Oben ist das hohe Wahrzeichen (die Felsenspitze), wo Hsi-ho mit den sechs Drachen ihres Sonnenwagens kehrt machte, Unten ist der Mahlstrom mit den tosenden Wogen und Wirbeln (W. H. C. 8.).

Selbst der so hoch fliegende gelbe Kranich kann hier nicht hinüberkommen.

Und die sonst so gewandten Affen, die über die Schlucht setzen wollen, wissen nicht, wie sie es anstellen müssen.

Dann kommt der Ch'ing-ni-ling-Paß mit seinen Serpentinien — Auf jede hundert Schritt neun Windungen und zu beiden Seiten hohe Felsen und tiefe Abstürze.

(Blickt man auf zum Himmel), so sind die Sternbilder Sên und Ching (Orion und Zwillinge) so nahe zum Greifen, daß einem der Atem stockt.

Man preßt die Hand ans Herz, setzt sich nieder und seufzt gewaltig.

Ich frage Dich, wenn Du nach Westen wanderst, wann dürftest Du wohl zurückkehren?

Ich fürchte, daß Du die schrecklichen Berge nicht wirst überklettern können.

Sieh doch nur die Vögel, die da rufen im alten Wald,

Das Männchen ist vorausgeflogen, das Weibchen folgt und kreist zwischen den Bäumen.

Und höre doch auf den Kuckuck, der in mondheiler Nacht weint voll Kummer über die öden Berge.

Ja, die Schwierigkeiten des Weges nach dem Lande Shu

Sind größer als jene des Aufstiegs zum Himmel.

Wenn die Menschen davon hören, wird ihr blühendes Gesicht welk.



Die in einer Reihe lagernden Bergspitzen sind vom Himmel kaum  
einen Fuß weit entfernt.  
Morsche Fichten hängen mit der Krone nach unten über schroffe  
Felsen.

Wasserfälle wetteifern miteinander in tosendem Lärme.  
Das Geheul der an die Felsen schlagenden Wogen (W. H. C. 12<sub>11</sub>)  
und die Lawinen erfüllen tausend Schluchten mit Donner.  
Wie man sieht — Gefahren ringsum.  
Ach, Du Reisender nach fernen Gegenden,  
Warum bist Du auch hierher gekommen?

Die „Schwertturme“ genannten Berge erheben sich zu gewaltiger  
Höhe.  
Den zwischen ihnen liegenden Paß kann ein Mann schon ver-  
teidigen,  
Und Zehntausende werden vergebens versuchen, diese Sperre  
zu heben.  
Wenn es nicht Verwandte sind (W. H. C. 56<sub>7</sub>, denen die Ver-  
teidigung dieses Passes anvertraut wird, vgl. auch Chav. II 387),  
werden sie sich in Wölfe und Panther verwandeln.

Morgens fiehst Du vor dem grausamen Tiger,  
Abends vor der Riesenschlange.  
Sie wetzen die Zähne und saugen das Blut,  
Sie töten die Menschen in Menge.  
Und obwohl man Chin-ch'êng (Playfair<sup>1</sup> No. 1074) eine lustige  
Stadt nennt,  
So ist es doch besser schnell nach Hause zurückzukehren.  
Die Schwierigkeiten des Weges nach dem Lande Shu  
Sind größer als jene des Aufstiegs zum Himmel.  
Mit vorgeneigtem Körper (W. H. C. 29<sub>11</sub>) sehe ich nach Westen  
und seufze gar lange.

4. *Das Lied vom Berge Liang-fu* (W. H. C. 29<sub>11</sub>, Forke, Blüten pg. 11,  
Chavannes, Le T'ai-chan pg. 168; ferner vgl. Chu-ko Liang's  
gleichnamiges Gedicht, z. B. in 古唐詩合解 (古) Cap. 1 pg. 15).  
Langgezogen singe ich das Lied vom Berge Liang-fu.

Wann werde ich den Frühling sehen? (d. h. wann werde ich vom  
Fürsten anerkannt werden?)

Hast Du nicht gesehen,  
 Den alten Schlächter von Chao-ko (Petillon pg. 41, Giles B.D.  
 No. 1862) die Stadt Chi-chin verlassen?  
 Mit 84 Jahren kam er an die Ufer des Weiflusses, um hier zu  
 angeln.  
 Schämte er sich etwa seiner weißen Haare, die ihm aus den  
 klaren Fluten entgegenspiegelten?  
 Als er mit Wên-wang zusammentraf, begeisterte er sich für die  
 Regierungsangelegenheiten.  
 Und warf weit und breit 3600 Angeln aus.  
 Sein Wesen kam unmerklich mit dem des Wên-wang überein.  
 Als weiser Mann verwandelte er sich wie ein Tiger, (Legge,  
 Iking 168<sub>13</sub>) und von Dummheit war nichts zu bemerken.  
 Und doch war er in seinen Mannesjahren ein ganz gewöhnlicher  
 Mensch.

Hast Du nicht gesehen  
 Li I-chi (Petillon pg. 297, Chav. II 300), den Trinkbruder von  
 Kao Yang, der sich aus dem Grase erhob (d.h. aus niederen  
 Verhältnissen kam)  
 Und der eine tiefe Verbeugung machte vor dem aus Kiangsu  
 (östlich vom Tai-hang-Berge) stammenden Liu Pang (späterem  
 Kaiser Han-Kao-tsu, Giles B.D. No. 1334), den Mann mit der  
 Adlernase?  
 Als er bei ihm eintrat, warf er sich nicht zu Boden und ent-  
 wickelte vor ihm seine kühnen Pläne (Chav. II 345).  
 Die beiden Mädchen, die dem Liu Pang gerade die Füße wuschen,  
 hörten damit auf, und Liu Pang kam angelaufen wie der Wind  
 (Legge V 392 d).  
 Im Osten unterwarf er (Liu Pang auf Rat des Li I-chi) die  
 72 Städte von Ch'i (Chav. II 388, 389)  
 Und kommandierte über Ch'u und Han, wie wenn sie wirbelnde  
 Samenkronen wären.  
 Wenn das dem verrückten, willensschwachen (verzagten) Li I-chi  
 gelungen ist,  
 Was kann erst ein tüchtiger Mann an der Spitze einer tapferen  
 Schar leisten!



Ich wollte mich an den Schuppen des Drachen anhalten (und  
 gen Himmel fahren), um den erlauchten Herrscher zu sehen.  
 Doch der Donnergott ließ die Himmelstrommeln ertönen und  
 machte einen schrecklichen Lärm,  
 Und neben dem Herrscher da spielten zahlreiche herrliche  
 Mädchen das Topfspiel (vgl. Liki Cap. 37).  
 Dreimal lachte er gewaltig auf und da zuckten die Blitze nach  
 allen Seiten.  
 Plötzlich wurde es finster und es begann ein Gewittersturm ein-  
 zusetzen.

Die neun Tore der Himmelspforte kann ich nicht passieren.  
 Mit der Stirne klopfe ich gegen die Versperrung, doch der  
 Pförtner wird zornig.

Die helle Sonne (d. h. der Fürst) kennt nicht meine Tüchtigkeit  
 (und hält mich für einen anderen Mann aus Chi).  
 Der Mann aus Chi (Petillon pg. 165) fürchtete grundlos, daß der  
 Himmel über ihn einstürzen werde (man glaubt, daß ich  
 grundlos besorgt um das Reich bin, das gute und schlechte  
 Minister hat).

Das Ungeheuer Ya-yü wetzt seine Zähne und blickt gierig aus  
 nach Menschenfleisch,  
 Das fabelhafte Tier Tsou-yü vermeidet es, auch nur einen Gras-  
 halm zu knicken.

Mit der (linken) Hand greife ich nach dem fliegenden Affen, mit  
 der rechten packe ich den gefleckten Tiger (W. H. C. 15.).  
 Zögernden Fußes am Rande des Abgrundes (Legge, Texts of  
 Taoism II 53.) spreche ich noch nicht von Nöten.  
 Der Wissende kann sich zurückhalten, der Dumme will für einen  
 Helden gehalten werden.

Die Welt denkt von mir leicht wie von einer Eiderdune (weil  
 ich mich zurückhalte und nicht hervortrete).  
 Die drei wackeren Männer (Kung-Sun, Tien und Yeh-tzu) waren  
 stark genug, um den Südberg zu versetzen (Petillon pg. 177,  
 Giles B. D. No. 2483).

Der Minister von Ch'i (Yen-tzü) tötete sie mit Hilfe zweier Pfirsiche.  
 Als Wu und Ch'u sich empörten ohne einen Feldherrn wie Chi  
 Mêng zu besitzen,

Da lachte Chou Ya-fu (Giles B.D. No. 426) ihrer vergeblichen  
Mühen (d. h. auch ich werde einmal wie Chi Mêng von einem  
anderen Chou Ya-fu Anerkennung finden).

Das Lied vom Berge Liang-fu

Hat wirklich eine traurige Melodie.

Chang Hwa's (Giles B.D. No. 65 und 1089, Forke, Blüten pg. 46)  
beide Drachenschwerter waren magische Erscheinungen, die  
seinerzeit wieder zusammenkommen mußten.

Zeitumstände (Legge, Iking 411<sub>13</sub>) bringen Männer hervor wie  
Tai-kung.

Und solche Männer müssen, wenn die Regierung (大人) in Gefahr  
ist (Legge, Iking 163<sub>8</sub>, Shuking III<sub>630</sub>) im Staatsdienst Ver-  
wendung finden.

5. Bei Bernhardi (Mitteil. Semin. Orient. Sprachen, Berlin 1916, pg. 113),  
auch bei d'Hervey, Edkins, Forke, endlich bei Giles, History  
of Chinese literature pg. 135. Es muß natürlich heißen: Der  
Raben nächtliches Gekrächz; das geht aus 語 hervor: ein  
grüner Gazevorhang, dünn wie Rauch, trennt sie (Su Hui,  
Giles B. D. No. 1781) vom Gekrächze der Raben vor dem  
Fenster.
6. Bei d'Hervey pg. 57, Forke pg. 144
7. Bei Forke pg. 124.
8. Bei Bernhardi pg. 114, d'Hervey pg. 48, Zottoli V 626, Forke  
pg. 135. 陳王 ist Ts'ao Chih, Prinz von Ch'én, Giles B. D.  
No. 1994; Bernhardi macht daraus Tsan-tschih, König von  
Ch'ön; der erste Vers pg. 115 muß übersetzt werden: Musik  
und Speisen brauchen nicht viel zu kosten; im vorhergehenden  
Verse verbessere 爲 statt 謂, welch' letzterer Charakter ein  
Druckfehler der Ausgabe des Wang Ch'í (nicht Wang Ch'í-cho,  
Forke pg. X) ist: Ich will Euch ein Lied singen und bitte  
Euch mir zu lauschen. 徑須, gleich, ohne Zaudern, muß man;  
vgl. auch pg. 129 (gegenüber dieser Herrlichkeit muß man  
ohne Zaudern trinken). 高堂, das Forke mit „Väter“, Bernhardi  
mit „die Alten“ übersetzt, kann hier nur „die hohe Halle“  
bedeuten; die grammatische Konstruktion erhellt aus Zottoli:  
Domine non vides sublimi aula lucidum ad speculum deplo-  
rantes album crinem,



9. Bei d'Hervey pg. 51, Forke pg. 127.  
 10. & 11. *Das Lied vom fliegenden Drachen*, 2 Gedichte.  
 10. Der Beginn dieses Gedichtes ist bei Legge IV Prolegomena pg. 121 zu finden: diese Studie "on various measures of Chinese Poetry" ist durch grobe Fehler entstellt und man muß sich wundern, daß sich die Kritik damit noch nicht beschäftigt hat; so spricht Legge von einem Dichter 柏梁, der niemals gelebt, und einem Ung Hwan, der Wéng Shou (翁綬) hieß; der Vers Litaipo's 草木度前知, die Vegetation errät (in Dir) den alten Bekannten (vgl. Tsochuan V 725<sub>13</sub>) übersetzt Legge: my inmost thoughts the trees seem to have read; den Vers Tufu's 感時花濺淚, ich bin ob der Zeiten Not gerührt und meine Tränen benetzen die Blumen, übersetzt Legge: Returning flowers constrain my gushing tears; den Vers 寒鴉栖復驚, die fröstelnde Krähe setzt sich und fliegt erschreckt wieder auf, übersetzt Legge: Tree-perched cowers still the cold crow; dies sind nur einige wenige Beispiele.

Kaiser Hwang-ti goß seine Dreifüße am Ching-shan-Berge  
 (Chav. I<sub>13</sub>, III<sub>10</sub>).

Er schmolz den Stein der Weisen

Und aus dem Stein der Weisen wurde gelbes Gold.

Dann bestieg der Kaiser einen Drachen und flog auf gegen den  
 reinen Himmel.

(Legge übersetzt: When Hwangte cast the tripods on mount King, as he melted the vermilion, The vermilion became a dragon, and flew up to the abode of great purity).

Die Wolken trauerten, das Meer verlor sich in Gedanken, die  
 Menschen seufzten.

Im Palaste die Haremsdamen, deren Gesichter Blüten glichen,  
 Bewegten wirbelnd ihre Hände und erhoben sich zu den Purpur-  
 wolken.

Vom Wind getragen schwebten sie dahin (W.H.C. 19<sub>1</sub>) und  
 bestiegen den Phonixwagen (oder den kaiserlichen Wagen mit  
 dem Glockenspiel, vgl. Liki, ed. Couvreur I pg. 734, 333).

Sie bestiegen den Phönixwagen

Und blieben im Gefolge des Kaisers Huangti (Giles B.D. No. 871,  
 Chav. I<sub>20</sub>).

Mit dem zusammen sie am dunkelblauen Firmament lustwandeln.  
Diese Freuden können nicht beschrieben werden.

11. Das Wasser des Ting-hu-Sees (Chav. III 472) ist durchsichtig  
und ruhig.  
Als Hwangti von hier aus die Welt verließ, hatte er Bogen und  
Schwert.  
Die Leute des Altertums überlieferten der Nachwelt, er habe sie  
bei ihnen zurückgelassen.  
Die anmutigen Schönen des Harems, worunter so viele blühende  
Gesichter,  
Bestiegen den Phönix, flogen durch die Wolken und kehrten  
auch nicht wieder zurück.  
Auf dem Drachen reitend klomm Hwangti den Himmel empor  
und gelangte zur Himmelspforte.  
Er gelangte zur Himmelspforte und hörte die himmlische Sprache.  
Seine Haremsdamen füllten zahllose Wagen, so zahllos wie  
Wolken und Wogen.

Die Haremsdamen füllten die Wagen  
Und kamen in die höchsten Sphären zum violetten Kaiser,  
Und der violette Kaiser schenkte ihnen das Rezept der Medizin,  
welche der weiße Hase des Mondes zubereiten muß.  
Durch deren Genuß überdauert man den Himmel und wird älter  
als Sonne, Mond und Sterne.  
Sie sehen nun (aus dem Himmel) herab auf den Jaspisteich und  
erblicken Hsi-wang-mu,  
Deren Augenbrauen — ein wirres Weiß ähnlich dem Herbstreif.

12. *Das himmlische Pferd* (vgl. Chav. III pg. 237 und 620).

Das himmlische Pferd kommt aus den Grotten von Tocharistan.  
Der Rücken zeigt Tigerflecken, die Knochen sind beflügelt wie  
jene des Drachens.

Es wiehert gegen die dunklen Wolken,  
Es schüttelt die grüne (d. h. dunkle) Mähne.  
Die herrliche Muskulatur, die ungewöhnliche Ausdauer (W. H. C. 14.)  
machen seinen Gang gerauschlos (W. H. C. 14., 18.).  
Obwohl es den Kün-lün emporklimmt, obwohl es bis zum äußersten  
Westen vordringt,  
Tun seine Beine auch nicht einen einzigen Fehltritt.



Bei Tagesanbruch (W.H.C. 14<sub>4</sub>) durchzieht es Yën (im Norden),  
 nachmittags wird es in Yüeh (im Süden) gefüttert.  
 Sein Lauf ist wunderbar, erinnert an den Blitz und die Bewegung  
 seiner Beine ist kaum sichtbar (verschwimmt).

Das himmlische Pferd schnaubt und eilt dahin wie ein fliegender  
 Drache.  
 Sein Auge glänzt wie der Planet Venus, seine Brust erinnert an  
 zwei Enten.

Sein Schwanz ist wie ein Meteor, sein Kopf wie ein Weinheber.  
 Aus dem Maule bricht ein roter Glanz, sein Schweiß tropft in  
 roten Perlen.

Es übertrifft<sup>1</sup> die Drachen des Iking (W.H.C. 1<sub>1</sub>, und Legge,  
 Iking 213<sub>11</sub>), die über die Straßen des Himmels dahin galop-  
 pieren (W.H.C. 37<sub>3</sub>).

Das mit Gold besetzte Zaumzeug, das Vollmondsornament auf  
 der Stirne (Legge, T. of T. I<sub>279</sub>) reflektieren die Kaiserstadt.  
 Seine Lust zu laufen ist ungemessen, es durchwandert das ganze  
 Reich (W.H.C. 14<sub>1</sub>).

Einen weißen Edelstein groß wie ein Berg, wer wagt ihn zu kaufen?  
 Es wendet den Kopf um und lacht über die violette Schwalbe  
 (W.H.C. 30<sub>12</sub> ein edles Pferd, das hinter ihm zurückbleibt)  
 Und hält Euch alle nur für sehr dumm.

Das himmlische Pferd läuft dahin und denkt mit Liebe (Sehnsucht)  
 der Wohnung seines Herrn (W.H.C. 28<sub>17</sub>).

In gestrecktem Galopp dahinsprengend schrickt es zusammen  
 und bäumt sich, die fliegende Wolke wird zu Falle gebracht,  
 Die Beine, die zehntausend Meilen durchlaufen, können nicht  
 mehr weiter.

In der Ferne sieht es die Pforten des Kaiserpalastes.  
 Wenn es nicht einem Pferdekennner wie Han Fêng-tzū begegnet,  
 Wer würde in ihm den Enkel des laufenden Sonnenstrahls vermuten?

Weißer Wolken stehen am dunkelblauen Himmel,  
 Berge (Legge, Iking 237<sub>1</sub>) erheben sich mächtig in der Ferne.

<sup>1</sup> Unter 𧰨 𧰨 wird im Peiwényünfu als erstes Zitat ein Vers von Po Chü-ge-  
 bracht, während obiges Vorkommen bei Lit'apo vernachlässigt wird.

Der Salzwagen wird den steilen Abhang hinaufgezogen (Forke,  
Lun Hêng 1911, pg. 108),

(Das Pferd) stürzt und wird doch weiter gebraucht (Shih-chi  
C. 112), da man das Fallen der Nacht fürchtet.

Po Lao (Giles B. D. No. 1661, Legge T. of T. I 276) hat es einst  
gepflegt und jetzt wird es mitten am Wege zurückgelassen.  
In seiner Jugend hat es alle seine Kraft hergegeben und jetzt  
verwirft man es.

Es möchte Tien Tzû-fang (W. H. C. 28<sub>18</sub>, Legge T. of T. I 151)  
treffen,

Der es mitleidig behandeln würde.

Selbst wenn es das Riesenkorn (W. H. C. 35<sub>19</sub>) des Kün-lin hätte,  
Könnte es doch seinen Hunger nicht stillen (W. H. C. 15<sub>13</sub>).

Der strenge Reif des 5. Monats hat die Zweige der Cassia zum  
Welken gebracht.

Über den Futtertroß gebeugt voll Groll über die erlittene Unbill  
zieht es die Augenbrauen zusammen.

Ich bitte Dich, löse es aus und schenke es Mu-wang (Giles B. D.  
No. 1559)

Da kann es noch funkelnd im Sonnenlichte (W. H. C. 14<sub>8</sub>) tanzen  
(W. H. C. 46<sub>10</sub>, Shihking IV<sub>129</sub>) am Jaspisteiche.

13, 14, 15. *Die Schwierigkeit des einzuschlagenden Weges* (3 Gedichte).

13. Für meinen goldenen Becher habe ich zehntausend Scheffel  
klaren Weines;

In meinen Nephrit-Schüsseln habe ich Delikatessen von großem Wert.

Ich lasse den Becher stehen, ich werfe die Eßstäbchen zur Seite  
und kann nichts genießen.

Ich ergreife mein Schwert, blicke herum und mein Herz schlägt  
wild (W. H. C. 29<sub>7</sub>).

Ich möchte über den Huang-ho setzen, den Strom der eisigen  
Grenzlande (W. H. C. 14<sub>9</sub>).

Ich möchte den T'ai-hang-shan-Berg (in Honan, vgl. Shuking III 130)  
besteigen, der ganz in Schnee gehüllt ist.

In Muße möchte ich die Angelschnur auswerfen am Ufer des  
grünen Baches,

Und dann möchte ich wieder plötzlich ein Schiff besteigen und  
träume darauf an der Sonne vorüber zu fahren.





Wer fegte (Petillon pg. 298) dann noch die Goldterrasse, wo er  
 Gold aufgehäuft hatte für die Weisen der Welt?  
 Den richtigen Weg zu finden, ist schwer,  
 Besser man kehrt in die Heimat zurück.

15. Wer Ohren hat, wasche sie nicht wie einst Hsü Yu (Giles B. D.  
 No. 797) im Wasser des Ying-Baches,  
 Wer einen Mund hat, esse nicht die wilden Farnkrauter des  
 Shan-yang-Berges, wie einst Po I und Shu Ch'i (Giles B. D.  
 No. 1657).  
 Sein Licht unter den Scheffel stellen inmitten des Chaos der  
 Welt, ist vornehm, aber ruhmlos.  
 Was nützt die einsame Größe, die bis an den durch die Wolken  
 ziehenden Mond hinanreicht?  
 Wenn ich die hervorragenden Männer des Altertums betrachte,  
 So finde ich, daß alle, die nach vollbrachter verdienstlicher Tat  
 sich nicht zurückgezogen haben, eines unnatürlichen Todes  
 gestorben sind.  
 Wu Yüan (Giles B. D. No. 2358) stürzte sich in sein Schwert und  
 seine Leiche wurde in den großen Strom geworfen.  
 Ch'ü Yuan (Giles B. D. No. 503) stürzte sich zum Schlusse vom  
 Ufer des Hsiang-Flusses in die Fluten.  
 Konnte ein so hervorragender Geist wie Lu Chi (Giles B. D.  
 No. 1402) sich vor dem Henker retten?  
 Bei Li Ssü (Giles B. D. No. 1203) dauerte es lange, bis das Glück  
 ihn verließ, und das Elend kam erst spät.  
 Den Seufzer des Lu Chi (vor seiner Hinrichtung): O könnte ich  
 nur einmal noch horehen nach dem Schrei des Kranichs im  
 Tale von Hua-t'ing, wer kann ihn (ohne Rührung) hören?  
 Wozu sollten wir noch die letzten Worte des Li Ssü erwähnen,  
 der von seinem blauen Jagdfalken außerhalb des Tores von  
 Shang-ts'ai (Playfair<sup>1</sup> No. 6205) schwärmte.  
 Hast Du nicht gehört  
 Von Chang Han aus Kiangsu (Giles B. D. No. 54), der wirklich  
 ein einsichtsvoller Mann war?  
 Als im Lande Ch'i der Herbstwind zu wehen begann, erinnerte  
 er sich der Speisen seiner Heimat



Und erklärte, zu Lebzeiten ziehe er einen Becher Weines (allem  
Nachruhm) vor.  
Was nütze ihm ein tausendjähriger Name nach seinem Tode?

16. *Unaufhörlich denke ich Deiner.*

Unaufhörlich denke ich Deiner,  
Die Du in Ch'ang-an bist.  
Das Heimchen weint im Herbst auf der glänzenden Brunnen-  
balustrade.  
Leichter Reif macht mich frösteln (Shihling IV 143, 357) und  
die Matte erscheint kalt.  
Die vereinzelte Lampe gibt kein helles Licht und ich glaube, sie  
will ausgehen.  
Ich rolle den Vorhang auf, blicke gegen den Mond und bleibe  
tief aufseufzen.  
Das Mädchen, das so schön ist wie eine Blume, befindet sich  
jenseits jener Wolkenenden.  
Oben spannt sich der hohe Himmel mit seinem dunklen Firmament,  
Unten rauschen die Wellen des kleinen Flusses.  
Der Himmel ist unendlich, der Weg ist weit, und die Seele  
klagt auf ihrer Wanderschaft.  
Die Seele, die im Traume in die Ferne zieht, kann wegen der  
Schwierigkeit der Grenzberge nicht zur Geliebten gelangen.  
Unaufhörlich denke ich Deiner,  
Und diese Gedanken zerreißen mein Innerstes.

17. *Das Lied von Shung-lin-t'ien* (Petillon pg. 257).

Als ich nach Shang-hu-t'ien kam,  
Da sah ich gar mächtig emporragen den einsamen Grabhügel,  
Worauf sich der Abscheu des Altertums vereinigte  
Und worauf nie wieder im Frühling Gras mehr wuchs.  
Der klagende Wind kam von allen Seiten  
Und mein Innerstes war zerrissen von dem leisen Rauschen  
der weißen Trauerweiden.  
Ich frug, wem gehört dieses Stück Grund,  
Wer liegt begraben in diesem Grabe des Gottesäckers? (Chav.  
Le T'ai-chan pg. 13.)

Ein alter Mann erzählte mir folgendes:

Er sagte, das ist Shang-liu-t'ien.

Die unkraut-bewachsenen Erdschollen, der Hügel in der Form  
einer Pferdemähne (Liki, ed. Couvreur I 179) sind heute schon  
eben geworden.

Vor alters ist der jüngere Bruder gestorben und der ältere wollte  
ihn nicht begraben.

Da stellten fremde Leute (auf seinem Grabe) Trauerfahnen mit  
Inschriften auf (Liki I 200).

Wenn ein Vogel stirbt, weinen die hundert übrigen,

Wenn ein Tier wegläuft, scheuen hundert andere.

Die Vögel des Huan-shan-Berges weinten bei der Trennung,

Sie wollten von dannen ziehen, flogen aber wieder zurück, weil  
sie sich voneinander nicht trennen konnten.

Als sich die Brüder T'ien (Giles B. D. No. 1916) in Hast von-  
einander trennen wollten,

Da spaltete der Himmel am hellen Tage den Judasbaum im Hofe  
des Hauses (zur Warnung, Petillon pg. 120).

Eine ähnliche Erscheinung zeigten die Bäume Chiao-jang (W. H.  
C. 44).

Wenn die östlichen Zweige verwelkten, standen die westlichen in Blüte.

Wenn die unbewußte Natur solche Rücksichten zeigt,

Warum haben dann die Söhne des Kaisers Kao Hsin gegenein-  
ander die himmlischen Waffen (Tsochuan V 573, 1, 2) ergriffen?

Shu Ch'ü, der Sohn des Prinzen von Ku-chu (Giles B. D. No. 1657)  
und Chi Cha (Giles B. D. No. 287) wollten den Thron nicht an-  
nehmen, um ihre älteren Brüder nicht zu schädigen, und wurden

berühmt —

Hehre Vorbilder, die in unendlicher Entfernung uns leuchten,

Wellen, die uns erreichen und durch ihre Reinheit beeinflussen.

Das Lied von den feindlichen Brüdern (das man sang nach dem  
Tode des Huai-nan-li-wang, Giles B. D. No. 832),

Ich verstopfe mir die Ohren — ich kann es nicht hören. —

18. Bei d'Hervey pg. 20.

19. Bei Forke, Blüten pg. 137; Bernhardi's Übersetzung (Orient. Semi-  
nar, Berlin 1916 pg. 115) ist sicher keine Verbesserung.



忽相過 plötzlich zieht der aus Osten kommende Frühlingswind  
 an mir (相) vorüber.  
 稍覺多 allmählich bemerke ich immer mehr Blüten (die ge-  
 fallen sind).

青軒桃李 die Schönheiten des Freudenhauses (die Pfirsich-  
 und Pflaumenblüten) wie lange können sie dauern? (Vgl. 青樓,  
 Bernhardi pg. 121 und 135; blaue Söller!)

Der Schluß dieses Gedichtes lautet: Erhebe Dich zum Tanz!  
 Die Sonne sinkt im Westen,  
 Wenn man sich in seinen  
 Mannesjahren nicht austobt,  
 Was nutzt es danach im Alter  
 zu seufzen?

20. Bei Förke a. a. O. pg. 137

看朱成碧 das dem Gedichte 夜愁 des Wang Seng-ju (vgl.  
 Yü-t'ai, C. 6<sub>9</sub>) entnommen ist, dürfte bedeuten: In ihrer jugend-  
 lichen Verlegenheit (errötet sie gerade).

21. *Ich bleibe die Nacht auf und summe vor mich hin.* —

Die Winternacht ist kalt und erscheint mir gar lange.  
 In Gedanken verloren sitze ich lange in der nördlichen Halle.  
 Brunnen und Quelle sind mit Eis geschlossen und der Mond dringt  
 in das Frauengemach.  
 Die goldene Wandlampe, mit ihrem erstarrten Öle, bescheint (mich)  
 die kummervoll Weinende.

Die goldene Wandlampe verlöscht,  
 Das Schluchzen wird um so stärker.  
 Ich verberge meine Tränen  
 Und horche nach Deinen Liedern.  
 Die Lieder haben Töne,  
 Und ich habe Gefühle.  
 Gefühle und Töne harmonieren,  
 Und beide zeigen keinen Mißdang.  
 Es sind nicht Worte, die mir zum Bewußtsein kommen,  
 Deine tausend Lieder lassen den Staub aufliegen von den Balken  
 (W. H. C. 30<sub>10</sub>).

22. *Das Lied von der Steppen-Oriole.*

Wenn Du wanderst, folge dann nicht dem Königsfischer von Yën-chou (Playfair<sup>1</sup>, No. 1332).  
 Wenn Du Dich niederlässest, tue es nicht in der Nähe der Schwalbe  
 des Palastes von Wu.  
 Wenn im Wu-Palaste Feuer ausbricht, wird Dein Nest vernichtet.  
 Wenn Du dem Königsfischer folgst, fällst Du in Schlingen und  
 Netze.  
 Einsam bleibe mit Deinen beiden Flügeln unter den Kräutern des  
 Feldes sitzen.  
 Selbst wenn der Falke oder Hühnergeier erscheint, was kann dir  
 geschehen?

23. *Gitarren-Lied.*

Wenn Du den Himmel erklimmen willst, besteige nicht den (Rücken  
 des) Drachen.  
 Wenn Du in die Berge gehen willst, reite nicht auf dem Tiger.  
 Daß bei einer Freundschaft zwischen Hoch und Niedrig die  
 Herzen unverändert treu blieben,  
 Ist nur bei Yën-ling (Petillon pg. 214 und 321) und Kaiser  
 Kwang-wu-ti (Giles B. D. No. 1305) der Fall gewesen.  
 Chou Kung (Giles B. D. No. 418) wird als großer Weiser ge-  
 priesen;  
 Zeigte er aber etwa Gnade gegen Kuan Shu und Ts'ai Shu (Giles  
 B. D. No. 1008 und 1980, Chav. IV 93)?  
 Selbst jener eine Scheffel Hirse, der in einem Liede aus der Zeit  
 der Han-Dynastie erwähnt wird (vgl. Gedicht No. 17)  
 Wurde für Huai-nan Li-wang nicht gestampft (d. h. er wurde  
 durch seinen Bruder Han-wên-ti so schlecht behandelt, daß er  
 in der Verbannung am Hungerstreik starb, vgl. Giles B. D. No. 832).  
 Die Brüder betrachten einander wie Leute auf der Straße.  
 Wie könnte mein Herz diesen Vorbildern folgen?  
 Zwischen anderen Menschen und unserem kleinen Herz  
 Liegen viele Tausende Schichten wie von Bergen und von Meeren.  
 Es ist leicht zu sagen, vertraue Dich Deinen Freunden an.  
 Steht man vor ihnen, verhält man sich zweifelnd wie den neun  
 ähnlichen Bergspitzen gegenüber (vgl. Gedicht No. 1).  
 Viele Blüten müssen zeitig fallen,



Pfirsich- und Pflaumenbaum kann mit der Fichte nicht verglichen werden.

Die beiden Freunde Kuan Chung und Pao Shu-ya (Giles B. D. No. 1006 und 1623, Petillon pg. 295) sind schon lange tot, Wer wird ihren Spuren nachahmend folgen?

24. *Morgenflug des Fasans.*

Im dritten Monat, wenn die Ackerfurchen des Weizenfeldes grün zu werden beginnen (Legge, Shihking IV 92, 423),

Fliegt der weiße Fasan morgens aus mit seinen beiden Weibchen (W. H. C. 34, 91).

Sein Brokatkleid und seine Seidenflügel (W. H. C. 91), wie herrlich jung sehen sie aus (W. H. C. 12).

Der Reisig sammelnde Hirte wird durch den Anblick getroffen und klagt.

Das Frühlingswetter berührt so angenehm,

Die helle Sonne scheint so warm.

Und während der Fasan sein Futter aufpickt und aus der Quelle trinkt, wächst seine Kampflust.

Die rivalisierenden Männchen kämpfen bis zum Tode, bis ihr herrlicher Hals gebrochen herabhängt.

(Der Hirte) spielt das Lied „Chih-tzū-pan“ (vgl. Lit'ai-po IV 15 — das Lied vom Fasan und seinesgleichen, dem höchstehenden Gelehrten) und seine Musik überstürzt sich.

Sein Herz erliegt dem guten Wein, wovon er eine große Nephritschale leert.

„Die morsche Weide, die morsche Weide (Legge, Iking 117), sie bringt Schößlinge hervor.

Ich allein bin siebzig Jahre alt und sitze noch allein.“

Die Saiten zupfend gibt er seinen Unlustgefühlen Ausdruck.

Noch ist sein Lied nicht zu Ende, da schließt er die Augen und stirbt (kehrt zum gelben Schlamme zurück).

25. *Die Melodie „Flug in die Wolken“.*

Im Westen, im Reiche des Shao-hao (W. H. C. 15), da geht die helle Sonne unter.

Der Alte aus Sogdiana, der Sohn von Turkestan, der kommt aus (dem näheren Westen) dem Lande, wo der Mond untergeht.

(W. H. C. 9)

Ehrfurchtgebietend ist sein Auftreten,  
 Feingeschnitten (W. H. C. 8<sub>13</sub>) sein Äußeres.  
 Aus seinen Augen bricht ein grünlicher Glanz,  
 Sein Schläfenhaar ist goldblond und gekräuselt.  
 Seine Augenwimpern sind lange und verdecken das Auge.  
 Seine Nase biegt sich in kühnem Schwung über die Lippe.  
 Wer sein merkwürdiges Äußeres (W. H. C. 17<sub>14</sub>) nicht gesehen hat,  
 Der kennt nicht den Geist der Natur (den Schöpfer unendlicher  
 Variationen).

Die göttliche Vernunft ist Wên-k'ang's (jenes Alten aus Sogdiana)  
 erhabener Vater,  
 Die Urkraft ist Wên-k'ang's alter Verwandter.  
 Er hat noch dem P'an Ku (Giles B. D. No. 1607) spielend den  
 Scheitel berührt.  
 Er hat die Hand an den Wagen gelegt und so das Himmelsrad  
 (W. H. C. 12<sub>1</sub>) in Schwung gebracht.  
 Man sagt, er habe gesehen, wie Sonne und Mond gerade ge-  
 schaffen,  
 Und beide durch Schmelzen aus Feuer und Wasser entstanden.  
 Die Sonnenkrähe war aus dem Tale noch nicht zum Vorschein  
 gekommen,  
 Der Mondhase versteckte noch zur Hälfte seinen Leib.  
 Nü-wa (Giles B. D. No. 1578) spielte mit gelber Erde  
 Und formte die dummen Menschen dieser Welt,  
 Verteilte sie in allen Himmelsgegenden  
 In feinem Regen wie Sand und Staub,  
 Die Menschen, die unaufhörlich geboren werden und sterben.  
 Wer begreift nicht, daß dieser Alte aus Turkestan ein wirklicher  
 Unsterblicher ist,  
 Der im Westmeere den Jo-mu-Baum,  
 Im Ostmeere den Fusang-Baum gepflanzt hat.  
 Wieviel Zeit ist wohl verstrichen, seit er jene Gegenden verlassen?  
 Denn Zweige und Blätter (jener Bäume) sind tausend Meilen lang  
 gewachsen.

Das Mittelreich hat sieben weise Kaiser (aus der Tang-Dynastie)  
 gehabt (die Kaiserin Wu-hou ist hier mitgezählt)



Und stürzt nun auf halbem Wege in das große Chaos (durch die  
 Revolution des An Lu-shan).  
 Kaiser Su-tsung besteigt den Thron von Gottes Gnaden.  
 Wie ein Drachen fliegt er zurück in die wiedereroberte Residenz  
 Hsien-yang (= Ch'ang-an).  
 Die Rebellen machen nach dem Tode An Lu-shan's dessen Sohn  
 An Ch'ing-hsü zu ihrem Herrscher.  
 Ein Kwang-wu-ti (der Glanz der späteren Han-Dynastie, Giles  
 B. D. No. 1305) erhebt sich (W. H. C. 34) aus dem weißen  
 Wasser bei Tsao-yang (Playfair<sup>1</sup> No. 7409).  
 Der kaiserliche Zorn setzt die ganze Welt in donnernde Be-  
 wegung,  
 Riesige Wellen stürmen dahin (und fegen die Rebellen hinweg).  
 (Kaiser Sutsung) setzt den Fuß auf den kaiserlichen Thron.  
 Und alle Pässe des Reiches öffnen sich weit (der Friede ist  
 wiederhergestellt).

Der Alte aus Sogdiana ist durch die kaiserliche Tugend gerührt,  
 Aus Osten (?) bringt er wunderbare Schauspieler (W. H. C. 2<sub>23</sub>).  
 Die fünffarbigen Löwen sind seine Hunde, die neun Sorten von  
 Phönixen seine Hühner.  
 Singend und tanzend fliegen sie nach der kaiserlichen Residenz.  
 Wie fallender Regen (Tufu, ed. Chang Chin C. 2 pg. 36), in  
 Wendungen und Drehungen (W. H. C. 17<sub>13</sub>) gehen sie Reihen  
 bildend nach vorwärts und wieder zurück.

Sie können sogdianische Lieder singen,  
 Sie präsentieren chinesischen Wein,  
 Sie knien auf beiden Knien,  
 Sie stützen sich auf beide Ellbogen.  
 Sie streuen Blumen aus — mit den gegen Himmel erhobenen  
 Händen,

Sie grüßen das Drachenantlitz des Kaisers,  
 Sie wünschen ihm langes Leben.  
 Mag das Sternbild des Großen Bären sich krümmen,  
 Mag der Ch'ung-nan-chan (bei Ch'ang-an) sich spalten,  
 Der Himmelssohn wird 9×9 d. i. 810000 Jahre alt werden  
 Und ewig aus dem Becher des langen Lebens trinken.

26. *Worte für die Melodie „Die weiße Turteltaube“* (gesungen von den Tänzern mit dem Staubwedel in der Cis-dur (♯)-Tonart, vgl. Chavannes III 636).

Schlaget die tönenden Glocken,

Rühret die hellklingenden Trommeln,

Singet das Lied „die weiße Turteltaube“

Zeiget Eure Tänze mit dem Staubwedel. —

Das Weiß der weißen Turteltaube, wem kommt es nahe (womit kann es verglichen werden)?

Das Rückenkleid wie Reif, die Brustbedeckung wie Schnee, wirklich, das kann man eine unschätzbare Seltenheit nennen.

Sie ernährt ihre sieben Jungen (Shihking IV 222) und kann dabei gerecht verteilen.

Sie frißt langsam, ohne hastig Würgen,

Sie ist von Natur aus sanft und gelehrig.

Sie läßt (durch ihren Ruf) die Arbeit auf dem Felde beginnen.

Sie ruft den Frühling herbei.

Der Himmelssohn läßt Jade-Stäbe schnitzen,

Worauf das Bild der Turteltaube eingegraben ist und womit er Greise beschenkt.

Das Weiß des weißen Reiher ist kein wirklich reines Weiß.

Äußerlich ist seine Farbe rein, aber sein Herz kennt keine Güte.

Es fehlen ihm die fünf Tugenden (Petillon pg. 130).

Er kann auch die Morgenröte nicht verkünden (Petillon pg. 226)

Und warum frißt er auch den Fisch (mit den purpurnen Schuppen),  
der sich unter dem Schilfe verbirgt?

Falke, Gabelweihe, Geier und Fischadler sind raubgierig und  
lieben zu töten.

Der Phönix, obwohl ein großer Weiser,

Will nicht als Ratgeber (?) betrachtet werden.

27. *Das Lied vom Sonnenauf- und Untergang.*

Die Sonne steigt auf aus der östlichen Bucht,

Wie wenn sie aus dem Boden hervorkäme,

Zieht über den Himmel und sinkt wieder hinab in das (westliche)  
Meer.

Wo dürfte wohl der Ruheplatz der sechs Drachen sein (die den  
Sonnenwagen ziehen)?



- Vom Anfange an bis ans Ende kennt sie keine Rast.  
 Nur wer mit göttlicher Kraft ausgerüstet,  
 Könnte mit ihr so lange auf- und niedersteigen.  
 Das Gras bedankt sich nicht beim Frühlingswind für das Blühen,  
 Der Baum grollt nicht dem Herbstwetter wegen des Welkens.  
 Wer schwingt wohl die Peitsche, um die vier Jahreszeiten in Gang  
 zu erhalten?  
 Das Werden und Vergehen der ganzen Natur ist gänzlich spontan  
 (geht von selbst vor sich).  
 O Hsi Ho, o Hsi Ho! (Giles B. D. No. 676)  
 Ist es nicht wie wenn Du steigst und sinkst über Wogen wilder  
 Begierden?  
 Durch welche Tugend ist es dem Herzog von Lu-yang (bei  
 seinem Kampfe mit Han) gelungen, den Speer schwingend die  
 Sonne zum Stehen zu bringen? (Vgl. Forke, Lun-hêng I<sub>48</sub>,  
 II<sub>111</sub> und W. H. C. 21<sub>11</sub>.)  
 Die Heuchler aber, die den rechten Weg verlassen und dem  
 Himmel zuwider handeln (Legge, Shuking III 179), deren sind  
 viele.  
 Ich möchte alles zwischen Himmel und Erde zusammenfassen  
 (W. H. C. 51<sub>1</sub>; Chav. II 225)  
 Und entschlossen (Legge II<sup>2</sup> 231) mit dem Chaos (T. of T. I  
 302) vereinigen (gleichmachen, Legge I<sup>2</sup> 160).
28. *In Zentralasien gibt es keine Menschen mehr (das Land der Bar-  
 baren ist ausgestorben). —*  
 Ein scharfer Wintersturm bringt Rauhreif, so daß selbst die  
 Meeresvegetation verwelkt.  
 Sehne und Holz des Bogens erstarken in der Kälte (Chouli, ed.  
 Biot II 587), das Pferd aus dem Westen bäumt sich.  
 Die Zahl der Streiter der Han-Dynastie beträgt 300 000 Mann.  
 Ihr General und Führer ist Ho Ch'ü-ping (Giles B. D. No. 645,  
 Petillon pg. 158).  
 Die weiß gefiederten (W. H. C. 8<sub>10</sub>) Pfeile, die Sternschnuppen  
 verglichen werden können, hat er an der Hüfte befestigt.  
 Und aus der Scheide seines Schwertes bricht Blütenglanz (?) hervor.  
 Die kaiserlichen Truppen (W. H. C. 9<sub>6</sub>) steigen in funkelndem  
 Schnee den Yü-mén-kuan-Paß hinab.

Die Pfeile der Feinde fallen so dicht wie Sand und durchdringen  
die Metallpanzer.

Aber die Schlachtordnungen der Chinesen bringen sie vollständig  
zum Weichen.

Die Venus dringt in den Mond (verursacht eine Finsternis, Chav.  
III 388), der Feind kann vernichtet werden.

Der Feind kann vernichtet werden.

Das Sternbild Mao (der Barbaren: die Plejaden [Chav. III 351])  
erlischt.

Wir treten auf den Leibern der Barbaren herum,

Wir waten in deren Blut,

Wir hängen sie am blauen Himmel auf,

Wir verscharren sie bei der großen Mauer („der violetten Schranke“).

In Zentralasien gibt es keine Menschen mehr

Und chinesische Kultur triumphiert!

(Hier folgen noch drei Verse, die der Ansicht Su Tung-po's  
zufolge bestimmt nicht von Lit'ai-po sind; sie sind eine Para-  
phrase des 大風歌 des Han-kao-tsu (vgl. 古唐詩合解 (古)  
Cap. I pg. 7); sie lauten:

Möge Dein Leben, O Kaiser, 3000 Winter noch währen.

Ich besinge nur den stürmischen Aufschwung (Deiner Regierung),  
wobei tapfere Männer wie fliegende Wolken sich erhoben haben.

Wie könnte man diese tapferen Männer gebrauchen, um das in  
den vier Weltgegenden Erworbene zu bewahren).

## 29. *Das Lied vom Nordwind.*

Der Drache mit der Fackel (um die ewige Nacht zu erleuchten),  
thront am Han-mên-Berge des Nordpols.

Licht erglänzt wie zur Zeit der Morgendämmerung.

Sonne und Mond scheinen, warum erreichen ihre Strahlen diese  
Gegenden nicht?

Nur der Nordwind braust brüllend den Himmel entlang.

In den Bergen von Yën, da sind die Schneeflocken so groß wie  
Matten.

Diese werden vom Winde auf der Hsüan-yuan-Terrasse (der  
Hsi-wang-mu) zu Falle gebracht.

In Yu-chou da sitzt gedankenvoll die Gattin im letzten Monat  
des Jahres,



Sie singt und lacht nicht mehr, ihre Augenbrauen sind zu-  
sammengezogen.  
Sie lehnt am Tore, blickt nach den Vorübergehenden und denkt  
ihres Mannes.  
Die Kälte und Not jenseits der großen Mauer ist wirklich zu  
beklagen.  
Beim Abschied ergriff ihr Mann sein Schwert, um der bedrohten  
Grenze zu Hilfe zu ziehen,  
Und ließ zurück diesen metallenen Pfeilköcher mit den Tigerfell-  
streifen.  
Darin befanden sich zwei weißgefiederte Pfeile.  
Spinnen haben darüber ihre Netze gesponnen, und Staub hat  
sich angesetzt.  
Die Pfeile sind hier zwecklos zurückgeblieben und er ist im  
Kampfe gefallen.  
Er ist nicht mehr zurückgekehrt.  
Sie brachte es nicht über sich, diese Gegenstände zu sehen.  
Sie verbrannte sie und sie sind zu Asche geworden.  
Einen Dammbruch des Huangho kann man mit Erde verstopfen,  
Doch wenn der Nordwind Schnee bringt, dann kann leider nichts  
ihn aufhalten.

## GRABSCHRIFT FÜR DEN TRINKER UND DICHTER

### [醉吟先生墓誌銘]

Ich gebe in den nachfolgenden Zeilen eine Übersetzung der unter obiger Überschrift in dem Werke: Po-Hsiang-shan-shih-chi [白香山詩集] enthaltenen Lebensskizze des Dichters. Zur Übersetzung und zu den beigefügten Bemerkungen ist auch die in meiner Schrift: „Aus den Gedichten Po Chü-ī's“, Peking 1908, enthaltene Biographie des Dichters heranzuziehen.

L. Woitsch.



先生姓白名居易字樂天其先太原人也秦將武安君起之後高祖諱志善尙衣奉御曾祖諱溫檢校都官郎中王父諱諱侍御史河南府鞏縣令先大父諱季庚朝奉大夫襄州別駕大理少卿累贈刑部尙書右僕射先大父夫人陳氏贈穎川郡太夫人妻楊氏弘農郡君兄幼文皇浮梁縣主簿弟行簡皇尙書膳部郎中一女適監察御史談弘贇三姪長曰味道廬州巢縣丞次曰景回蒲州司兵參軍次曰晦之舉進士樂天無子以姪孫阿新爲之後樂天幼好學長工文累進士拔萃制策三科始自校書郎終以少傅致仕前後歷官二十任食祿四十年外以儒行修其身中以釋教治其心蜀以山水風月歌詩琴酒樂其志前後著文集七十卷合三千七百二十首傳於家又著事類集要三十部合一千一百三十門時人目爲白氏六帖行於世凡平生所慕所感所得所喪所經所逼所通一事一物已上布在文集中開卷而盡可知也故不備書大曆六年正月二十日生於鄠州新鄭縣東郭宅以會昌六年月日終於東都履道里私第春秋七十有五以其年月日塋于華州下邽縣臨津里北原補侍御僕射二先塋也啓手足之夕語其妻與姪曰吾之幸也壽過七十官至二品

何已性悅生天銘一一連血一當優有  
足焉不然也地其本石神食乘飲之名  
厭吾勳來浮中墓可刻道祭無以禮於  
戀安吾何雲七云矣吾碑無用衣宜世  
手往行因然十樂語醉但誌幽一自無  
其而屢去其有天訖吟於太薄饒貶益  
閒不遽何死五樂命先墓常塋送損於  
可己緣也年天筆生前證無以我人  
又焉吾委其生自傳立無以車致褒

Er hieß mit dem Familiennamen Po [白], mit dem Beinamen Chü-i [居易], mit dem Rufnamen Lo-t'ien [樂天]. Er stammt von seinen Vorfahren her aus 'Tai-yüan' [太原]. Nach dem Wu-an-chün [武安君] Ch'ü [起] im Reiche 'Ch'in [秦] kommt als Ururgroßvater der Shang-i-fêng-yü\* [尚衣奉御] Chih-shan [志善]. Sein Urgroßvater war der Chien-hsiao-tu-kuan-lang-chung [檢校都官郎中] Wên [溫]. Sein Großvater war der Shih-yü-shih<sup>2</sup> [侍御史] Huang [諱], welcher Ling<sup>3</sup> [令] von Kung-hsien [鞏縣] in Honan-fu [河南府] war. Sein Vater war der Ch'ao-fêng-ta-fu<sup>4</sup> [朝奉大夫] Chi-kêng [季庚], welcher Pieh-chia<sup>5</sup> [別駕] in Hsiang-chou<sup>7</sup> [襄州] und Shao-ching<sup>8</sup> [少卿] im Ta-li-szû [大理寺] war. Dieser erhielt die posthumen Titel Hsing-pu-shang-shu<sup>9</sup> [刑部尚書] und Yu-p'u-shê<sup>10</sup> [右僕射]. Seine Gattin war eine geborene Chên

\* Tai-yüan-fu in Shansi.

<sup>2</sup> In einem Hofamt, ähnlich dem I-k's [衣庫].

<sup>3</sup> Shih-yü [侍御] the literary designation of Yü-shih [御史] Censor (Giles).

<sup>4</sup> District-Magistrate (Giles).

<sup>5</sup> Wohl ein Ehrentitel wie Ch'ao-i-ta-fu [朝議大夫].

<sup>6</sup> The epistolary title of an assistant sub-prefect and of a first-class Assistant-Department-Magistrate (Giles).

<sup>7</sup> In Hsueh.

<sup>8</sup> Sub-Director [少卿] of the Grand Court of Revision [大理寺] (Giles).

<sup>9</sup> Shang-shu [尚書]: President of a Board (Giles).

<sup>10</sup> Tso-p'u-shê [左僕射] Senior Lord High Chamberlain (Giles).

Yu-p'u-shê [右僕射]: Intendant des équipages impériaux (Couvreur).



[陳] mit dem Prädikate (Chün-ming) Ying-ch'uan-chün<sup>1</sup> [穎川郡]. Po's Gattin war eine geborene Yang [楊] mit dem Prädikate (Chün-ming) Hung-nung<sup>2</sup> [弘農]. Sein älterer Bruder war Yu-wên [幼文], welcher in Fu-liang-hsien<sup>3</sup> [浮梁縣] Chu-po<sup>4</sup> [主簿] war. Sein jüngerer Bruder war Hsing-chien [行簡], welcher Huang-shang-shu-shan-pu-lang-chung<sup>5</sup> [皇尚書膳部郎中] war. Eine Tochter gab er einem Chien-ch'a-yü-shih [監察御史] namens T'an Hung-niu [談弘孺] zur Frau. Von seinen drei Neffen hieß der älteste Wei-tao [味道]. Er war Ch'êng<sup>6</sup> [丞] in Ch'ao-hsien [巢縣] in Lü-chou-fu<sup>7</sup> [廬州府]. Der zweite Neffe war Ching-hui [景同], welcher in Tzu-chou<sup>8</sup> [湖州] Szü-ping-t'san-chün<sup>9</sup> [司兵參軍] war. Der dritte Neffe Hui-chih [晦之] war Chin-shih [進士]. Lo-t'ien hatte keine Söhne. Er nahm daher eines Bruders Enkel A-hsin [阿新] als Nachkommen an. Lo-t'ien liebte in seiner Jugend das Studium, erwachsen wandte er sich der Literatur zu. Er wurde Chin-shih [進士], wobei er bei den drei Examen mit seinen Aufsätzen als erster herauskam. Er war zuerst Hsiao-shu-lang<sup>10</sup> [校書郎], zuletzt Shao-fu<sup>11</sup> [少傅], worauf er resignierte. Dazwischen war er zwanzigmal auf einem Beamtenposten, vierzig Jahre hindurch bezog er Gehalt. Seine Erscheinung war die eines Gelehrten und er hielt auf sein Äußeres. Er war der Lehre Śākyamuni's zugeneigt, um sein Herz zu läutern. In seiner Mußzeit besang er die Natur, spielte er auf der Laute und trank er zu seinem Vergnügen. In seinem Leben verfaßte er eine Sammlung

<sup>1</sup> Ying [穎] name of a Prefecture in Anhui, anciently known als Ying-ch'uan (Giles).

<sup>2</sup> [張九齡詩]: 漢壬思鉅鹿. 晉將在弘農. 按弘農晉郡名也.

<sup>3</sup> In Jao chon [饒州] (Kiangsi).

<sup>4</sup> Chu-po: An Archivist of the Imperial Supervisorate of Instruction 禮事府. Also a Deputy Assistant Magistrate (Giles).

<sup>5</sup> Shan-po [膳部] the Imperial Banqueting Court (Giles). In dem dem eingangs bezeichneten Werke beigegebenen Stammbaume wird er als Chu-k'ó-lang-chung [主客郎中] bezeichnet.

<sup>6</sup> Assistant District Magistrate (Giles).

<sup>7</sup> Der chinesische Text hat unrichtig 廬 statt 廬. Lü-chou-fu in Anhui.

<sup>8</sup> In Shantung.

<sup>9</sup> Tsan-chün: an adjutant; epistolary designation of a Commissioner of records in a provincial yamen (Giles).

<sup>10</sup> CL 祕書郎 secrétaire de l'empereur (Couvreur).

<sup>11</sup> Great officers under the Chou dynasty (Giles).

von Aufsätzen in 70 Kapiteln [卷] und 3720 Abschnitten [首], welche im Volke verbreitet war. Überdies verfaßte er das Shih-lei-chi-yao [事類集要] in 30 Abteilungen [部] und 1130 Eingängen [門]. Die Leute von damals kannten es als Po-shih-liu-tieh [白氏六帖] und es war allgemein verbreitet. Alles was er im Leben gedacht, was er ersehnt, was er erlangt, was er betrauert, wohin er gekommen, was ihm nahe gegangen, was ihm gut ausgegangen, war darin detailliert enthalten. Schlägt man ein Kapitel auf, so ist man unterrichtet, weshalb man sich nicht mit (anderen) Büchern zu versehen braucht. Am 20. Tage des 1. Monats des 6. Jahres Ta-li [大曆] wurde er in dem in Chêng-chou [鄭州] in Hsin-chêng-hsien<sup>1</sup> [新鄭縣] gelegenen Tung-kuo-chai [東郭宅] geboren. Im 6. Jahre Hui-ch'ang [會昌] starb er in dem in Tung-tu<sup>2</sup> [東都] gelegenen Lû-tao-li [履道里] in seiner Wohnung im Alter von über 75 Jahren. Er wurde begraben in dem im Norden vom Lin-chin-li [臨津里] in Hsia-kiu-hsien [下邳縣] in Hua-chou [華州] bei den Gräbern eines Shih-yü [侍御] und eines P'u-shê [僕射]. Als er am Abend unruhig wurde, sagte er zu seiner Frau und zu seinem Neffen: „Ich bin glücklich, daß ich über 70 Jahre alt geworden bin und es als Beamter in die 2. Rangklasse gebracht habe. Mein Ruf ist auf Erden verbreitet, aber ich habe den Menschen nichts genützt. Statt daß man mich preist, sollte man mich eher tadeln. Wenn ich gestorben bin, soll man mir nur ein einziges Kleid anziehen, nur einen Wagen beistellen, keine Standartenträger mieten, zum Grabgebet nicht Leute vom T'ai-ch'ang-szü<sup>3</sup> [太常寺] aufnehmen. Wenn ich einen posthumen Titel erhalte, soll man deswegen keine Tafel aufstellen. Man soll nur vor dem Grabe einen Stein aufstellen und als Inschrift das Tsui-yin-hsien-shêng-chuan anbringen.“ Nach diesen Worten ließ er sich einen Pinsel geben und schrieb folgende Grabschrift: „Lo-t'ien! Lo-t'ien! Du warst zwischen Himmel und Erde über 75 Jahre. Im Leben war ich wie eine eilende Wolke, im Tode bin ich wie eine sich hautende Raupe. Warum ich gekommen bin, warum ich gehe, berührt mich nicht. Meinen Weg habe ich oft geändert. Es ist vorbei! Es ist vorbei! Wohin ich auch komme, ist mir gleich. Warum sollte ich am Hiersein festhalten?“

<sup>1</sup> Im Bezirke K'ai-fêng [開封] in Honan.

<sup>2</sup> Loyang.

<sup>3</sup> The court of sacrificial worship (Giles).



## THE LATER BOOKS OF THE SHAN-HAI-KING

(WITH A TRANSLATION OF BOOKS VI—IX)

By OTTO MÄNCHEN-HELFEN

The Shan-hai-king 山海經, the "Canonical Book of the Mountains and Seas", has been more discussed by critics than probably any other work of ancient Chinese literature. The many opinions given by Chinese and European scholars range between indiscriminating acceptance of orthodox tradition and exaggerated scepticism, and only for the last thirty years a view has been gaining ground equally far from implicit faith in supposed Chinese authorities as from excessive radicalism.

We intend to give first a summary of the views of European scholars limited to the typical representatives of each point of view. John C. Ferguson's opinion that the SHK is a mere translation of Berossos<sup>1</sup> cannot be discussed at all. Wylie in his "Notes on Chinese Literature"—in other respects a very meritorious work—joins the belief of those who think the SHK to be "at least as old as the Chou dynasty and probably of a date even anterior to this period"<sup>2</sup>. A number of sinologues observe a certain reluctance, considering the work as "a geographical report possibly as old as it is insipid"<sup>3</sup>. Quite decided sounds the sentence of de Harlez. After a rather superficial research he states: "Le Chan-hai-king que nous possédons date de l'époque des Han, ou tout au plus des Ts'in, et de son existence antérieure on ne peut dire quoi que ce soit. En tout cas c'est à cette

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviation: SHK.

<sup>2</sup> Chinese Researches, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> L. c. p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Friedrich Hirth, The Ancient History of China, p. 146.

période qu'il a reçu sa rédaction actuelle et que les esprits à formes bizarres y ont été introduits".<sup>1</sup> While de Harlez yet admits a possibility of the work having existed before the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. and only puts the redaction into a later time, W. Grube goes still farther, supposing the SHK to have originated "schwerlich vor dem 3. Jrh. v. Chr."<sup>2</sup>

All these sinologues overlook the fact noticed by A. Conrady and Terrien de Lacouperie: that the SHK cannot be taken as originally one work, but is composed of parts dating of different times. Conrady considers the first five books as having originated in the Chou time, perhaps even in its very beginning<sup>3</sup>. The later books, however, are in his estimation "eine wenn auch sehr interessante Fabelgeographie ungefähr des 3. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts, deren Zuverlässigkeit überdies noch durch den Verdacht starker Interpolationen sehr in Frage gestellt wird".<sup>4</sup> In Terrien de Lacouperie's opinion, the first five books are a description of the mountains and hills known in the Shang time. Books 6—9 and 10—13 are two separate works, depicting maps of a romantic geography of the Chou time, appended to the ancient work by the publisher Liu Hsiang (80—9 B. C.). This edition was enlarged by Liu Siu, (in 57 A. D.), who added books 14—17 and 18. At last Kuoh P'oh interpolated the Shui-king of the Ts'in time in the 13<sup>th</sup> book<sup>5</sup>.

G. Schlegel also discussed the SHK<sup>6</sup>; but considering his thoroughly incorrect method, it is not worth while to enter into the details of his euhemeristic interpretations which have been refuted by Conrady already. How widely I differ from Forke's<sup>7</sup> conceptions will be seen from the presentation of my own, the argumentation of which will render superfluous any detailed polemics against him.

The first Chinese author who mentions the SHK is Sze-ma Ts'ien, who refuses to transmit all the marvels 怪物 in the Yu-pen-ki 禹本紀 and the SHK; cf. *Mém. hist.* I, CLXXXIV. How this SHK looked cannot be inferred from his words, as the K'un-lun spoken of by

<sup>1</sup> T'oung pao, V, 1894, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> O. Z. IV, 244.

<sup>4</sup> Die Handschriften- und sonstigen Kleinfinde Sven Hedin in Loulan p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> Western origin etc. p. 19 and 91.

<sup>6</sup> T'oung pao III, 1892 seq.

<sup>7</sup> Mitteilungen d. Semin. f. orient. Sprachen, Berlin, VII, 177 ff.



Sze-ma Ts'ien in this place is found as well in the ancient stock as in the later books.

Liu Siu 劉秀 (later on first emperor of the Eastern Han, Kuang Wu-ti 光武帝; 4 B. C.—57 A. D.) says in his address to the throne, which together with the prefaces of Kuoh P'oh and Pih Yuan precedes most editions of the SHK, that the SHK, formerly arranged by the officer Wang 望 into 32 chapters 篇 was divided by him into 18. He judges the SHK to have originated in the Yao and Shun epochs: 山海經者出於唐虞之際. These, above all Yih 益, had—while the Great Yu was engaged in clearing the land laid waste by the great inundation—mapped out all mountains, animals, peoples and everything remarkable and had thus created the SHK. Up to the Han time, however, the work had not been much noticed. He reports that Liu Hsiang, his father, had explained to the Han emperor Hsuan-ti a find from an unearthed grave by a reference to the SHK (cf. Comm. to SHK XI, 1a/b). "At this time people began to study the SHK" 於是時人爭學山海經. And even before, he says, Tung-fang Soh had determined a strange bird with the aid of the SHK. (As far as I can see, the respective chapters of the Han-shu report nothing about these facts). He thinks therefore the SHK a most important and trustworthy book.

Kuoh P'oh 郭璞, 276—324 (cf. Giles, Biographical Dictionary No. 1069), skilfully arguments against the sceptics and severe critics of the SHK; as for the rest, however, he recapitulates Liu Siu's arguments.

Pih Yuan 畢元, 1729—1797 (cf. Giles, l. c. 1647), begins his preface written in 1781: "The SHK is composed by Yü and Yih, shaped in the time of the Chou and Ts'in; it was studied under the Han, understood under the Tsin, but the one who thoroughly comprehended it was Li Tao-yüan of the Wei dynasty". 山海經作於禹益述於周奏其學行於漢明於晉而知之者魏鄺道元也. "The five parts of the Shan-king with the 34 chapters are in fact the work of Yü." 五藏山經三十四章實是禹書. As a proof of the great age and the authenticity of the work he considers the terminology of the Erh-ya which he simply traces back to Yü, and from the use of the same terminology in the SHK he concludes upon Yü's authorship. The special sacrifices to every mountain mentioned by the SHK have, in his opinion, their corre-

spondence in the statement of the Shu-king 尊高山大川, III, i, i, i, (Ch. Cl. III, I, p. 92) and in an advice given by K'ung-tze to Tze-chang how to rank the mountains. Moreover there were passages in Lieh-tze and Lü Puh-wei ascribed by Lieh-tze to Hia Koh 夏革 and by Lü Puh-wei to I-yin 伊尹, *i. e.*, to the Shang time, yet were taken from the SHK. Thus—he concludes—there cannot be any doubt in the authenticity of the work. But Pih Yüan applies the unrestricted conclusion only to the first five books; for books VI-IX and X-XIII originated in their form in the Chou and Ts'in times. Yü's tripods had contained pictures showing the demons people had to beware of, also the names of mountains, rivers, spirits and magic things. Before the Ts'in, under which these tripods were lost, it has been possible to describe these 圖. But Liu Siu had added books XIV-XVII as commentary to books VI-IX, also books XVIII to X-XIII. He first reproaches Kuoh P'oh with having neglected all topographical statements, identifying localities merely by the resemblance of their names—and even that in a wrong way—, then he praises Li Tao-yüan, the commentator of the Shui-king who, however, took notice of the rivers only; and finally he sets forth his own method as using especially the ancient sources and heeding topographical matters.

The supposition that it was Liu Siu who added books XIV-XVIII, is founded on the statement of the Han-Catalogue, Ts'ien-Han-shu 30 (I-wen-chi) 37a, that the SHK had 13 chapters (which statement is said to have its origin in the 七略 of Liu Hsiang), so that Liu Siu speaking of 18 must have added these five chapters himself. Pih Yüan declares Wang's 32 chapters to be a mistake for 34, and pretends that Liu Siu arrived at his 18 chapters by contracting 3 parts of the actual book I, 4 parts of book II, 3 parts of book III, 4 parts of book IV, 12 parts of book V into one chapter each, retaining books VI-IX and X-XIII—which latter he considers as part of the old work—and adding books XIV-XVIII.

This is quite impossible, as may be seen even by a superficial examination of books XIV-XVIII which often indeed correspond with books VI-VIII, but not to such a degree that they could simply be taken for an explanation (notice *e. g.*, the last part of book XVIII). Moreover Liu Siu is not at all likely, instead of writing a commentary, to have simply copied whole sentences of books VI-IX without adding one word of explanation. The commentators are, however,



right in considering the books XIV-XVIII as belonging to a younger stratum than VI-IX. We shall still have to treat their relation to these. Other authors are mentioning 23 chapters (cf. Sui-shu 33, 15a) and 19 chapters (after Pih Yüan). Pih Yüan also recognised that into book XIII a Shui-king is inserted which he tries to identify with a Shui-king of 2 or 3 chapters commented by Kuoh P'oh, such a book being mentioned immediately after the SHK in the Sui- and Tang Catalogues.

The ancient pictures belonging to the SHK frequently referred to in Kuoh P'oh's commentary, are lost like those of Chang Sang-yü (6<sup>th</sup> century). (Those discovered again in 999 are mostly considered to be falsifications of Chang's pictures.) An interpretation of pictures is also handed down to us as written by Kuoh and is generally put beside the illustrations which are found in most modern editions; but it seldom gives more than the text itself, so that I rarely refer to them.

The Chinese critics—excluding only such sceptics as reject the SHK altogether on account of its phantastic contents—are of the opinion that—if not the whole—at least books I-V have quite certainly originated in the time of the Great Yü and books VI-XIII in their fundamental features, but books XIV-XVIII were added in later times. That the SHK presupposes some work of art, has been correctly noticed. But the important questions as to the relations between the books and as to which strata can be distinguished, did hardly interest Chinese critics; they even took care not to start this question, justly suspecting that then perhaps the work could not claim any longer the high age attributed to it by tradition; so they mostly contented themselves with the explanation of details. Pih Yuan's arguments of course do not prove anything. The Erh-ya is not at all a work of such high antiquity as was often stated, even by European sinologues (cf. Schindler, *Das Priestertum* p. 88/89) and as to quoting the SHK, it is just the opposite way: the beginning of book VI is taken directly from Lieh-tze 5, 7a; only a great enthusiasm for the SHK could lead to the thought of inverting the relation between the two works. I-yin's text in *Lü-shi-ch'un-t'zu*<sup>2</sup> 14, 7a—10a does not at all correspond with the SHK, but only treats parts of the same subjects. Much closer corresponds the

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviation: LSCTs.

passage in Huai-nan-tze 4, 6a/b, who took it—like so many other things—from the LSCTs.

Aside from dogmatical restraints, an impossibility of understanding the SHK by the sole Chinese tradition made it impossible for Chinese criticism to obtain exact results, as will be seen in the course of this treatise.

The Chinese views of the SHK, like those on their ancient literature in general, are more of a hindrance than of a promotion to exact research, as *e. g.* the orthodox interpretation of so many Shi-king-odes sufficiently proves. These views are interesting documents of Chinese thought-life—but rarely more! I hope this will also result from the following explanations.

The present paper, as the first part of a treatise on the later books (VI-XVIII) of the SHK, does not give the author's opinion about the first five books. Its objects are—beside textual criticism—to determine the age of books VI-IX, to reveal the conditions and the intellectual sphere at the time of their origin, and to give them in translation with the necessary notes.

Two editions especially have been used.

1. The new emendated and correct issue of the Shan-hai king 山海經新校正 that is the SHK commented by Kuoh P'oh 郭璞注山海經 interpreted with the aid of other commentaries and edited with prefaces from 1781 and 1782 by Pih Yuan 畢元, 2 parts.
2. The Imperial Edition 山海經箋疏 with the commentary by Hao I-hing 郝懿行 published by Yü Poh-ch'uan 淩百川, reprinted Shang-hai 1895; 6 parts.

For ascertaining possible variants, the author consulted the edition in the Han-Wei-ts'ung-shu, 1893, and a Shang-hai edition, 1897, corresponding to No 1. The quotations in this paper are taken from the Imperial Edition.

As to the commentators, cf. Giles l. c. 1647 and 636.



## I

## SHK VII 海外南經

HN 4.116

- 1 地之并載六合之間四海之行照之以日月經之以星辰  
紀之以日時要之以太極神靈則主又物異者在天者  
唯聖人能通其道
- 2 海外自西南陔至東南隅焉 自西南至東南
- 3 結句國在其西南其為人紐句 結句民 I
- 4 南山在其東南自北山支嶽為蛇蛇號為靈一日南山在結句東南
- 5 北冥鳥在其東其為鳥青赤兩鳥比翼一日在南山東
- 6 羽民國在其東南其為人在頭身上無髮一日在北冥鳥東南其為人左翅羽民 I
- 7 南神人二八達臂為帝司夜于北野在羽民東其為人身小頭有翼  
蓋十六人
- 8 畢方鳥在其東青水西其為鳥人面一脚一日在二八神東
- 9 語詭國在其南其為人人面有翼鳥喙六指無一目在畢方東 語詭國民 II  
或曰語未明
- 10 厭火國在其東南獸身黑毛生火出其口中一日在語詭東
- 11 三株樹在厭火北生於水上其為樹如柏葉青無枝一日其  
為樹如梧
- 12 三苗國在其東其為人袒跽一日三毛國 三苗民 III
- 13 豸國在其東其為人黃能操弓射蛇一日豸國在三毛東
- 14 骨旬國在其東其為人胸有竅一日骨旬國東 穿身民 IV
- 15 交胫國在其東其為人文胫一日在骨旬東 交胫民 V
- 16 不死民在其東其為人黑面黃目死一日在交胫國東 不死民 VI
- 17 岐舌國在其東一日在不死民東 反舌民 VII
- 18 昌舌國在其東其為人一日在岐舌東為虛四方 反舌民 VIII
- 19 瞿瞿國在其東其為人黃能操弓射蛇一日在昌舌東其為虛四方 瞿瞿民 IX
- 20 三首國在其東其為人一身三首 三頭民 X
- 21 罔象國在其東其為人短小冠帶一日在罔象國在三首東
- 22 長臂國在其東捕魚水中兩手及腰一節一日在罔象國捕魚海中 長臂民 XI
- 23 北山有鳥焉其狀如鸞有翼而無尾其鳴自呼其名曰北山有鳥
- 24 北山有鳥焉其狀如鸞有翼而無尾其鳴自呼其名曰北山有鳥
- 25 南方就熊獸身人面虎兩龍

## II

## SHK VII 海外西經

HN 4.11b

自西北至西南方

- 1 海外自西南陬至西北陬方
- 2 瀛洲在崑崙國北為青丘
- 3 大連山在三百里在瀛洲北
- 4 大樂之野在崑崙北極九丘在兩龍雲蓋三層左手操璣  
右手操環佩玉環在大連山北
- 5 三身國在豐南昧北一臂面二身 三身民 丑
- 6 一臂國在其北一臂一曰一臂其首為虎文一曰面一手 一臂民 丑
- 7 奇肱之國在其北其人一臂二目有膜有陽義文焉有鳥焉兩  
頭赤黃色在其旁
- 8 無天無帝無神帝 其首葬之常羊之山乃以乳為目以膽為口  
操干戚以舞
- 9 女界女武在其北居兩水間厥操龜鏡琴操紐
- 10 焉鳥鵲鳥其色青黃所經國亡在女界北翼為人面居山上
- 11 丈夫國在鵲鳥北其為人衣冠帶劍 [居山上] 丈夫民 丑
- 12 女子之尸生而十日表殺之在丈夫北以右手擊其面十日居上女子
- 13 丑歧國在女子北右手操青蛇左手操赤蛇在室狹山澤正所從上下也
- 14 并封在丑成吏其狀如蟲前後皆有翼
- 15 女子國在丑成北而女子居水間之 女子民 丑
- 16 軒轅之國在北窮山之陰其不壽者八百歲在女子國北人面蛇身交趾
- 17 窮山在其北不取而射則新轅之邪在新轅國北其邪為四蛇相繞
- 18 姑蘇之野蠻鳥為獸鳳鳥自舞鳳皇即民表之曰焉侯飲之所飲 姑蘇 丑  
自從也西獸相與爭居在四姑北其人兩手操劍乘之而為民前導之
- 19 龍魚陵居在其北狀如龍即神聖義此以行九野
- 20 白民之國在龍魚北白身黑髮有翼其狀如鵠其上有兩青鳥二子焉 白民 丑
- 21 肅慎之國在白民北 肅慎民 丑
- 22 有樹焉曰樞常无火伐于北取之 天民 丑
- 23 長股之國在樞常北厥聖 長股民 丑
- 24 西方尊服左耳有蛇為兩龍



## III

## SHK VII 海外北經

HN 4, 12a

1 海外自東漸至西北隅者

自東漸至西北方

2 無臂之國在東夷東為人無臂

無繼民區

3 鍾山之神名曰燭陰視為蒼龍為夜視為白晝為暈于歌于張  
不暈暈為風中長千里在無臂之東其為人面蛇身赤色居鍾山下

4 一目國在其東一目中其面而居

一目民區

5 長臂國在一目東為人一手一足反脰面更居上

長臂民區

6 共工之臣曰相柳氏九首以象于九山相柳之所抵厥為澤  
龍為茲相柳其血腹子可取樹王姓種厥厥之工休工沮乃以為  
常帝之臺在丘南之北其利之末相柳者九首人面蛇身而青不  
取水飲唯共工之臺臺在其東臺四方隅有一蛇虎色黃樹南方

7 深目國在其東為人舉一手一目在其工臺東

深目民區

8 無腸之國在深目東其為人長而無腸

無腸民區

9 豸首之國在無腸西東使兩虎為人兩手豸首有鬚居海水中皮水陸出入  
10 夸父與日逐走入日渴飲得飲飲于河渭河渭不足也飲大澤未

至道而死其祀為赤帝祠

11 博父國在豸首東其為人大大七手操其蛇左手操其蛇二蛇蛇在東  
蛇為所獲石上山赴其東河入

12 拘纒之國在其東一手拘纒

拘纒民區

13 長臂木長千坐在拘纒南無河上居也

14 豸矰國在拘纒東其為人大大兩足帶大

豸矰民區

15 歐絲之野在大陸東一女子跪據樹歐絲

16 三桑之枝在歐絲東其木大且白初無枝

17 涇陽之山在二桑東其木大且白初無枝

18 平丘在二桑東其有是王焉鳥視而捕柳甘瓠甘蜜百果所生

有兩山夾上焉一大山居中焉曰平丘

19 北海內有獸其狀如馬名曰騊駼有獸其狀如牛名曰檮杌有獸其狀如虎名曰罔象

有獸其狀如鳥名曰鵩鵩有獸其狀如魚名曰鯢

20 北海內有獸其狀如人面鳥身其目在背其尾在尾

## Ⅳ

## SHK Ⅹ 海外東經

HN 4.12a

1 自東南隅至東北隅者

自東南至東北

2 隸山

3 自東通至青島龍肉極極甘極甘華甘黑甜生

4 在東海

5 兩山夾上上有樹木

6 大人國在其北爲人大坐而用船

大人國

7 食肉之尸在其北獸身人面大有神兩青蛇

8 君子國在其北衣冠帶劍衣獸使二大虎在旁其人好握子中

君子國

有置軍軍朝生夕死

9 夷蠻在其北身有兩首

10 朝陽之鳥神曰天黿是爲水鳥有翼能飛兩水間其爲獸也八足人面

八足見於青島

11 青丘國在其北其地曰是九尾

12 赤帝聖者自東極至青丘五萬六里九千八百有聖者右手把管赤子

13 黑齒國在其北爲人黑齒食稻嗜蚶一食一青其地

海島

黑齒國

14 不肖滿會場台上有扶桑十日所浴在黑齒西厚木中有大士

九日居上柱一日居下柱

15 兩師在其北其地人黑兩手之極一蛇食其肉其地有青丘

16 王明之國在其北其地人衣無衣縱使兩鳥食之

大服使

17 生於之國在其北其地人牙生

牙使

18 侯民國在其北其地人常

侯民

19 夷蠻有身百鳥身人面長兩龍



Conrady's statement that the original work seems to be spoiled by interpolations has—on further examination—proved true.

In XII, 12 *z. g.*, Si-wang-mu is described: 西王母梯几而戴勝杖 "Si-wang-mu is leaning upon a stool and wears a head-dress sticks". In some editions 杖 "stick" is wanting (like 而, cf. Tze-tien s. 梯). This sentence is preceded by 蛇巫山有人操杯 "on the Shé-wu-shan there are people, they are holding sticks". Here the commentator observes: 杯或作楮字同 and 杯 wants indeed an explanation. Not even the Tze-tien uses 杯 in this signification. So 杖 must probably be regarded as a misplaced gloss to 杯.

A parallel between VIII 20<sup>1</sup> and IX 2—5 shows how entire passages can be misplaced and thereby connected with a different passage.

VIII 20 平邱在三桑東爰有遺玉青鳥視肉楊柳甘祖甘華百果所生

IX 2—5 踰丘爰有遺玉青馬視肉楊柳甘祖甘華甘果所生在東海

The passage from 爰有 to 所生 tears asunder the 踰丘在東海 belonging together.

The beginning of XIII is an interpolation in an interpolated book. Here the territory "within the eastern sea" is to be described. But in reality the main part of the book is a 水經, treating clearly and drily the system of the Chinese rivers south of 36° lat: the Kiang, the affluents of the Ho, the Huai, Cheh-kiang, Si-kiang, Yi, their tributaries, their sources and their mouths. Thereby this book differs so fundamentally from the three other books "within the sea" and from the whole SHK, that even Chinese criticism could not but acknowledge its heterogeneous character.

Kü-yen 鉅燕, with which the book begins, cannot be exactly located yet. It is situated in the north-eastern corner 東北隅 and (XII, 5a) north of the kingdom of K'ai 蓋 which itself is north of Wo 倭. It would be a very indefinite designation of a part of Corea, if Wo were really meant for Japan (cf. Conrady in O. Z. IV, p. 244), and if K'ai, as I-hing supposes, had anything to do with K'ai-ma-hien 蓋馬 which, according to the commentary of Hou-han-shu 75,

<sup>1</sup> As to passages out of books VI—IX, I quote them according to the division of the tables I—IV.

5b must be sought in the region of modern P'ing-yang 平壤 in Corea. (Playfair, *The Cities and Towns of China*, 5162).

Then follows an enumeration of the kingdoms of the Far West which could not have been composed before Chang K'ien's return 126 B. C. If any doubt is left about the identity of Ta-hia 大夏 with Tocharistan, the mentioning of the Yüeh-chi 月支 and the kingdom of 犂端 are sufficient evidence for the dating of the passage in question. Kuoh-tuan can be nothing else but Khotan. The commentator does explain the pronunciation of 犂 by 敦 which word again may be *tui*, *tuan* or *tiao*. 敦, however, is only a mistake for 郭 kuoh, as the Tze-tien (s. 犂) proves: 光鑑切音郭.

From this an ancient K'a k-t'an must be inferred. Among the transcriptions documented for Khotan, Yü-tien 于闐 is perhaps the most frequent, the forms 五端, 幹端, 屈丹 and 諾旦 show plainly that 端 occurs indeed in transcriptions as also *äk* before *t*. Ta-hia, Kuoh-tuan and Yüeh-chi, where found isolated, could possibly point to an earlier date. The fact of the three names being mentioned together with the "flowing sand", in *one* passage, makes any dating before 126 B. C. impossible.

After the kingdoms within and beyond the flowing sand, and before the Shui-king which begins with 岷三江首, some places of the sea-coast and the Thunder-marsh are named. By 都州 (the better reading is 郁州) the island Ts'ang-wu-shan 蒼梧山 is meant, called even now 郁州, 鬱州, situated north of Hai-chou 海州 in Kiangsu, cf. Enc.<sup>1</sup> VI, 94, 40a. Follows the well-known terrace of Lang-ya 琅牙 in S.-E. Shan-tung, then two places which can no more be identified: Han-yen 韓鴈 and Shi-kiu 始鵠, and after the Kuei-ki-shan 會稽山 south of Shao-king-fu in Cheh-kiang, the Shui-king proper begins. For this, the terminus ante quem non is 214 B. C. XIII, 7a says that the source of the Yüan-shui 元水 is 象君 鍾城西. Siang-kin was formed by Shi-huang-ti 214 B. C.—together with Kuei-lin 桂林 and Nan-hai 南海—of the conquered Nan-yüeh, cf. M. H. II 168. The Han, however, called this territory Jih-nan 日南, cf. Ti-li-chi 下 9b, and it was Wu-ti who in 110 B. C. altered the name; cf. *ibid.* This was done after the final conquest of Nan-yüeh 111 B. C.

<sup>1</sup> 欽定古今圖書集成, quoted according to the division introduced by L. Giles in his *Alphabetical Index to the Chinese Encyclopaedia*, London 1911.



From 196 B. C. in which year Chao To 趙佗 had been officially acknowledged king of Nan-yüeh, till 111, the territory did not belong to the empire, but was totally independent. The earlier Han's knowledge of the south was extremely limited (cf. Rosthorn, *Die Ausbreitung der chines. Macht* p. 33/34). It was quite impossible to speak of a Siang-kün in this time; the name points to the Ts'in time or to the period of the struggles between Hiang Yü and the Han, that is to the time from 214 to 196 B. C.

The time could be determined more exactly, if the enumeration of the points at the shore and the Shui-king belonged together as one work, which, however, remains to be proved yet. For the Kuei-ki-shan is situated south of 大楚 Great-Ch'u, a name impossible for the Ts'in as for the Han time, but pointing likewise to the years found out above, strictly speaking to the short period in which Hiang Yü had the power over the empire: 205—202. The Kuei-ki-shan, in fact, is situated south of the ancient royal domain of Ch'u which, since 333 B. C., had touched in the S. E. the old limits of Wu and Yüeh. About this time the name Hu-ling 湖陵 (XIII 7b) comes into use (cf. Shi-ki 7, 4b M. H. II, 254). (This name permits to fix a terminus post quem non. Hu-ling, the hien of the Han-time (cf. Ti-li-chi 上 15 b, Kün-kuoh-chi III 3b) was situated 60 li east of Yü-t'ai-hien 魚臺, resp. 75 li S. W. of T'êng hien 滕 on the southern bank of Ko-shui River 菏水 before its discharge into the Sze 泗. Its territory comprised parts of Yü-t'ai-hien, T'êng-hien and P'ei-hien 沛 in Shan-tung, Yen-chou-fu ext. Kiang-su, Sü-chou-fu (cf. Enc. VI, 210, 18 b; 211, 26 b; 239, 26 a; 241, 18 a/b and M. H. II 254 n. 5). Its name was changed under Wang-mang 9—23 and definitely under Chang-ti 76—88 into Hu-luh 滹 陸.)

As no Siang-kün existed before 214 this limit must be maintained, though beside Siang-kün Sün-ch'eng 鯨 城 is used too. This is, in the Han time, a hien of Wu-ling-kün 武陵, before, i. e., under the Ts'in, a hien of the K'ien-chung-kün 黔 中 [made a kün in 277 (cf. M. H. II, 86)] nowadays K'ien-yang 陽 in Yüan-chou-fu, Hu-nan (Play-fair, l. c. 907). The Siang-kün of the Ts'in, however, was, as is generally admitted, about the territory of modern Tongking—a fact again referring to the time of Hiang Yü, for only then can have existed this Siang-kün not heard of at any other time. Moreover, it is likely that the passage about the kingdoms in the west has taken the place

of a former enumeration of the sea-side places, filling the gap from Kū-yen to Yü-chou. To this, I suppose, belongs also the Tsie-hill VIII 2, 4 in the eastern sea, quite isolated in its present context.

Nor is the Thunder-marsh situated in the east, but in S. W. Shan-si, as is shown by the statement: westward of Wu 吳, and the commentaries are wrong in taking it to be the Thunder-marsh between Ts'ao-chou-fu and P'uh-chou in W. Shan-tung (cf. *Asia Major*, Hirth Anniversary volume, map belonging to Wedemeyer's essay, inset T'ao).

All the commentators' efforts to prove at least one part of book XIII as being extremely old, are, as has been seen, in vain. The chief part is a Shui-king which cannot be older than 214 B. C., the second part, the kingdoms in the west, has not been written before 126 B. C. A Thunder-marsh in S. W. Shan-si has, of course, likewise nothing to do in the book "of all that is within the Eastern sea". There remains only the enumeration of the sea-side places. Whether this belongs to the Shui-king or not, the Ta-ch'ü dates it as written shortly before 200 B. C.

What has been lost, aside from book XIII, seems to be only little compared with what has been added. In XV 5a *e. g.*, the name of the kingdom has been omitted in the passage: 有國曰顓瑱生伯服食黍. In XV 5b the name of the food is wanting: 有困民國可姓而食. The commentator P'ei Yin (372—451 cf. M. H. I, CCXI) referring to Shi-ki I 8b/9a, M. H. I 38 quotes the following passage from the 海外經: 東海中海山焉名曰度索上有大桃樹屈蟠三千里東北有門名曰鬼門萬鬼所聚也天帝使神人守之一名鬱壘主閱領萬鬼若害人之鬼以韋索縛之射以桃弧投虎食也.

Neither Chavannes *l. c.* nor de Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emouj p.* 597/8 noticed that this passage is not found in the actual SHK. As a quotation from SHK it is already contained in the Lun-hêng (Forke I 243/4), while the Fêng-suh-t'ung calls it a text from the 黃帝書. The sentence really does not make the impression of a lost passage from our SHK preserved, however, in the above mentioned places, but we can infer from it that apparently beside the present SHK there were still other texts going by that name.



I think, after all this it must be admitted that the later books of the SHK have not been handed down to us in a very good state of preservation.

In an essay about "Das Weltbild des Huai-nan-tze", *O. Z. V.*, 1/4, E. Erkes points out the dependence of HN Book IV on the SHK. "Aus der erhaltenen Literatur hat Huai-nan-tze für das vorliegende Buch natürlich vor allem das SHK benutzt, und zwar vornehmlich die jüngeren Partien, die also zu mindest schon im 2. vorchristl. Jahrhundert vorhanden gewesen sein müssen. Die Anordnung der Stellen, die im SHK in geordnetem Zusammenhang, bei Huai-nan-tze aber fast willkürlich eingestreut erscheinen, schließt die Möglichkeit aus, daß etwa das SHK aus Huai-nan-tze geschöpft haben könnte." The two texts, the relation of which becomes evident even after a superficial comparison, often correspond literally; this conformity is the best expedient for text criticism, and—to give my results beforehand—for a reconstruction of the SHK. Table I shows to the left the text of Book VI, to the right the nations enumerated in HN 4, 11<sup>b</sup> "from S.W. to S.E." For the sake of correspondence between the two columns the people with the Perforated Breasts 穿胃民 of the HN series, placed behind the 不死民, has been put here before the 交股民. The HN series has no correspondences to VI. 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26; the SHK series none to the HN peoples IV, X, XI. 穿胃 and 貫匈, 交股 and 交脰, 長臂 and 脩臂 are, of course, the same.

To explain the conformity of the two series, four hypotheses are possible: 1. HN took his series from the text of the present SHK, omitted the passages VI 4, 5 etc., made transpositions and added IV, X, XI. 2. He drew from another source. 3. The transmitted text of the SHK is not the original. 4. The SHK in its present form and HN are going back to a common source. The first supposition is contradicted by the whole character of HN, that is: of a mere compiler without any originality and poor in ideas, who owes but very little to own reflection and research (and even that little is confused and abstruse). He hardly would have dared to treat a given text in such an arbitrary manner. In itself, however, the manner suggested by the first hypothesis is as possible as the three others. But the latter can be proved as valid, so that the other source used by HN (2) was a SHK text not original either (3), and thus HN and

the actual SHK go back to a common source (4). The Pig's Snouts 豕喙民 HN IV ought to have a parallel in the SHK, but the K'un-lun is given instead, which is mentioned four times in books VI-XVIII: in XI 2b, the flowing sand passes S.W. of it; XI, 3 a/b it is described with all the attributes of the World-mountains. It lies "within the sea in the West", book XI containing only a description of the territory 海內西. In XII 1a K'un-lun is supposed to be in the utmost N.W., south of the residence of Si-wang-mu. In XIII 1b, in the interpolated series of the kingdoms at the "flowing sand", it lies west of the Si-hu 西胡 and Ta-hia, Khotan and Yüeh-chi are north of it. In all ancient literature of China not one evidence is found,—as far as I can see—of the K'un-lun lying in the south<sup>1</sup>. That is sufficient to render this passage very suspicious. Moreover, the K'un-lun is not even mentioned where we would expect it as in books VII or VIII. But VI 17 is still more incomplete. All the peoples of the other books being characterized in some way, in 17 only the situation of the 岐舌國 is determined, so that 其爲人岐舌 must be added in analogy to the other passages. If for 18 a now lost 豕喙國 must be accepted, 19 requires a 豸齒國. And that, indeed must have formerly been there, for 19 is in its present form only comprehensible as an explanation of such a people. In the form handed down to us, the text is downright nonsense and has no connection with either the preceding or the following passages. I, therefore, think that HN cannot have drawn from the SHK in its present form, but must have had a better, at least in these passages less deteriorated, copy. This also refutes Erkes' hypothesis in its special form. The text from VI-IX is by no means intact. How much it differs from the original shall, however, for the present not be demonstrated by comparison with HN, but by the attempt to comprehend the secondary complex, which is the most important in volume and significance. That is the complex of the "outer world" which expression, taken from the terminology of comparative mythology shall be explained later on.

<sup>1</sup> Certain well known places which in later literature are given the name of K'un-lun or compounds of K'un-lun—e.g., Pulu Candore or Somali-land etc.—do not come into consideration here.



## THE OUTER WORLD

In the spurious passage at the beginning of book IX, the situation of the place in which all these marvels are found is determined: it is east of Yao's tomb 在堯葬東 (v.1). That this cannot be the Tsie-hill has been demonstrated before. Neither is it P'ing-hill of VIII 20 but—as a close examination will show—the Wu-yü-shan 務隅之山 of VIII 19. Here the old sovereign Chuan-hü and his nine wives are buried. This mountain is called Wu-yü-shan (or Fu-yü-shan) to this very day and is not situated "beyond the Northern Sea", but in the very midst of China, near the town of Chuan-hü, in Tun-k'iu-district (頓丘), extremely rich in legends, in the present Ts'ing-feng-hien 清豐 in Ch'ü-li, 30 li N.W. to the present K'ai-chou 開州 cf. Enc. VI 133. IV 7b (A Fu-yü-shan 符禹之山, mentioned in II 2b/3a, where Fu-yü-shui, discharging into the Wei, has its source, is out of question, as it is S.W. to Hua-chou, Si-ngan-fu, Shen-si (cf. Enc. VI 495, 6a) and the local chronicles make no mention of either temples or of other Chuan-hü reminiscences). Passage VIII 19 therefore must be interpolated, as also two other passages speaking of the mountain of Chuan-hü's tomb. XIII 4a/b we read: 漢水出鮒魚之山帝顓頊葬于陽九嬪葬于陰四蛇衛之. This passage is, even in its mere form, not in keeping with the dry and reliable 水經, as which Book XIII proves itself. But in its contents it is quite out of question, as Han River rises in S.W. Shen-si (according to II 7a from 蟠冢之山). So the name of the mountain from which Han River rises has been dropped and substituted by that mountain which we find added with special pleasure at the most impossible places, as a further mentioning shows. According to XVII 1a it is situated "without the North-Western Sea in the great desert within the Ho-shui" 東北海之外大漠之中河水之間. Here follows, like in VIII 19/20, that enumeration of wondrous beings and things which is often met with in the SHK and which hereafter shall be named "the Row of Good Things and Beings" (RGTh). It is found in VI 23 which reports that Emperor Yao is buried at the southern, Emperor K'uh at the northern slope of the Tih-shan. 狄山. In consideration of v.1. to IX, 5 this means the identity of Tih-shan and Wu-yü-shan. Two tombs of Yao are known, of which the best ascertained is that near the present P'uh-chou in Shan-tung.

According to *Ti-wang-shi-ki* 2, 4 b/5 a and LSCTs 10, 8b Yao was buried in Ku-lin 穀林, the Ch'eng-yang of the Han (cf. *Ti-li-chi* 上 16a 堯冢靈臺); also after *Shui-king-chu*, cit. PWYF 28, 8b. In Ch'eng-yang, sacrifices are made to Yao as late as in 124 A.D., cf. *Hou-han-shu*, Ngan-ti, Yen-kuang 3<sup>rd</sup> year. Quite near is his mother's tomb, cf. *Enc. VII*, 241, 41 b. The other tomb is in southern Shen-si, cf. *Wedemeyer in Asia major*, Hirth Anniversary volume, § 55. The K'ing-shan, where—according to *Moh-ti* 6 (25) 10 b—Yao is buried, cannot be determined; the passage in *Moh-ti*, though, plainly points to the north: 堯北教子八狄道死葬蚩山之陰.

The mountain, where *Ti K'uh* was buried, is very well known, however; it is 35 li N.W. of *Tun-k'iu*, i. e., in the immediate neighbourhood of the *Fu-yü-shan* (at the southern side of which *Chuan-hüh's* tomb is found) and most probably identic with *Fu-yü-shan*. (*Lo Pi*, *Hou-ki* 9, 1, 6a as also the local chronicles in the *Enc. VI*, 133, IV, 7b have a reading 狄山 which perhaps is preferable to the 狄 only found in *SHK*). *Ti K'uh's* burial-place is in *Kuang-yang-li* 廣陽里 as also *Chuan-hüh's*, cf. *Ti-wang-shi-ki* 2, 2 a/b. *Kuang-yang*, however, is but another name for *Fu-yü-shan*; cf. *Lo Pi*, *Hou-ki* 8, 6b and *Enc. VI* 133; IV 7 a/b. The same mountain is also meant by *Yoh-shan* 岳山, where Yao, *Ti K'uh* and *Shun* were buried XV, 5b and where—an ultimate substantiation of the hypothesis that all these mountains are but one—the RGTh is found. That the other mountains, the *Tih-shan* and the *Yoh-shan*, cannot belong to the ancient stock of the books VI and XV either, results from the simple fact that the tombs of the great sovereigns of old cannot well lie "outside the sea" or "in the great desert".

A summary shows the following correspondences:

VI	23	<i>Tih-shan</i>	<i>Yao</i> , <i>Ti K'uh</i>	RGTh.
VIII	19/20	<i>Wu-yü-shan</i>	<i>Chuan-hüh</i> a. his 9 wives	RGTh.
IX	3/5	—	<i>Yao</i>	RGTh.
XIII	4a/b	<i>Fu-yü-shan</i>	<i>Chuan-hüh</i> a. his 9 wives	—
XV	5b	<i>Yoh-shan</i>	<i>Yao</i> , <i>Ti K'uh</i> , <i>Shun</i>	RGTh.
XVII	1a	<i>Fu-yü-shan</i>	<i>Chuan-hüh</i> a. his 9 wives	RGTh.

The place in which *Shun* was buried is spoken of three more times in *SHK*. X 3a it is the mountain of *Ts'ang-wu* 蒼梧之山, where *Shun* lies buried at the southern, the emperor *Tan-chu* at the northern slope. XV 1b it is the heath of *Ts'ang-wu* 丨丨之野.



where he lies buried together with Shuh-kun 叔均; XVIII 6 b it is the hill 丘 of Ts'ang-wu, strictly speaking the Kiu-yi-shan, where he lies buried. The latter passage, by quoting Ch'ang-sha 長沙 and Ling-ling 零陵, gives the situation quite exactly: it is the region of Ning-Yüan, Yung-chou, Hu-nan, where other authorities too suppose Shun's tomb to be, cf. M. H. I 90; Ti-wang-shi-ki 2, 9 a; Ch'ü-shü-ki-nien Ch. Cl. III, 1, prol. 116. X 3 a and XV 1 b, pointing likewise to the south, correspond with this localization. XV 1 b is followed by the RGTh. XV 3 b, however, by the Fan-forest 汜林 which is mentioned three more times, every time with the addition 方三百里; VI 24 again as lying in the south, VIII 18 in the north, before Wu-yü-shan, and XII 4 a following the Tih-shan and the RGTh. The introductory and quite incomprehensible 其 and the position of VI, 24 behind the interpolated VI, 23 prove that this passage must be interpolated too. In VIII 18, Fan-forest is situated to the east of the "three mulberry-trees" 三桑, which again in XVII 1 b are enumerated after Fu-yü-shan. Thus the correspondences are increasing.

VI 23/24	Tih-shan	Yao, Ti K'uh	RGTh	Fan-forest	—
VIII 17-20	Wu-yü-shan	Chuan-hüh a. his 9 wives	RGTh	Fan-forest	san sang
IX 3/5	—	Yao	RGTh	—	—
X 3 a	Ts'ang-wu	Shun	—	Fan-forest	—
XIII 4 a/b	Fu-yü-shan	Chuan-hüh a. his 9 wives	—	—	—
XV 1 b	Ts'ang-wu	Shun	RGTh	—	—
XV 5 b	Yoh-shan	Yao, Ti K'uh, Shun	RGTh	—	—
XVIII 1 a	Fu-yü-shan	Ch'uan-hüh a. his 9 wives	RGTh	—	san sang

Note. The several RGTh being closely connected with each other, it will serve our purpose to parallel the single items of each, which shall be done at the end, so that the discussion shall not appear more intricate than necessary.

We see that the great men of olden times are supposed to be buried in a certain region and that it would be useless trouble to search it anywhere in China. For though the geographical situation of Ts'ang-wu or the Fu-yü-shan may be determined, there still remains the Fan-forest, now spoken of as in the south, now as in the north, nor do the three mulberry-trees that have no branches grow upon this earth. That the RGTh also belongs to the components of this legendary region is proved by an investigation about the Hou-Tsih tomb.

The tomb of Hou Tsih 后稷 is described twice in SHK, in XI, 2a and in XVIII 2b/3a. In the first passage, the mountain with his tomb is situated west of the kingdom of the Ti, surrounded by water 水環之在氏國西. There precede the descriptions of the "Geese Gate" and of the "High Willow of Tai" (鴈門, 代高柳). West of it there is the kingdom of Liu-huang-fêng-shi 流黃豐氏—all this "within the Sea in the West". The associating of Yen-men, Tai and the High Willow, however, points north towards northern Shan-si and Chih-li. A Kao-liu-shan is 35 Li north of the present Tai-chou 代州, a Kao-liu is in the ancient kün Tai, cf. Ti-li-chi 上 6a, Kün-kuoh-chi 5, 8b; south-west of Tai lies the kün Yen-men, cf. Ti-li-chi 上 5b, Kün-kuoh-shi 5, 7b. The kingdom of the Ti, however, is supposed to lie "within the Sea in the South" X, 5a; the identity of this kingdom with that in XI, 2a is proved by the mentioning of the Kien-tree 建木. This tree, however, stands west of Yah-yü 窶窶, which is mentioned again in XI, 1a, and the tomb of Hou-Tsih, according to HN 4, 13b is west of the Kien-tree. According to the second passage, this tomb is found S. W., in the neighbourhood of the Hei-shui 黑水, in the heath of Tu-kuang 都廣. The "real" tomb is neither here nor there, but near Ping-yang-fu in Shan-si, cf. Erkes l. c. n. 273.

XVIII 2b/3a describes the tomb in detail: there are good (lit. fat) beans, good rice, good Shu-millet, good Tsih-millet, all grains grow of themselves; they sow in winter and summer. The Luan-birds are singing of themselves; the Fêng-birds are dancing of themselves. Ling-shou, fruits, flowers, vegetables, and trees are there together. There are all animals, they flock together. The plants do not wither in summer nor in winter. 爰有膏菽膏稻膏黍膏稷百穀自生冬夏播琴瑟鳥自歌鳳鳥自舞靈壽實華草木所聚爰有百獸相羣爰處此草也冬夏不死.

(琴 according to the commentary, is a Ch'u word for 種; cf. 岑 and 冢.)

Such a country is not to be found in China nor in any other part of the world either—it is the German "Schlaraffenland", the Abode of the Blessed. The contradictory localisations are nothing but an attempt at reconciling geography to fancy. After XI, Hou Tsih's tomb is in the north, after X in accordance with the Tih-Empire, in the South; it is west of the Kien tree, which stands in the heath of Tu-kuang (HN 4, 4a), in which the tomb itself is to be found.



Here it is necessary to consult Indian tradition, which alone makes these Chinese conceptions intelligible and thus facilitates further analysis.

In *Rāmāyaṇa* IV 43 we are told that in the farthest north sun and moon lose their light at last; and if you still proceed you come to the river Śailoda whose water turns to stone whatsoever is cast into it, so that it sinks. On its banks grows the *kīchaka* reed, which carries the Blessed across. There is Uttarakuru, the abode of the pious; there are lakes with golden lotuses, rivers by thousands, full of sapphire and lapis lazuli; lakes resplendent like the morning sun, are adorned by golden beds of red lotus. The country all round is covered with jewels and precious stones. Instead of sand, pearls, costly jewels and gold form the banks of the rivers, which are covered with trees of precious stones and gold. The trees always bear flowers and fruits which are of a heavenly taste and yield every desire; other trees bring forth clothes of various shapes. All the inhabitants are pious and charitable, dwelling together with their wives in restless happiness. Music and song and gay laughter are always heard. There are rivers flowing with milk and rice, and trees on which grow beautiful maidens.

*Mahābhārata* VI 7 describes Uttarakuru quite similarly. On the south of the Nila mountain and the northern side of the Meru are the sacred Northern Kurus. Some trees yield fruits according to the will of the plucker, others yield milk of the taste of *Amṛta*. The inhabitants live ten thousands and hundred thousands of years. The *bhāruṇḍa*, a class of birds furnished with sharp beaks and possessed of great strength, take them up when dead and throw them into mountain caves. On the south of Mount Meru there grows the gigantic Jambū-tree (*Sudarśana*) which touches the very sky and bears fruits of 1115 cubits circumference. In falling upon the earth, these fruits make a loud noise, and then pour out a silvery juice on the ground. That juice, becoming a river and passing circuitously round Mt. Meru, comes to the region of the Northern Kurus. The juice of that fruit gives peace of mind, stills thirst for ever and guards against decrepitude.

(According to Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics* s. v. Abode of the Blest.)

The Buddhist Western Paradise, as described with all particulars, *e.g.*, *Sukhāvati-vyūha*, goes probably back to older ideas of the kind, cf. SBE XLIX p. XXII (cf. too p. 24). The connection of the Jambū-tree and its correspondences with the Abode of the Blessed is shown in table V.





The world-tree and the outer world consequently belong together; and that not only in Indian and Persian tradition, but also in that of the other Indo-Germanic peoples, it can<sup>1</sup> even be traced with all the civilized peoples of the near East.

The conception of the world-tree shows again clearly the well known tendency to multiply one object of the myth and to create separate figures out of each single quality of the original. Thus Brāhmanic tradition has beside the Jambū-tree still a Kadamba-tree, Pippala—and Vata-tree, all being world-trees round Mt. Meru. But only *one* Dvīpa is named after a tree, that is after the Jambū, and only the juice of the Jambū fruit flows around Mt. Meru. The Jinistic tradition has, beside the Jambū in Uttarakuru, a corresponding Śālamli-tree in Devakuru, upon which sits another descendent of Garuḍa, the god Venu. Round the Jambū-tree there are 108 Jambū-trees of half its size spreading in wider circles till at last a Jambū-hedge encloses the whole. So I think it likewise most probable that the multitude of trees, bestowing immortality, jewels and clothes, are in truth just one, as it is also likely that all these qualities, at least in their rudiments, were originately united in one tree of Chinese tradition. Though the legend was received by the Chinese at a time when this was no longer one whole tree in India and Persia, we yet may be allowed to join the fragments again for the very reason that they are but a whole fallen to pieces.

As to the Kien-tree the SHK gives the following statements. In XVIII 4b: There is a tree with green leaves, with crimson stalks, dark-coloured blossoms, yellow fruits; its name is Kien-tree. It is<sup>2</sup> 100 jen in height and has no branches. (At the top) there are nine branches turned upwards; at the bottom, there are nine roots. Its fruits are like those of the hemp, its leaves like those of the Mang. 有木青葉紫莖玄華黃實名曰建木百仞無枝 (v. 1 上) 有

<sup>1</sup> Though, as far as the SHK is concerned, Chinese tradition could be fully explained by Indian and Persian mythologies, I like to show of what importance it may be to consult the respective notions of a people ever so far away. As an instance I refer the reader to Golther's *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* p. 529. The Gylfaginning's statement, that the world-tree Yggdrasill had its roots with the Aesir, is called nonsensical, there ought to be: with mankind. Now consulting Indian tradition we would find it to be a very characteristic and very old feature of the World-tree, that it grows top downward and root upward. The eagle on top, of course, could not—as R. M. Meyer suggests—have risen from ornaments, “perhaps from Irish miniatures”.

九欄下有九枸其實如麻其葉如芒。In X 4b/5a: There is a tree looking like a neat. Peeling it off, one gets a rind like fringes—yellow snakes. Its leaves are like silk-gauze, its fruits like those of the Luan, its wood like that of the K'iu. Its name is Kien-tree. It is west of the Yeh-yü, above the soft water. 有木其狀如牛引之有皮若纓黃蛇其葉如羅其實如縷其木若區其名曰建木在窳窳西弱水上。

(These two passages are not handed down correctly; "without branches" and "nine branches" stands side by side; the 黃蛇 is doubtless a misplaced gloss. A "Ying-huang Schlange" as Erkes translates l. c. n. 109 is quite unknown. Moreover we do not know why 如 and 若 are used alternatively.)

The coexistence of Kien-tree and Jambū-tree in the Abode of the Blessed also proves their identity. Beyond this the enormous size and the nature of their fruits are directly the same. They are said to be either like those of the hemp or like those of Luan. In the heath of Tu-kuang, where the Kien-tree grows, there is no shadow at noontide and there is no echo if one shouts. There is the centre of heaven and earth. 日中無景呼無響蓋天地之中也, cf. LSCTs 13, 4b; HN 4, 4a. (The wanting shadow alone will be genuine, the wanting echo probably originated for rhetorical reasons; cf. the frequent parallel: shadow—echo, e. g., Shu-king 2, 2, 5). The same is said of the heath of Shou-ma 壽麻 XVI, 8a.<sup>1</sup> Shou-ma is the hemp of long life; the fruits of the Kien-tree, then, give long life. For the Luan-tree, to which the Kien-tree is compared, is not an ordinary tree either: it has yellow roots, red branches and green leaves, and all the gods take medicinal herbs from it 羣帝焉取藥.

This, too, explains the statement of HN, that in the heath of Tu-kuang all gods are descending and ascending: 衆帝所自上下 HN 4, 4a. They probably come to fetch the fruits of immortality. The Kien-tree is the tree of immortality like the Jambū-tree and its correspondences.

The leaves of the world-tree shine and glisten. So mang and k'iu will not mean a tree, as the commentators say, although there are said to be Mang-and K'iu-trees. Indeed 芒 is used in Shi-ki 27,

<sup>1</sup> (The further details in XVI 8a show the value of the genealogies in the SHK. Also in LSCTs 17, 10a we find the kingdom of Shou-ma in the west.)



17a for the beaming of a star, signifies therefore: beam, radiance. And the meaning of 耀, according to the Tze-tien s. v., is equivalent to that of 照 hui, "beaming light". These statements are, I believe, sufficient proof of the Kien-tree being the World-tree, corresponding to the Jambū in Uttarakuru and the Aśvattha in heaven. The Kien-tree is growing at the banks of the Soft Water and the Soft Water and the Śailoda-River are identical too; cf. Conrady, Loulan p. 160/161.

Another Land of the Blessed in SHK is the country of the Wu-people, the statements about which are the following: VII, 18: The heath of Chu-wu. The Luan-birds are singing of themselves, the Fêng-birds are dancing of themselves. The eggs of the Fêng and Huang, the people eats them, sweet dew, the people drink it. All they desire comes by itself. All animals flock together (are north of the four snakes). These people hold the eggs in both hands and eat them. In front two birds are leading them.

XV 3b: 有異民之國帝舜生無淫降夢處是謂巫異民巫費民盼姓食穀不績不經服也不稼不穡食也爰有歌舞之鳥鸞鳥自歌鳳鳥自舞爰有百獸相羣爰處百穀所聚. There is the kingdom of the Tieh-people. Emperor Shun begot Wu-yin. He descended to the abode of Tieh. These are called the Wu-tieh-people. The Wu-tieh-people. Clan Pan. They live on corn. They do not spin nor weave, yet have clothes. They do not sow nor reap, yet have food. There are singing birds and dancing birds. The Luan-birds sing of themselves, the Fêng-birds dance of themselves. There all animals flock together. This is the place where all species of corn grow.

XVI 3b/4a 有沃之國沃民是處沃之野鳳鳥之卵是食甘露是飲凡其所欲其味盡存爰有甘華甘祖白柳視肉三騏驎瑞瑤碧白木琅玕白丹青丹多銀鐵鸞鳥自歌鳳鳥自舞爰有百獸祖羣是謂沃之野. There is the kingdom of Wu. The Wu-people, it is dwelling in the heath of Wu. The eggs of the Fêng-birds, it eats them; sweet dew, it drinks it. There is plenty of everything one desires. There are sweet flowers, sweet Cha, white willows, Shi-juh, three piebald horses, Suan-kuei, Yao, Pi, white trees, Lang-kan, white cinnabar, green cinnabar, plenty of silver and iron. The Luan-birds sing of themselves, the Fêng-birds dance of themselves. There all animals flock together. That is what is called the heath of Wu.

The Tieh-people XV, 3b seem originally not to have stood in this passage. They are supposed to be in the south; and in the south in VI 13 is the 黃民 Tieh-people which is yellow and shoots at snakes. It probably came to the qualities of the Blessed by an interpretation of the character 黃, as will be shown later on. The qualities attributed to them in XV 3b are, however, of importance for a characteristic of the Blessed.

HN 4, 11b and 19, 1b speaks of a 沃民 Wu-people in the west; a "distance" 紘 of the west is called 沃野 Wu-Heath, HN 4, 5a. According to LSCTs 22, 10b Yü comes in the west to the 飲露吸氣之民; west of the flowing sand, south of the Tan-shan 丹山 the eggs of the Fêng may be found which the Wu-people eat, LSCTs 14, 7a. A comparison of Uttarakuru with the heath of Wu and the country in which Hou Tsih is buried shows that the same mythical scene is meant in all cases:

Uttarakuru:	Heath of Wu:	Hou Tsih's tomb:
The whole country is covered with precious things, gold and jewels.	Suan-kuei, Yao, Pi, iron, silver, Lang-kan, white and green cinnabar,	
There grow trees of jewels.		
The trees always bear blossoms and fruits. The trees bear fruits to people's desire. In rivers flow milk and rice. All desires are realised.	They do not sow nor reap and yet have food. All desires are realised.	In winter and summer the vegetables do not wither. Good rice, good beans, good millet. All species of corn are growing of themselves.
The fruits are of heavenly flavour. The trees give milk as sweet as Amṛta.	People drink sweet dew. Sweet flowers, sweet Cha.	
The trees are giving clothes of various shapes.	They do not spin nor weave, yet have clothes.	



Music and song are heard at all times.	The Luan-birds sing, the Fêng-birds dance.	The Luan-birds sing, the Fêng-birds dance.
	All animals peacefully flock together.	All animals peacefully flock together.

The conformity is nearly uninterrupted. It becomes complete, if we examine the Kien-tree belonging to the scene of Hou Tsih's tomb: It is the tree which bears the jewels, which is beaming and shining, it bears the fruits of immortality, which are eaten by the Blessed, and are the Soma, the sweet dew, the Amṛta.

In the heath of Wuh, people have clothes without spinning and weaving. So there must be, as in Uttarakuru, trees yielding clothes, which fact we must also claim for the country of Hou Tsih's tomb. Here the Kien-tree has leaves like silk-gauze and a bark like fringes; so this is the tree yielding clothes. In VII 18 such a tree is not mentioned, but it is found in VII 22 as *liung-shang* 雄常 or *loh-shang* 雜 | from which emperors of former generations took the clothes. This passage has no connection with the preceding or the following text, and that by 之 the clothes are meant, is only found out by the commentary; but in its contents the passage doubtless belongs to VII 18 and must stand there. Near the K'un-lun, consequently in the same scene, in XI 6a, the *Fuh-shang* 服 | the "clothes-shang" is enumerated, evidently the same tree again. The *sha-shang* 沙常 (HN 4, 3a), growing likewise on the K'un-lun, probably also belongs here. It may well be understood in this connection that the *loh-shang* 落常 (HN 6, 8b) is a cosmic tree corresponding to the *Fu-sang* 扶桑 and that, moreover, this miraculous tree does not only give clothes, but that also its fruits are excellent, cf. LSCTs 14, 9a.

Conrady in *Loulan* p. 150 et sequ. has treated the geographical conception connected by the ancient Chinese with the name of K'un-lun. He, too, pointed to the fact, that since the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C. this mountain had by and by acquired all the features of the Indian *Mera*.

A consideration of the RGTh belonging to the Imperial tombs proves that this RGTh names just the components of the very same mythical landscape treated above. Neither the jewels nor the wonderful Shi-juh, neither the sweet fruits nor the miraculous trees are wanting. If wild beasts, as tiger, panther and bear, are mentioned in particular, this trait—amazing for such a paradisaean place—is cleared

up by a statement in the other descriptions of Paradise: there all animals peacefully flock together. Then the three mulberry-trees, too, must be comparable to the mythical tree. They have no branches 無枝 VII 17 and XVII 1b. In III 13a we read about them 其 (scil: 涇山) 上多金玉三桑生之其樹皆無枝其高百仞百果樹生之其下多怪蛇. "Upon it (*i. e.*, the Yuan-shan) there is much gold and jade. The three mulberry-trees bring it forth. These trees are without branches. They are 100 jen in height. The Hundred-fruited-trees bring them forth. Under them are many strange snakes."

A hundred jen in height and without branches was also said of the Kien-tree; so the Kien-tree and the san-sang belong together. The predicate "hundred-fruited" becomes intelligible from the Indian and Persian Tradition, cf. table V, and so the 百果 and 百發 of the RGTh also become clear.

Of the hundred fruits north of the Shang-shan and above the Tou-pond, all gods are eating, LSCTs 14, 9a 常山之北投淵之上有百果焉羣帝所食. Hence follows another correspondence to the Kien-tree, from which the gods are taking medicinal herbs, *i. e.*, the herb of immortality. If the 甘檀 LSCTs 14, 9b is also a tree of immortality, cf. p. V, we have one more evidence of the above mentioned fact, that a mythical feature often is multiplied\*.

To the scenery around the emperors' tombs belongs also the Fan-forest. After what has been said before, it cannot surprise us to find this forest near the K'un-lun, for this, we know, is the same scene. In VIII 18 the forest is encircled by islands 州環之下. In the north-western sea, that is not far from the K'un-lun, it is found after the commentary to the passage quoted by I-hing from Ku K'ai-chi Ki-meng-ki 顧愷之啓蒙記: "Fan-forest is undulating on the crest of the waves" 汎林鼓于浪巔. The definite number 300 li proves that the same forest is meant. It grows in the north-western sea and floats above the earth. The roots of the trees follow the surge of the waves. 西北海有汎林或方三百里或百里皆生海中浮土上樹根隨浪鼓動.

The water-encircled Fan-forest near the K'un-lun is comparable to the Fan-t'ung 樊桐 (HN 4, 3b), both showing the same peculiarities.

\* See: Danzel in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXI 434.



The different mode of writing Fan does not matter, beside 汎, 汎 and 范 we find also 板松 cf. PWYF 37 上 34b. I cannot see a direct correspondence in Indian tradition. The floating forest in the true history of Lukianos, however, probably goes back to a good old tradition. We cannot decide in this place whether the conception of the floating forest is originating from that of a grove of the Blessed, which in many legends is surrounded by a water difficult to be crossed. Certainly again of Indian origin is the bamboo-forest of Ti-Tsun 帝俊竹林 near the Fu-yu-shan XVII 1a and the great bamboo 尋竹 near the Yoh-shan XVII 5b. As a ship can be built from the bamboo growing there, this bamboo equals the Kichaka-reed by the aid of which the Blessed cross the Śailoda.

The attributes belonging as a whole to the Kien-tree—as to the jambū—have developed into all sorts of separate beings. So it can no more be doubted that the 不死樹 has been thus split off. The same must be stated for the 不死之藥 at the K'un-lun XI 5b/6a and for all jewel-trees, sweet flowers and fruits. That sweet Cha 甘祖 and the Red Tree 朱木 belong to this group proves the identity of both trees, cf. p. IV/VI which grow in the same places and resemble each other so much; this fact is proved once more by the series: Jambū = Red Tree (cf. Grünwedel, *Die Mythologie des Buddhismus* etc. p. 227) = 朱木 = 甘祖 = Sweet-Fruit-Tree = Kien-tree = Jambū. The plant Chi 芝, too, is of the same kind, it is the herb of immortality, the goal of so many travellers, the herb for which expeditions were sent out by Ts'in-shi-huang-ti (cf. Shi-ki 6, 22a; 28,36a) and by many others after him. Once it grew at the emperor's court, and to the passage in Shi-ki 28,36a (MH III 508) saying that it was radiant, that it had nine stalks and meant peace to the earth needs no further explanation.

The term "outer world" (Außenwelt) is used by comparative mythology from the time of J. G. von Hahn. It comprises all that is beyond our world, that realm in which things are coming to pass in another way than in real life, and for which the names of Paradise and Hades, the Isle of the Blessed and land of cocagne, are but variants, which by way of comparison may all be traced back to one and the same original conception.

Conrady in his "Indischer Einfluß in China im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr." ZDMG LX p. 343/44 dares only to suspect that the Isles

of the Blessed, as found in Chinese literature, must be considered as imported from India. His arguments, however, are convincing to such a degree that all my statements can only be regarded as a confirmation. In the researches about the world-tree we had to enter into particulars about Iranian tradition. Besides other conceptions, important to later Buddhism, as *e. g.* the cult of Avalokiteśvara and the idea of Amitābha, the Sukhāvatīparadise too, is nowadays traced back to Iran by several scholars, especially by Grünwedel in *Alt-Kutscha*; cf. Haas in *OLZ* 1921 col. 107. Ernst Boecklen has gathered the materials about the Iranian Paradise (*Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen und der persischen Eschatologie* p. 136 ff.), and W. Bousset proved the influence of these and kindred Iranian ideas upon Judaism, (*Die Religion des Judentums* p. 156 ff.)<sup>1</sup>. The Indian and Persian legends of Paradise certainly are kindred, or rather: they are common to both countries. How far on the other hand they go back to Babylonian tradition (*Epic of Gilgamesh*) has not been decided yet. The shaping of the legend in China, however, is Indian. Traits of such pregnancy as that of the soft water and the cloth-yielding tree, are not found in Persia as far as I can see. It is a decisive fact, however, that the earliest mention of the Isles of the Blessed in China, *i. e.* in *Lieh-tze* 5, 3 a/b is linking them to the Indian narration of the world-bearing turtle. Considering the importation into China—most intense since the 4<sup>th</sup> century—of other products of Indian civilisation, whereof I hope to furnish evidence just by means of the SHK, we can take it for granted that the "outer world" in the SHK originates from India and that the passages of the book treating of the outer world cannot have been created earlier than in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Whether also Persian influence is to be taken into account, whether a preceding Persian influence was modified by the Indian one, or the Indian influence was intensified by the kindred Persian one—these are questions the answering of which requires a much broader basis than given in the SHK.

<sup>1</sup> The possible objections raised by orthodox literati against the dependency of the canonical SHK on western ideas must have a certain resemblance to those of Scheftelowitz (*Die altperische Religion und das Judentum*) against Boecklen and Bousset, which R. Koltzenstein duly refuted in "*Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*" p. 115.





## The Row of Good Things (see Table VI)

熊羆. Bear and grizzly bear. Always mentioned together in SHK.

文虎. Spotted tiger. Whether 文 is nothing but an adorning epithet, or whether a special kind of tigers is meant *i. e.*, perhaps a kind with especially beautiful and regular design, cannot be ascertained. In the RGTh 虎 occurs also without 文 (13, 14, 18). 文虎 are in the attendance of Si-wang-mu, Shi-yi-ki 拾遺記, quoted PWYF 37 下 25 a (and that beside 文豹 which are also mentioned in Hou-han-shu with the East-I 東夷 (see 85 (75) 7 a), which seems to confirm our second supposition). The fact (mentioned Hou-han-shu 輿服志, 上 3 b) that the 文虎 together with dragons were used as an ornament with the gala-coach, also points to some extraordinary feature in these tigers. Erkes l. c. n. 168 explains 二文虎 in the H.N.-commentary 4, 7 b as "twin-striped tigers, *i. e.*, such as have only two stripes instead of the sign 王 at their foreheads". This is a mistake, as evident from the occurring of 文虎 (3) as here, *i. e.*, without 二 preceding, and from the commentary being but a paraphrase of IX 8, where 二大虎 stands, and where the Po-wu-chi 2, 1 a has 兩虎, while VIII 9 stands 兩文虎.

蜺 *lei*. V 36 a we find 多援蜺 at the 高山. Tze-tien 3. 蜺 gives the pronunciation *wei*, as it is said to be also in Erh-ya. There we find the following description of the animals: 卵鼻而長尾 "nose turned upwards and long tail" (HTKK 522, 13 a/b). The commentary elaborates on this: „They resemble monkeys; are yellow and black. The tail is several feet long and like that of the otter, forked at the end. The nose is turned upwards. When it rains, they hang themselves on to a tree and stop up their noses with their tails. 蜺似獼猴黃黑色尾長數尺似獼末有岐鼻露向上兩即目懸於樹以尾塞鼻. As another pronunciation, the commentary mentions *yu* 餘 (in Ling-ling-hien, Yung-chou, Hu-nan and Nan-k'ang-fu in Kiang-si), *wei* (K'ien-p'ing-hien, Kuang-têh-chou, Ngan-hui) and *yu* 余 救切. *Wei* is also given in the Shi-ki-commentary 117, 202 (= Ts'ien-han-shu 57(27) 11b), where 蜺 occurs beside 獼 *hiok*, a large kind of monkey, and 飛鼯 probably the flying dog. The pronunciation *yu* corresponds with that of 猯, thus the connection 援蜺 in V 36 a corresponds with 援猯, comp. HN 17, 8 a and the seventh of the 九歌: 援猯猯兮猯夜鳴. . . (after this, Pfizmayer's translation (Das Li-sao und die neun Gesänge p. 31<sup>1</sup>): "Der Affe schickt den leisen Schrei, durch die Nacht hört seine Stimme" must

<sup>1</sup> Denkschr. K. Akad. Wissensch., phil.-hist. Klasse III, Wien 1852.

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be corrected), Giles' Dict. has for 狻 "Gibbon." Another pronunciation is *lei* 方軌切音墨, as given by Tze-tien for Chou-li 20, 15 a = Biot I 474 (虎彝雌彝). The *lei* at these libation-vessels is to symbolize either the rain, or—as the tiger—strength, wisdom. We have here again the combination tiger-*lei*, and we shall have to read *lei*. It is not impossible that here and in Chou-li *lei* is meant for another animal, not the monkey, as may be inferred from the various pronunciations and from the use of that animal in SHK beside beasts of prey, as in Chou-li beside the tiger<sup>1</sup>.

離朱, 離俞 *li-shu*. The statements in the commentary to VI 24 木名也見莊子今圖作赤鳥 are incongruent and probably not from one writer. With Chuang-tze 4 (8) 22, 3 (8) 6a, 4 (10) 13b, 5 (12) 32 離朱 is the name of an especially sharp-sighted man in antiquity, and with Lieh-tze 5, 4b he is said not to see—in spite of his sharp-sightedness—the tiny Tsiao-ming, 焦螟, that have room in the corner of a midge's eye. Mêng-tze 4, 1, 1 = Ch. Cl. II 288, he is called 離婁. Translations, dictionaries and the Tze-tien s. 婁 have the pronunciation *li-leu* for Mêng-tze and *li-shu* for Lieh-tze and Chuang-tze. In (13) and (14) 俞 stands for 朱 used elsewhere. We may therefore suppose that the pronunciation of these three writings was entirely or nearly alike. 俞 may after Tze-tien also be read *shu*, and 朱 in the name of the place 朱提 is equal to *shu*, cf. Tze-tien s. 朱. 朱 is of the same phonetic value *shu* in a number of characters, and thus it is highly probable that 數 in Mêng-tze is also to be read *li-shu*. This proper noun has no room in the RGTh, we could rather, with the commentator, think of a tree. Shi-ki 117, 7a we find 葉離朱楊, but 朱楊 belongs together (赤葉楊). 離 is also in other places the name of a plant: either a wild pear (山梨也; 楊 is the same word) or a water plant. Li-sao v. 81 has a 江離, which the commentary interprets as 蘼蕪 *mi-wu*, a fragrant water-plant, just as Shi-ki 117, 5b. But 離婁 seems also to mean a kind of tree: PWYF 26 下 35 quotes from 西京雜記 (a work of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Wylie, p. 151) the following passage: 上林苑 十樹十株. Finally Couvreur has 離婁 *li-lu* sculpté à jour, and Palladius: 離婁 *li-leu*, "рѣзба отчетливая" = minute carving. The meaning in SHK must therefore remain uncertain.

觀肉 *shi-juh*. Shi-juh looks—according to Kuoh—like a bovine animal and has the gift to furnish food without limit. Such animals of which one may cut out a piece, that grows again the next day, are known to Shen-i-king and Poh-wuh-chi, which latter finds them in the Kingdom

<sup>1</sup> Yang-cheng-sho-king 卷首上 38a shows on the libation-vessel the representation of an ape with a forked tail.

of Yüeh-sui 越 藩 國 in Yün-nan. With the Yüeh-chi they are called Jih-kih 日 及; cf. O. Franke, *Das alte Ta-hia der Chinesen* O.Z. VIII 117, note 3; also Schlegel, *Ouranographie chinoise* 792/3. Forke in his explanations L.c. 141 is quite amiss.

吁咽 *hu-yen* is apparently not mentioned in any other work; I-hing identifies it with

虛交 *hu-kiao*, of which as little is known. May be that

牙交 *ya-kiao* in (9) is the same.

鴞久 *sh'ü-kiu*. One of the many names given to the owl 鴞 is v.l. for 鷗; Shuo-wên has 鷗 舊; cf. Tze-tien s. 舊.

遺玉 *i-yü*. Tze-tien has s. 璽 only the statement of Shuo-wên, that the *yow-gem* is the *i-yü*, but does not describe it. I-hing VIII 5 a quotes Wu-shi 吳 氏, who says that *i-yü* was the same as *hi-yü* 璽 玉 which, after Giles, is "a kind of jet described as a mineral amber of a clear black colour". Millennial amber 琥珀 becomes *hi*; cf. Pen-tsao: kang-muh, quoted by Tze-tien s. 璽.

青鳥 *t'ing-niao*. In (10) we find enumerated: 鳥 六 首. These birds with six heads are XVI 10 a described: they have a yellow breast, red legs, six heads, and are called Ch'uh-birds. 有青鳥身黃赤足六首名曰觸鳥 Tze-tien s. 鷗 knows of a kind of raven, *shuh*, hatching in mountain-caves, very small, with a red bill; also a kind of moor-duck | 瑁 *chuh-yü*. XVI 4 a/b gives as names of the 三 青 鳥: big pirol 大鷲; small pirol 小 | , and green bird 青鳥. This shows that 青鳥 in SHK does not always mean the same bird, naturally, seeing how indefinite this expression is; but may be also that these definitions try to identify mythic birds with real ones, as may be supposed more specially from XVI 10 a. With the 青鳥 in (4) correspond the 青馬 in (5), which is a mere repetition of (4); with the 三 青 鳥 in (12) the 三 青 馬 in (11). If (11) 三 驪 follows 三 青 馬 as also in (16), 馬 could have come from 鳥 in assimilation to 驪 as also 青鳥 from 青馬. Yet the green horses are also found XV 6 b in a RGTh which has not the stereotype enumeration, so that they seem not to owe their origin to a mere misreading. The 三 青 鳥 are also documented outside of the RGTh; they bring food to Si-wang-mu XII 1 a: 有三青鳥爲西王母取食 and are at the San-wei-shan II 27 a. In the Bamboo Annals, Ch. Cl. III, 1, prol. 151, Mu-wang gets as far west as where the green birds shed their feathers 西征于青鳥所解羽 which is again San-wei-shan 三 危 山. All birds are shedding their feathers in the big marsh 大澤 XI 2 a and XVII 3 b. This big marsh must be sought somewhere in the North or North East. X 6 a speaks of it near the K'ai-ti 開 題, neighbours of the Hiung-nu; XI 2 b



west of the Tung-hu 東胡; XVI 2a in the West; XVII 3b in the North. This reminds of the Feather-Sea 翰海. At the San-wei-shan only the 青鳥 throw off their feathers, which is certainly not without special meaning, especially if we consider, that the green birds with Si-wang-mu are also the three-legged ravens, Shu-ki 117, 40a. The sun-raven threw off their feathers when I shot at them, and, as ten suns, they laid waste all the land. It does not seem impossible that the notion transmitted by VIII 10 owes its origin to a well-known process, viz: to the changing of a singular phenomenon related by a myth into a lasting state. In the RGTh, the "green" birds will hardly be anything else but beautiful birds among others, as is indicated especially by (18), where beside them others are mentioned, but less characterized.

The Feather-Sea, as I may remark in parenthesis, reminds somewhat of the passage in Herodotos IV 31, where he reports of the Scythians: περί δὲ τῶν περὶ τῶν Σκύθαι λέγουσι ἀνέπλεον εἶναι τὸν ἔρα, καὶ τούτων εἴνεκα οὐκ οἶά τε οὐτε ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἡπείρου οὐτε διὰ γένει, τήνδε ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνῶμην viz: that with these feathers is meant an incessant snowstorm.

楊柳 *yang-liu*. For this, the RGTh, HN 4, 12 b, has 楊桃 where however 桃 *tiao* is but a disfiguring of 桤 (柳). It does surely not stand for the common willow, which would be out of place in this row of 異物, as the commentary to the HN passage remarks. In (17) stands 白柳 instead. Other passages giving more informations, seem to be wanting. Perhaps the high willow 高柳 in XI 2a belongs here in spite of the author's minute localizing: it stands at Hou Tsih's grave.

甘柰 *kan-cha*. After Tze-tien 柰 the pear-like fruit is sour. Couvreur translates *cha* with: azerolier (= a rosaceous plant with sour, cherry-like fruits); Giles 柰 (= 柰) explains: a sour, red fruit of the size of a cherry; a species of hawthorn (*crataegus cuneata* or *cr. pinnatifida*). Bretschneider, *Botanicum sinicum* JRAS China Br. XXV 301/2 writes: "It cannot be decided whether the *cha* was a quince or a hawthorn (*crataegus*), or perhaps another pomacea." Nor can this decision be found in SHK. This tree has a red trunk, red branches, yellow blossoms, white leaves, black fruit, according to the commentary to VIII 5a; in XV 6 b however: yellow leaves and white blossoms. The 蓋猶之山, on which it grows (XV 6 b) will be in 蓋余之國 of XIV 4b, and in 蓋山之國 the 朱木 grows, with red bark, branches and twigs, green leaves (XVI 9a). LSCTs 14, 9b speaks of the 甘柰 *kan-cha* as growing east of K'i-shan, where the green birds are 箕山之東青鳥之所, which cannot be ascertained, as there are at least 25 mountains of that name in the 18 provinces. As shown by the remark about the green birds and the

preceding mention of 白果, of which all gods eat, this is the same tree. The botanic species of this Lu-tree is hardly ascertainable. Couvreur thinks of the olive, Giles; of the sumac, adding under No. 7398 of his Dict: | 木 or 黃 | *Rhus cotinus* L., | 橘 *Eriobotrya japonica*, 楊 | a species of *Dievilla* or *Weigela*, found in Japan. May be 權 is only a mistaken 權. For neither hawthorns nor quinces, nor olives, nor sumac-fruit is meant, but an attempt is made at approaching the tree of Sweet Dew, the tree of Immortality to some well-known real tree.

珠樹 Pearl-tree, growing (?) and HN4, 3a on the K'un-lun, where it is also placed by VI 11: ("above the Red Water"), the leaves being pearls, its appearance like that of a cypress 柏 or (v. l.) like the broom-bamboo 筴, which Kuoh mistakes for a comet 彗星.

文玉樹 *wen-yü-shu*, tree of the figured Jade, of the coloured gems (comm. to XI 5 b: 五彩玉樹). 文玉 is found on the 長留之山 II 25 b,

玕珎樹 *yü-k'i-tree*. In the RGTh HN 4, 3a, 璚 *suan*-tree stands instead. HN 4, 6a is the Sün-yi-k'i of I-wu-lü 醫毋闕之珣玕珎 "the Beauty of the East." Evidently the one *sün-(suan)-yü-k'i* has divided into two trees: *sün-yü-k'i* is supposed to be an l-word (cf. Laufer, Jade, p. 108). Conrady thinks also the *suan-ki-yü* 璚璚玉 in Shu-king 2, 1, 5 Ch. CL III, 1, 33 to be "mass requisites of Sün-ki-stone" (or: *suan-ki-yü*). *Suan* 璚 is also used by itself, cf. Tze-tien s.v. In the 璚璚 (17) and (19) it is supposed not to equal the 璚璚璚, being also documented alone: Shu-king 1, 11, 9, 2 = Ch. CL IV, 1, 203 and Tso-chuan, Ch. CL V, 401/4 璚璚, where 璚 *Plung* is to designate an especially beautiful shape of the jewel. But 璚 is also pronounced *suan*, cf. Tze-tien s.v. 璚玉 occurs V 25a. 璚 also can stand alone, cf. Shu-king 3, 1, 52 = Ch. CL III, 1, 116. A 珣玕珎 is found, after Shuo-wên, among the crown-jewels of the Chou. The coincidence of forms like: *sün-yü-k'i*, *yü-k'i*, *suan-ki*, *suan-kuei*, *ki*, *kuei*, *suan-yü* makes it seem probable, that a foreign word was divided into what are components for the Chinese. Yet, it cannot be said which kind of jewel is meant.

璚珣 *lang-kan*. A precious stone, cf. Erkes l. c. n. 74, Hirth, China and the Roman Orient p. 129. Another passage is found in Kuan-tze 23, 26a: as treasures of the 昆侖之虛 (here a people) in a row of 四夷—beside 吳越, 朝鮮, 鬲氏) are mentioned the precious stones 璚琳瑁玕.

碧 *pi* and 璚 *yau*, two gems cf. Erkes l. c. n. 76/77.

柏樹 *poh-shu*, the cypress.

秩樹 *chih-shu*. An indefinable tree. 秩 means to arrange, to classify.

一秩 a space of 10 years. It reminds us of the calendar-tree.

木禾 "treecorn," cf. Erkes l. c. n. 71.



朱木 *Red-tree*, having red branches, green leaves, dark fruit, XV 5 b; bark, branches and trunk are red, the leaves green: XVI 9a.

赤樹 *Red-tree*, cf. 朱木 and 甘祖.

梃木 *ling-muh*. 梃 generally means twig, stick, staff; cf. *Mêng-tze* 1, 1, 4, 2 Ch. Cl. II, 133. In (9) it is said to be the *Sian-tree*.

蛟 *kiao*. A four-legged dragon without horns, hairy under the throat.

蝮蛇 *fu-snake*, a venomous snake in South China, cf. *Chao-hun* V. 17.

誦鳥 *sung-bird*, otherwise not known.

鷹 *ying* and 賈 *ku* two quite common names for birds of prey.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF CLAN SETTLEMENT IN ANCIENT CHINA I

Phratry Yen-Ying-Ki I  
(Shao-hao)

By GUSTAV HALOUN

(Continued from page 111)

§ 5. Up to the present this investigation has been occupied with Shao-hao as a cosmological figure, but has shown at the same time that besides the cosmological component parts Shao-hao unites in himself another one, partly legendary partly historical which is evolved from his character as progenitor of a clan.

In accordance with this, six of the eleven cognomens of Shao-hao were shown to be cosmological and explained by means of various functions in the cosmological system; Shao-hao himself, then Ts'ing and Ts'ing-yang, Peh Ti, Kin-t'ien-shi and Chu-sūan. This list exhausts the cognomens which are directly cosmological. If we now turn our attention to the remainder, they seem to emphasize the value of the name Chih<sup>1</sup> as the nucleus for the further formation of the name.

\* 鑒 should be transcribed thus, taking into consideration the passage already quoted from Chou-shu 6 (56), 11 2: 乃命少昊清司馬鳥師以正五帝之官故名曰質. 質 and 鑒 are taken as equivalent by Lo Pi, HK 7, 12: 少昊... 名質是爲鑒 and K'iao K'ao is it: 質鑒同, as well as by I Hsing in Shao-tai-king 14, 1b: 質鑒聲相近. Now as a matter of fact 鑒 in the phonetic form chi' (脂利切) is substituted for 質 (chi'), but both actually stand for 贊 (chi'), which already forms the transition in the written characters, but in its meaning is hardly sufficient for an explanation of the Chou-shu passage (執物以爲相見之禮也與贊質通, Tse-tien 2, v. 鑒). We might expect "He who sets things to right", "He who completes", "He who is perfect", meanings which could also be derived for 贊 (Tse-tien:



Chih is identified with Shao-hao in the Tso-chuan (Ch. Cl. V, p. 666/667) by the ruler of T'an who considers himself the former's descendant (我高祖少皞皞), further in the Ts'HSu 21/II, 13a, TWSuK 2, 1a, in the BA (Ch. Cl. III/Prol., p. 110), by Kuoh Poh in the Commentary to the Shan-hai-king 14, 1b, by Lo Pi, HK 7, 1a, and by Liu Shu, Tung-kien wai-ki 1/1, 35b. There is already a variant to this name in the Chou-shu (贊, v. p. 587, note 1). Of these passages that in the Tso-chuan which is dated 525 B. C. and the considerably older one in the Chou-shu are among the very oldest mentioned at all.

This fact is of the greatest importance for the further course of the investigation, because here is at last an ancient proof of a name of Shao-hao which is not the result of cosmological functions but which, according to what has been asserted above, can be assumed to be the name of the progenitor of the clan, which name was (only secondarily) fused with that of the ruler of the corners of the world.—At the same time a new problem arises, for besides Ti Chih Shao-hao we find another Ti Chih inserted into the genealogical system who is given as the son of Ti K'uh and brother as well as predecessor of Yao; i. e., he is no longer inserted in cosmological surroundings (cf. § 3).

Those who know Ti Chih as the son of Ti K'uh and brother of Yao are:—the Shi-pen (v. M. H. I, p. 40, n. 4), the Ta Tai Li-chi (7 [63], 11b), the Shi-ki (M. H. I, p. 41—42), the Ts'HSu (20, 10a, 11b), the TWSuK (2, 2b, 3a—b), one of the glosses of the BA (Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 111)<sup>1</sup>, Lo Pi (HK 9/II, 18, 19b; v. l. 夢), the Tung-kien

正也, 成也, cf. 信也 and 鵠正 | 皆在侯中也) but with the sound *chih* (之 日 切, 職 日 切). It must therefore have been absolute for the Chou-shu [cf. the definition of 贊: 名實不爽曰 | in the lexicon of the posthumous names 6 (54), 8b; opposite (i. e. 9a) 名與實爽曰謬] and must also stand for 皞, which as a matter of fact should be pronounced *Chih* if a family name (姓) (Tse-tien: 又 姓 - - 職 日 切 音 贊).

<sup>1</sup> The primary gloss to Ti K'uh—Kao-sin, in contradiction to the primary gloss of the Yao story (l. c., p. 112) which connects Yao directly with Kao-sin and at variance with the principal text which only knows Ti Chih once, i. e., as Shao-hao, Chavannes (M. H. III, p. 659, n. 1), however, in his notes to the Tso-chuan, Chao 8 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 621, 23) has shown that this passage presupposes a chronology corresponding to that in the BA which reckoned nine years for the reign of Ti Chih, son of Ti K'uh; i. e., it must have known him as belonging to the order of "Emperors."—The passage is

kang-muh (de Mailla-Grosier, *Histoire générale de la Chine* I, p. 37); at the same time they all know him as the predecessor of Ti Yao (with the exception of the Shi-pen fragment and the Ta Tai Li-ki, which in this case have to be supplemented<sup>1</sup>).—These sources fall into two groups according to their relation to Shao-hao. When maintaining the equation Shao-hao=Chih, the (Ti) Chih is counted as two in: the BA (Ch. Cl. III/Prol., p. 110 and 111)<sup>2</sup>, the TWSHk (2, 1a and 3a—b) as well as the HK (7, 1a; 9/II, 19b); to these must be added the Ts'HSk and the Tung-kien kang-muh, both of which know Ti Shao-hao as well as the Ti Chih=the son of Ti K'uh, without assigning the name Chih to Shao-hao (Ts'HSk 20, 7b and 11b; de Mailla-Grosier, *Histoire générale de la Chine* I, p. 29 ff., 42 ff.)<sup>3</sup>. Finally all the works of this group know the equation Shao-hao=son of Huang Ti=Ts'ing-yang (not expressed in the Tung-kien kang-muh, but to be assumed) and therefore belong to the system which is designated in § 3A as system B.—The other group is made up of the Shi-pen, the Ta Tai Li-ki and the Shi-ki; these works know Ti Chih merely as the son of Ti K'uh and brother of Yao; the Shi-ki also knows him as the predecessor of this emperor which in the case of the Ta Tai Li-ki and the Shi-pen may be supplemented accordingly without hesitation; on the other hand they do not know Ti Shao-hao but only Ts'ing-yang as the son of Huang Ti who did not ascend the throne; *i. e.*, they represent System C.

On the face of it, it is improbable that Ti Chih should be found twice in the group of "emperors" which is so very limited in number, the more so since he is only known once to the one genealogical

interesting as the oldest proof of the drawing up of a chronology of the ancient rulers of the corners of the world. Dated 534, it foretells the fall of Ch'en in a year shun-ho, and at the same time that shortly before this the T'ien family in Ts'i would obtain the direction of the state. The fall of Ch'en did, in fact, take place in the very year shun-ho 478 (Ngai 17), the coup d'état of Ch'en Ch'eng-tse—T'ien Ch'ang happened in 481.—The prophecy as that in Chao 9 [Ch. Cl. V, p. 624/26, 533 B.C.: The reestablishment of Ch'en within five years (took place indeed in 529) and the final overthrow 52 (11) years later (=478)] and that in Chuang 22 [Ch. Cl. V, p. 102/103] a vaticinium ex eventu, falls within the 5th century B.C. (the coup d'état of T'ien Ho in 386 being still unknown). Chao 8 gives a year shun-ho as the year of the death of Chuan-hü (i. e., it refers to 2218 B.C.).

<sup>1</sup> In this valuation of the sources, the experiences of a minute investigation of the genealogical system in § 19 (cf. § 4) have been turned to good account.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.*, with the restrictions of note 1 on the previous page.



system. Besides Ti Chih=Shao-hao is placed in pure cosmological surroundings, while Ti Chih=son of Ti K'uh is no longer to be found in cosmological surroundings. Now we know that Shao-hao unites cosmological and historical characteristics in his person; on the other hand the investigation of the san-huang—wu-ti orders has shown that no fundamental scruple stands in the way of the detachment of Ts'ing-yang-Shao-hao from his genealogical relation to Huang Ti, should this prove necessary for the historical personality Shao-hao—Ti Chih is evidently the name of the mythical historical progenitor of the clan —, since *this* position of Shao-hao is the result of a cosmological function [*i. e.*, this position of Shao-hao arose through a descent of space on the part of the rulers of the corners of the world and is in no wise the result of history]. Thus it seems necessary to investigate whether in the two Ti Chih's we really have to deal with two personalities.—If it should make the identity of both probable, then it would be necessary to establish on a firm basis the dissolution of the unity Shao-hao—Ti Chih in the genealogical system.

Now Ti Chih occurs in the lists of emperors dependent on both system **B** and system **C** merely as the son of Ti K'uh, so that we must commence here making the group Shi-pen—Ta Tai Li-ki—Shi-ki the starting point. Here the conditions are less complicated, since the equation Ti Chih=Shao-hao is not present.

Before everything else the fact is established that Ti Chih is not reckoned among the wu-ti of these works, although he is designated as ti and ruling years are assigned to him. Ch. 7 (62) of the Ta Tai Li-ki (=Ch. 5 [23] of the Kia-yü) gives the wu-ti order as Huang Ti, Chuan-hü, Ti K'uh, Ti Yao, Ti Shun and Yü; we find the correct order of the system, without Yü (cf. § 5 A), in the 13<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Shi-ki (M. H. III, p. 2—3) and in the Shi-pen (Shi-ki-cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 1, 1 a). Ti Chih should not even appear in the order of the wu-ti, as he destroys their number of five. In any case together with Ts'ing-yang—Shao-hao we have found in him, in those systems which depend on **C**, a second "emperor" who appears in the "order of the emperors" without being counted among the "emperors."

At any rate, from Kao-sin to Shun the order of the ti no longer possesses originally cosmological equivalents (cf. § 3 E) and must therefore have an inner structure other than the order of their

"predecessors." First of all we might be inclined to interpret the order as an historical one and from that deduce for Ti Chih that his temporal insertion opposite Ti K'uh or Ti Yao has been the result of historical conditions, and was afterwards maintained when his surroundings were pressed into a cosmological scheme, at any rate, not consistently, since a cosmological equivalent has been found for him (Shao-hao—Ts'ing-yang). But it will be necessary to examine the whole of this complex problem especially the type of the orders of the rulers, before the rulers of the corners of the world—clan heroes took their places as "emperors" at the head of "history."

§ 5 A. *Yü in the Ti order: the system of the nine rulers:* Yü as the sixth person disturbs the system of the "Five Emperors" and as a matter of fact should be eliminated from the Ta Tai Li-ki order, since the corresponding orders of the Shi-pen and the Shi-ki do not know him. After all, the fact that he is reckoned among the wu-ti in the Ta Tai Li-ki might be ascribed to the influence of an order, which knew Yü (or K'ü) among the 帝, i. e., it connected him with Shun outside the Hsia dynasty, traces of which we are still just able to recognise.

The curious order in Lieh-tze 2, 16a (Wilhelm, p. 26): Pao-hi, Nü-kua, Shen-nung, Hsi-hou-shi points in this direction, and we find further in Huai-nan-tze, 15, 1b the following scheme: Huang Ti, Chuan-hüh, Yao, Shun and K'ü.

In this case there might also once have been an order of nine "emperors" in China, which consisted of the 3 huang, the 5 ti and Yü. Actually the 九主 of the Shi-ki 3, 3a (M. H. 1, p. 179) are divided up<sup>1</sup> in this way by Sze-ma Cheng while the 九皇 of Hoh-kuan-tze [1 (4), 7a, 2 (10), 16a, b; 2 (11), 21b] afford at least an indirect indication of its existence<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hsi-hou-shi is a title which can be given to Yü just as well as to K'ü. If in this case, Yü can take the place of K'ü, then in another K'ü can take the place of an old Yü; he appears in the text as the opponent of the ruler of Ho and it is just the battle of Kan, as is well known, which is ascribed sometimes to Yü and sometimes to K'ü.

<sup>2</sup> Sze-ma Cheng's analysis makes a much better impression than that of Liu Hsiang who interprets the "nine rulers" as "nine kinds of ruler", so to say, and altogether works it out to a classification of the rulers: 法君, 勞君, 等君, 授君, 專君, 破君, 寄君, 固君, 三歲社君 (v. Chavannes, M. H. 1, p. 179, n. 1). Nevertheless, Liu Hsiang has a predecessor already in Kuan-tze, who in Ch. 17 (52) gives the following order of 七主 ("rulers of seven kinds") 申主, 惠君, 役君, 芒君, 勞君, 振君, 芒君.

<sup>3</sup> Hoh-kuan-tze's conclusions on Ch'eng-king-shih in ch. 2 (9) advise caution. But if the nine 主 of Sze-ma Cheng's conception are not the nine huang of Hoh-



The system of the nine corners of the world has been preserved in the *Lü-shi ch'un-t'ü* 13, 1b-2a together with an order of the colours belonging to them; viz. in the Centre: the potter (*i. e.*, the creator-) heaven 鈞天<sup>1, 2</sup>; East: azure heavens, 蒼 |; North-east: the changing (*i. e.*, variegated) h. 變 |; North: black h. 玄 |; North-west, dark h. 幽 |; West: white h. 額 |; South-west: vermillion h., 朱 |; South: fire h., 炎 |; South-east: light h., 陽天.

This colour system can of course not have been original<sup>3</sup>. But another has been preserved for us through Hing Ping (quoted by K'iao K'o in the commentary to HK 7, 2a: cf. commentary to HHSb 3, 11A s. v. 三微); he transmits the following equations: Nü-kua—white, Shen-nung—red, Huang Ti—black, Shao-hao—white, Kao-sin—red, Kao-yang—black, T'ao-t'ang—white, Vo Yü—red. It is perfectly clear that this order of eight must be increased to an order of nine through the link "Yü—black." Since we know the close relationship between 3 and 9 (both lunar numbers) through other traditions, the association of a three colour system with the scheme of nine corners of the earth must also be the original one here. Moreover it might be noticed that the division of the Kingdom into nine provinces (*chou*) is ascribed to this very Yü<sup>4</sup>. The influence of the order of the nine rulers of the corners of the earth on the formation of the sequence of clan-heroes-emperors has been mentioned in § 31 and may be worked out elsewhere.

§ 6. What then is the position of Ti Chih's descent from Ti K'uh? Four wives are ascribed to the latter and by them four sons

kuan-tze, but rather the nine brothers of the 天皇, 地 | and 人 | are meant, who to-day rank at the head of the system after Pan Ku (old in the *Ch'un-t'ü-wei*, quoted in the commentary to Hoh-kuan-tze 1 (4), 7 a and in the FWVF s. v. 天皇), then they cannot be otherwise than a primitive cosmological order of nine of the rulers of the (corners of the) earth; if the order is to be valued from the historical genealogical point of view, it must be interpreted as Sze-ma Cheng has done; as in the same way the 天皇, 地 | and 人 | and the 五龍 of the later system which follows them, form a duplicate to the 三皇五帝 as from the other side do the 三王五伯 (霸).

<sup>1</sup> For the term cf. Wen-tze (9), 21 b and Chuang-tze 9, 8 b (天均).

<sup>2</sup> 天=方 Heaven is to be taken as one of the corners of the earth.

<sup>3</sup> The variants which have been collected by Yen Shi-kü in the Commentary to Ts'ü Sh 25/3, 9 b (s. v. 九天) are of no value, while the colour order of the 九宮 (Mayers p. 362) is still more lamentable than that of the *Lü-shi ch'un-t'ü*.

<sup>4</sup> The astrological interpretations of the order of nine were already corrupt in very ancient times, *v. g.*, in the 九紀 of the Chou-shu 3 (28), 9 b [constellations and seasons (四): 辰, 宿, 日, 月, 春, 夏, 秋, 冬, 歲; further orders of nine with moral interpretations are to be found *v. g.*, 4 (38), 4 b ff.

are derived from him:—Hou Tsih K'i, the progenitor of the Chou; Sieh, the progenitor of the Shang; and the two "emperors" Yao and Chih (v. Shi-pen in M. H. L. p. 40, n. 4; Ta Tai Li-ki 7 (63), 11b; Shi-ki M. H. L. p. 40; Ts'HSu 20, 9b—10a; TWSuK 2, 2b, 3a; HK 9/1, 6b, 9/II, 13b—14a, 18a; these works are representative of the different varieties of the genealogical system).

It must, however, be mentioned that this genealogical scheme should not be assumed to be directly historical without any further examination: the preponderating position which is given here to the progenitor of the Chou forces this reservation. We can approach this investigation better equipped and therefore with hope of success, because these sons of Ti K'uh are somewhat sharply delineated figures being at the least representatives of groups which can be conceived historically and whose mutual relations, postulated, can be checked by material which has not been subjected to the tendencies of the genealogical orders, namely through the results of historical geographical research.

§ 7. Of these four groups which, according to the genealogical system, are brought into genetical connection with Ti K'uh, that of only one of them, the Shang, is borne out by these results.

Ti K'uh's "residence," Poh, may it be the western town, or, what is more probable, the southern Poh, in the neighbourhood of which the place name Kao-sin is to be found to this very day, and his grave were near Tun-k'iu in recognised Shang territory near or in the capitals of the Shang Kings; i. e., the centres of the "kingdom" of Ti K'uh were identical with those of the Shang kingdom (viz. the older kingdom).

*Poh as the residence of Kao-sin.* Huang-fu Mi (TWSuK 2, 3a; 4, 7a, 8a) and the Ho-nan Tung-chi in T'ShTsCh' VI, 427/1, 2b, decide in favour of the western Poh; it corresponded, as is well known, to the modern Yen-shi, Ho-nan-fu, and in fact the place lay 20 li west of the modern town; the Yen-shi-hien-chi (T'ShTsCh' VI, 438, 12b) even believes it possible to give a near-indication of Ti K'uh—Kao-sin's capital by identifying it with the village Kao (高 莊), which is five li west of the town. Lo Pi (HK 9/1, 6a, cf. KMK 內, 28b) defends the southern Poh; this town lay within the district of the modern Kuei-teh-fu, whose place of administration is called Shang-k'iu to this very day, and which was built on the site of



the capital of Sung, the state which traced its antecedents back to the Shang<sup>1</sup>. This is 45 (or better 40) li southeast of Shang-k'iu—Kuei-teh [not east as given by Chavannes in M. H. I, p. 176, n. 3]; this means that it is equivalent to the old Kuh-shuh (founded as hien by the Tung Han and dissolved by the Yüan: v. T'ShTsCh' VI, 391/I, 2a-b; 396/III, 1a-2a).

Furthermore the place Kao-sin is to be found here, which Lo Pi (KMK 丙, 28b) knows as 鎮, the local chronicles as 里 (T'ShTsCh' VI, 395/II, 1b; 396/III, 23a: Kuei-teh-fu-chi) and the WCh' map as 集, and which is given by Lo Pi as being 45 li southwest of Kuh-shuh<sup>2</sup>.—In this town are to be found a temple (built 973)<sup>3</sup>, a grave of Ti K'uh (T'ShTsCh' VI 395/II, 1b; 396/III, 23a) and an old temple of the tutelary god of Shang-k'iu (T'ShTsCh' VI, 395/II, 4b)<sup>4</sup>. Another temple of Ti K'uh lies by the "magic well" (雷井) 40 li south of Kuei-teh (T'ShTsCh' VI, 391/III, 3a), a Sin-shan (辛山) 3 li to the south of Kuei-teh (T'ShTsCh' VI, 391/III, 1a; this may possibly be identical with the 商邱 (hill) mentioned above), while another grave of Ti K'uh, according to local tradition (世傳), lies 20 li northeast of Sui (T'ShTsCh' VI, 396/III, 30a; cf. 391/III, 18b, s. v. 帝丘).

*Ti K'uh's Grave.* Besides the two graves near Kuei-teh mentioned above, which are not generally recognised, this grave is supposed to be situated in old Tun-k'iu-hien (inhabited about 1070, T'ShTsCh' VI, 133/I, 3b-4a), whose seat of administration, according to Chih-li-t'ung-chi and Ts'ing-feng-hien-chi, was originally (Tun-k'iu I) situated 5 li northwest and later (Tk' II) 50 li southwest of the present Ts'ing-feng, Ta-ming-fu, Chih-li<sup>5</sup>. According to this it is sought for to the south of Tun-k'iu by the older authors and in the older writings [Huang-lan chung-mu-ki, quoted in Shi-ki t'ui-kie to Shi-ki 1, 10a (M. H. I, p. 41, n. 3); Huang-fu Mih TWSHK 2, 2b, the full quotation, however, in Shui-king-chu 9, 22a; Kuoh Poh in

<sup>1</sup> Old Sung lay south of the modern town, at the foot of the north side of the hill Shang-k'iu: T'ShTsCh' VI, 396/III, 1b; 391/III, 1a.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Fr. map the distances amount to as follows:—Gai-dé-fu—Gau-hsin-dai 22 km, Gai-dé-fu—Go-schu 19 km, Go-schu—Gau-hsin-dai 25 km. The distances have been measured as the crow flies, as will be the case in future when reference is made to the Fr. map.

<sup>3</sup> The dates of the construction of temples always refer to the present day building.

<sup>4</sup> Thus the place itself was once called Shang-k'iu!

<sup>5</sup> The hien Ts'ing-feng was established in 770; the Tang city lay 18 li northwest and the Sung city 5 li southwest of the present town: T'ShTsCh' I, c., and VI, 142, 8b-9b. Perhaps a place which lies 15 li southwest of Ts'ing-feng called 古城 (T'ShTsCh' VI, 142, 9b) might be taken into account for Tun-k'iu (Tk' III); its position with regard to the Ti K'uh grave would correspond more closely than that of Tun-k'iu I to the conditions given by the Tsin authors.

the commentary to Shan-hai-king 6, 6a; the oldest passage, Pan Ku in the Peh-hu-t'ung, quoted by Lin Chao in the commentary to KKCh, 3, 2a s. v. 頤丘, gives no direction, but as regards style it agrees with the others just mentioned); the later authors seek it northwest resp. north of that town (Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi, quoted by K'iao K'ö in the commentary to HK 9/1, 6a; local chronicles: see below). The exact position can be determined with a very slight error of calculation by means of the position of the Ti K'uh grave in relation to the Tih (Ts'iu?)-shan<sup>2</sup>—it is supposed to lie on the north side<sup>3</sup>—which is given as 35 li northwest of Tun-k'iu (Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi loc. cit.; T'ShTsCh' VI, 133/IV, 7b). Thus, according to the only possible calculation from Tk' II, it approaches somewhere the immediate neighbourhood of the Fu-yü (Wu-yü, Fu-li?)-shan<sup>3</sup>, on the southern slope of which is the well known grave of Chuan-hüih, and the position of which is determined in the local chronicles as 30 li northwest of Tun-k'iu, 30 li northwest of K'ai and 70 li northwest (in reality northeast!) of Hua (T'ShTsCh' VI, 133/IV, 7b—8a). But probably the Tih (Ts'iu?)-shan should be identified altogether with the Fu-yü (Wu-yü, Fu-li?), Huang-fu Mih indicates Ti K'uh's grave in Kuang-yang-li (TWSHK 2, 2b) and in Kuang-yang-li the grave of Chuan-hüih is also given (TWSHK 2, 2a; the statement also to be found in HK 8, 6b and according to commentary to it in the Huang-lan-chung-mu-ki and in the Ts'ien Chao luh); but the name Kuang-yang-shan has been handed down for the Fu-yü besides the name Shang-k'iu (I); Kuang-yang as the name of a mountain is already known in the Ts'ien Chao luh and the identity of both burial mountains is pronounced in the T'ang shih-tao-chi, quoted by K'iao K'ö, commentary to HK 8, 6b, as well as in the Chih-li-t'ung-chi and the Hua-hien-chi, quoted T'ShTsCh' VI, 133/IV, 7b—8a.—The Ti K'uh grave was known by sight to the T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-ki and the Yüan-feng kiu-yüih-chi (cf. commentary to HK 9/1, 6a); nothing can be gathered from the local chronicles about the present state of preservation.

§ 8. The position is different regarding the remaining groups: the geographical material either does not support the postulated

<sup>1</sup> Shan-hai-king 6, 6a writes 狄山, HK 9/1, 6a and the local chronicles 狄山: one of these ways of writing is certainly wrong, probably 狄.

<sup>2</sup> Only Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi different: 秋山, 35 li northwest and the grave 30 li north Tun-k'iu.

<sup>3</sup> 附禺, 鰐鰐, 鰐魚, 務隅, 務鰐, 鰐鰐: cf. Shan-hai-king 8, 4b—5a; 13, 4a—b; 17, 1a; T'ShTsCh' VI, 133/IV, 7b—8a; on the other hand 頤 in the s. l. 務 | HK 8, 6b must undoubtedly be a printing mistake.



relationship, or excludes it altogether unless it even makes counter-evidence possible.

First of all with regard to the Chou, the genealogy as handed down is absolutely untenable; the list of descendants is insufficient for according to it Wen-wang is the successor of Kao-sin already in the 15<sup>th</sup> generation.

Shi-ki ch. 4 and 13 (M. H. I. p. 209 ff.; III, p. 6-7) gives the first complete preserved list of ancestors: Kao-sin (Ti K'uk), Hou Ts'ih. Puh-choh [P'iau<ui>-t'i'at<t-], K'ih [K'ink], Kung Liu [Kung Liəu], K'ing-tsieh [K'ing<tsiet], Huang-p'uh [t'w'ang<g'-b'uok], Ts'e-fuh' [t'ɕ'i-pjuet], Hui-yü [X'ie<a-in<d-], Kung Fei [Kung Pj'ei], Kao-yü [Kau'ngi'o], Ya-yü [A'<g-ngi'o], Kung Shuh-tsu-lei (Tsu-lei [Tsu-o-lj'i]); T'ai-kung Tsu-kan-chu-chou [Tsu-o-kām'-t'si'o<t--d'iau<d'-g]; Shi-pen quoted Sze-ma Cheng to Shi-ki 4, 32; Huang-fu Mih TWSHK 5, 102), Ku Kung Tan-fu [Tān-b'ü], Ki-lik [Kji'liek] (Wang Ki), Ch'ang [T'siang<t'-] (Wen-wang).—Previous to the Shi-ki the passages in Kuoh-yü 3 (Chou 3), 7b and 202 prove that the number of the ancestors of the Chou (from Hou Ts'ih to Wen-wang 15) was already firmly established in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B. C. (the first passage is dated 550 and the second 510 B. C.)

Attempts have not been lacking to increase by a few links this list of rulers, which was also unsatisfactory for Chinese historians. Before anything else the full names<sup>1</sup> given by the Shi-pen (Shi-ki-tsih-kie and Shi-ki soh-yin to the Shi-ki 4, 2b-3a) of Kung Fei, Kao-yü, Ya-yü and Shuh-tsu-lei, namely:—Kung Fei Pih-fang [Kung Pj'ei piāk-pi'ang], Kao-yü Hou Mou [Kau'ngi'o t'au<g'-mieu], Ya-yü Yün-tu [A'<g-ngi'o Jiuən<g--tuə], and Tsu-kan-chu-chou have been the point of attack of such a desire. While Huang-fu Mih TWSHK 5, 12 still takes Pih-fang and Yün-tu (Hou Mou not transmitted) as honorary names (字) of Kung Fei and Ya-yü, Pan Ku on the other hand, Ts'HSK 202-b, makes Pih-fang the son of Kung Fei, 1-sze [K'D.—d'ɕ'i] (instead of Hou Mou 夷 緄—倭 伴), the son of Kao-yü and Yün-tu the brother of Ya-yü; and therefore has two generations more<sup>2</sup>; Lo Pi HK 9/1, 8b is consistent throughout and divides Tsu-kan-chu-chou into Shuh-tsu-kan—Tsu-lei, son of Yün-tu and Chu-chou, son of the former and like T'ai-kung, father of Ku-kung Tan-fu; besides

<sup>1</sup> For the transcription of 不窋 cf. n. p. 598, 1, for that of 姜 in 弗 v. n. p. 597, 2.

<sup>2</sup> That is their most obvious interpretation, the correctness of which, moreover, is shown by the uncertainty of the historian's analysis (see below) where it is used. These names are probably not Chinese!

<sup>3</sup> The BA primary gloss to Wu-wang (Ch. Cl. 111/prol p. 142) presupposes this if it reckons 13 generations from Kung Liu to Ki-lik.

this he accepts out of a legendary genealogy from the *Shan-hai-king* 16, 2a (T'ai(Lai?)-kien<sup>1</sup> as the son of Hou Tsih and Shuk-kün (ostensibly = T'ien-tsu) as the son of the former and so gets 3 generations more than Pan Ku and 3 more than the Shi-ki list. But it goes without saying that even after taking into consideration these more than doubtful operations, the number remains quite insufficient.

If we leave Hou Tsih, Pu-choh (see below), Tan-fu and the latter's successors out of the question, from all historical works of the first millennium B. C. only the BA mention people of the Chou ancestral order: Kao-yü Wu-yü 15 and Ch'eng 7, Ya-yü P'an-keng 19, Tsu-kan Tsu-kiah 13 (Ch. Cl. III/Prol., p. 133, 135, 136, 146), and Kao-yü besides in Kuoh-yü 4 (Lu 1), 7a<sup>2</sup>.

But what weighs much more heavily is the fact that the early history of the Chou shows the gravest internal contradictions. It is not right to take a people as a unity which has three heroes of civilisation in its ancestral order as the Chou have: Hou Tsih, Kung Liu and Tan-fu (for this special character of the figures named cf. Shi-king-Odes 3, 1, 3; 3, 1, 7, 2; 3, 2, 1; 3, 2, 6; Ch. Cl. IV, p. 437 f., 449-450, 463 ff., 483 ff.; cf. further Shu-king 3, 3, 5, Ch. Cl. III, p. 311/19; i. e., it is already established in the oldest written and at the same time fixed in a very old and in fact sacred tradition). To these we could add a fourth, Pu-choh<sup>3</sup>, who mentioned in the Kuoh-yü 1 (Chou 1), 26-32a

<sup>1</sup> 蔡 留; for the transcription of 蔡 see p. 618 note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Since the v. l. of the names of the Chou predecessors are of importance, I am giving herewith those known to me; in HK I. c. K'ü-pao (yao?) is given for the simple K'ü (but could be misunderstood through a mistake in writing to represent 蔡 (pao, yao?) for 蔡 (k'ü); also Kuoh-yü ming-tao-pen-k'ao-I, 1, 17 b), Wei-yü (僞 陰) Ng'w'c<2—w'c<2 for Hui-yü (毀 | 'Xj'w'c<2—j'c<2; according to Kuoh-yü ming-tao-pen-k'ao-I 1, 17 = 僞 陰 is the form for Shi-pen), Fuh-ts'e for Ts'e-fuh: this is probably only a writing mistake, such as often occur in Lo Pi through the reversal of the characters (with Wei Chao in the commentary to Kuoh-yü 3 [Chou 3], 7 b K'iang-fuh 羌 弗 for 姜 | could quite well be a similar mistake; according to Yen Shi-kun in the commentary to Ts'HSu 29, 19 a, 姜 in | 弗 should be read 楚 宜 反 i. e., Ts'e—T'ü). I find K'ing-pu 慶 誦 as a variant of K'ing-tai-ch | 節 (the former the name of a minister of Ch'eng T'ang according to Yü-h-tse) in the Chub-shu t'ang-tien from an unknown source and I k'ü 雷 岐 for I-ao 雷 岐 of the Ts'HSu in K'iao K'ao's commentary to HK I. c.

<sup>3</sup> 不 窋. Chavannes remarks in M. H. J., p. 211, n. 5: "le caractère 窋 est indiqué par le Kang-hi tsu-tien comme se prononçant 窋, c'est-à-dire Tschou". This reference, it is true, is in the Tsu-tien, but according to the latter is not valid for the pronunciation of 窋 in 不 | which comes much more under the pronunciation



(quoted Shi-ki=M. H. I, p. 254) and Tso-chuan Wen 2 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 232/34)<sup>1</sup> is after all very old<sup>2</sup>. Our historical experience has taught us that it is highly improbable that an agricultural people could have been "barbarianised" (made nomads?) three times in the course of a thousand years, thus taking to the plough four times in all.

The only possibility of overcoming this contradiction, in my opinion, is, as it often is, the substitution of a horizontal organisation for a vertical one; *i. e.* to destroy the sequence in time of the heroes of civilisation and to change it into connection through space—or breaking up the Chou people of tradition into four primitive tribes, each of which individually effected the change to agriculture and presumably at different times; the particular persons who brought civilisation to each tribe, were brought within a fixed temporal relation to each other (in which actual circumstances, a later connection with the principal people, may have played their part) and thus they could be included in the history of the whole people. This explanation may be taken as valid if it can be shown that the four heroes of civilisation are only connected with particular parts of the ancient Chou territory.

This evidence can be traced and shows the most satisfactory results<sup>3</sup>. In fact the results are such that they prove that the alleged first ancestor of the Chou, the son of Ti K'uh, Hou Tsih himself, was taken over from an alien population and is the hero of

張清切音 𪛗 resp. 張刮切, *i. e.*, it is to be pronounced Choh (t'wāt). Giles (No. 6272) simply gives the pronunciation k'u\* (=k'ut) as the only one of the character, but this cannot be proved from the Tse-tien; 𪛗-k'uh can only arise as the result of the substitution of characters for 𪛗 (k'ut) (𪛗 occurs as a printer's error in Legge's text of the BA, Ch. Cl. III, Prolog. p. 121; Legge transcribes Puh-f'uh which could be a second printer's error for Puh-k'uh, Ch. Cl. V, p. 234, correctly Puh-chesh; Chuh-shu t'ung-t'ien 3, 15 a as well as the Tso-chuan text print correctly 𪛗; in Chuh-shu t'ung-t'ien commentary L<sub>04</sub>, however, the printer's error is found twice).

<sup>1</sup> The K'uei-yü passage originates in a speech which is supposed to have been delivered before the advance of Mah-wang against the K'uan-jung, *i. e.*, 990?/951 B. C. (cf. also M. H. I, p. 311—12); the Tso-chuan passage is dated 625 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Even for Wen-wang we notice tendencies to such a function; *i. e.*, deeds generally ascribed to Tan-fu are also assigned to him; Shi-king 3, 1, 7, 6 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 453 to 454) 度其鮮原居岐之陽在謂之將.

Taking all in all, I am not at all inclined to regard Tan-fu as an authenticated historical personality.

<sup>3</sup> See below pp. 600-623 the appendix on the genealogy of the Chou.

civilisation (agriculture) of a group of the Kiang clan; and that this is the group which as the direct predecessors of the Chou, ruled over the western part of the Wei-Valley Plains (the T'ai kingdom), the oldest possession of the Chou in China proper. The Chou, related to these Kiang (the wife of Tan-fu was of their race) under Tan-fu seized the former's land; and it can only have taken place after the surrender of the kingdom of Pin *i. e.*, (according to the current tradition) in the third generation before Wu-wang, the founder of the dynasty, that Hou Tsih was included in the genealogical tree.

But if it could be shown that the Chou genealogy was influenced by political motives (the relationship on the maternal side was of little importance. Maternal right must not, however, be presupposed; as otherwise the Chou would have had to change their genealogical tree each time a king married), it will no longer appear daring to explain the connection of Hou Tsih with Ti K'uh as due to the same motive. This explanation is in fact imperative, because the Kiang genetically can have absolutely nothing to do with the ancestor of the Tse clan. On the other hand, the connection is sufficiently proved by the assumption that the Chou declared their (newly acquired) ancestor to be the son of the progenitor of the then legitimate dynasty, in order to show that their race was equivalent to and as well born as the Shang and thus to legitimise themselves.



## APPENDIX ON THE GENEALOGY OF THE CHOU

A. *The Problem.*

As we have already shown on pp. 597—98 the Chou possess four heroes of civilisation in their ancestral order (Hou Tsih, Puh-choh, Kung Liu & Tan-fu). A serious inner contradiction within the traditional history of their tribe follows on this statement, because we can state with a probability bordering certainty that it is historically impossible for one single people to adopt agriculture from a more primitive stage of economic organisation four times in the course of a thousand years, during which period it must have gone back to a "barbarian stage" three times.

The only possibility of reconciling the contradiction seems to be in the dissolution of the temporal sequence of the four heroes and in transforming it into a side by side in space (dependent on ethnical conditions); i. e., the division of the Chou people of tradition into four primitive tribes, each of which accomplished its transition to agriculture independently of the others and whose special bringer of civilisation we now see in the four heroes of the whole people.

Does historical-geographical investigation show that the four heroes of civilisation were at one time only attached to particular provinces of the Chou kingdom, and do historical statements exist, which contain information on the mutual relations of these provinces?<sup>\*</sup>

B. *The Extension of the Early Chou Kingdom.*

## 1. The Oldest Chou Kingdom in the Wei Valley.

In the old Chinese province, from which we must start, the oldest Chou kingdom comprised the western section of the plain of the Wei Valley, from Wu-kung in the East to Pao-ki in the West. Thither

\* This question shows that there is no intention of making an exhaustive investigation of the very problematical early history of the Chou, which until now has not been examined at all thoroughly. I am reserving this for my treatment of the Ki-Chia [姬姓]. At any rate good preliminary work will have been accomplished, if a satisfactory solution of the problem in question be found. On p. 617 I have tried to lay down the course of the lines which further investigation will follow.

under the very perceptible pressure of "barbarian" northern tribes<sup>1</sup>, the "old Duke" (ku-kung) Tan-fu starting from Pin<sup>2</sup>, passing the Liang-shan and crossing the Ts'ih & the Tsü (?) invaded and laid the foundation of the capital of his kingdom on the southern slope of the K'i-shan, on the Chou plateau<sup>3</sup>.

Liang-shan: A part of the border range of the first terrace of the Wei Valley together with the Mei-shan & K'i-shan (v. p. 662). It can be fixed by the following distances which are given: 60 li north-east of K'i-shan (city), 60 li north-east of Fu-feng, 30 li north of K'ien and 80 li south of Yung-shou (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 5b, 14a; 526/IV, 13a; 495, 23a; cf. also M. H. I, p. 214, n. 5 & II, p. 178, n. 2).

Ts'ih and Tsü: Shü Kuang (Shi-ki tsh-kie to Shi-ki 4, 3b) looks for both rivers in the old hien Tu-yang, the seat of administration of which lay not far from the present Lin-yu<sup>4</sup>. The Ts'ih, however, is the only one which can be fixed with certainty. It rises 45 li north-west of Yung-shou (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 25b incorrectly north-east), breaks through the Liang-shan to the north-west of K'ien, receives near Wu-kung its most important tributaries, the Wu-ting-ho (Tu-shui) and the Wei-shui 漳水, and flows into the Wei 河 opposite Chou-chih (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 24a, 25b); a tributary of the Heh-shui bears the same name, which also rises in the hien Yung-shou and after a northern course flows out 40 li to the east of Ch'ang-wu (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 25b, 39a). We have further proved the name of the river through the Ts'ih-hien of the Han period, which took its name from the Ts'ih-shui (TLCh I, 8b; KKCh I, 9b) and which comprised the present Yung-shou-hien, the greatest part of the Pin-chou and probably also parts of the Lin-yu-hien, while the city corresponded with the present town Pin(-chou)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> cf. Meng-tse I, 2, 5, 1; 14, 2; 15, 1 (Ch. Cl. II, p. 155 & 174 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> cf. p. 608 ff.

<sup>3</sup> cf. further Shi-king 3, 1, 3, 2—3; 3, 1, 7, 6; 4, 1, 5; 4, 2, 4, 2, (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 438, 453—54, 574, 622); Meng-tse I, 2, 5, 3; 4, 2, 1, 2 (Ch. Cl. II, p. 161—62, 316); Shi-ki 4, 3a—b (M. H. I, p. 213 ff.) & TWSK 5, 1b, 10b.

<sup>4</sup> established under the Si Han and dissolved under the Tsin. The town, the present Tu-ta'an, 40 (?) li north-east of K'i-shan (city), 90 li north (or rather north-east) of Feng-siang, T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 2b n. 8a, cf. 12b (has nothing to do with the present town of Tu-yang-p'u on the left bank of the K'ien, 7 km to the south of Lung).

<sup>5</sup> The name was changed into Sin-p'ing-hien by the Fu Ts'in, which in turn was dissolved by the Ming; near it Sin-p'ing-k'iao, established by the Tung-Han (?), dissolved by the Peh Wei, and existing again between 744 & 758. The name has been preserved in the post station Sin-p'ing which lies immediately to the west of Pin and which was built in 1372. Cf. Kuah-ü-chi (Shi-ki cheng-ügi to Shi-ki 4, 2b), TLKSh 254, 11a n. v, 圖 and T'ShTsCh' VI, 314, 15a; 491, 23a—b; 308, 30b—31a.



Both Ts'ih are thus the natural connection between Pin & T'ai' and this must have been used by Tan-fu, the more so, since the road through the valley of the King was closed by the then ruling power in the Wei Valley, the princes of Ch'ung, by means of the fortress of Ta Loh (K'uan-k'iu, Huai-li, 10 li south-east of Hing-p'ing)<sup>1</sup>.

It is difficult to determine the Tsü-shui. The only clue which I have been able to find is on the third map which is added to section 1 of T'ShTsCh' VI, 492, where Tsü(-shui) is given as the name for the Tu-shui (Wu-ting-ho), flowing from Lin-yu, without, however, finding any confirmation either in the sections on mountains and rivers in volumes 514 & 523/IV or in the WCh' map. I, therefore, consider it highly probable, in view of the fact that Ts'ih & Tsü always occur together in Shu-king (Yü-kung I, 10, 74; II, 2, 12) and Shi-king (2, 3, 6, 2; 3, 1, 3, 1; 4, 1)<sup>2</sup> that the unreal Tsü-shui has been dragged into the Shi-ki text to the real Ts'ih, all the more since the source of Sze-ma Ts'ien (Meng-tse I, 2, 15, 1; also TWSHK 5, 1 b, 10 b) only mentions the Liang-shan and not the rivers.

K'i-shan and Chou-yüan: The K'i-shan lies 50 li north-east of the town K'i-shan (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 4 b—5 a), not 90 li as K'ung Ying-tah asserts (Legge in Ch. Cl. III, p. 95; on the other hand correctly Ch. Cl. IV, p. 2; cf. also M. H. I, p. 105, n. 1; p. 132, n. 2). At its foot, 40 li north-east of the K'i-shan city lies the Chou plateau 周原 (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 7 b). The hien K'i-shan exists since the end of the Sui-period (for the former San-lung-hien, v. below), had its name changed into K'i-yang in 618, and was given its old name again in 757. The city originally lay 5 li to the north of the present Lung-wei-chien but since 634 has occupied the present site (T'ShTsCh' VI, 534/I, 2 a; 526/IV, 7 b).

City of Tan-fu: It was called K'i-chou [Chou-shu 5 (48), 7 a; BA Wu-yih 1, Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 137; Meh-tse 9 (35), 3 b; Meng-tse 4, 2, 1, 2 (Ch. Cl. II, p. 316)]. The present K'i-yang-chien; at the same the city of the San-lung-hien of the Sui, whose temples to the God of Protection and the God of Literature have been preserved to this very day. Ruins of the earthen altar and the gates mentioned in the Shi-king 3, 1, 3, 6 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 440) are still shown. A temple to T'ai-wang (renewed already in 1212 and then again in 1436 & 1450) as well as temples to K'i-lih and to Wen-wang (renovated in 1449 and 1580) are also to be found there, v. T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 5 b, 6 a; 526/IV, 6 b & 8 b.

<sup>1</sup> For the position of both cf. p. 608 ff. & p. 618 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Will be treated in detail in connection with the history of the Ts'iu.

<sup>3</sup> For the position of both these rivers cf. p. 614.

The province fell into four parts, that of the residence and of the fiefs of the "three dukes"; Kuoh in the west (right wing, front facing the K'uan-jung), Shao in the east (left wing, front facing Ch'ung) and Chou in the middle.

As regards the division of the kingdom as a whole, this must go back to the early period of Wen-wang, in as far as the first possessors of the hereditary dukedoms are concerned: certainly one of these, the second most probably, were given each to a son of Ki-lih (v. below Kuoh-shuh and Shao [K'ün] Shih); and this strict division into three also corresponds quite well with the conditions as set forth in *Shi-king* 3, 2, 6, 5 concerning Kung Lin and the Kingdom of Pin and in *Shi-king* 3, 1, 3, 4 concerning Tan-fu and the old Chou land; it was also kept intact within the army organisation of the larger outside states (e.g., Tsin or Lu) and had to be adopted again by the kings after their withdrawal from the Wei Valley (v. for example, *Tso-chuan* Huan 5, Ch. Cl. V, p. 44/45); the army organisation of the Chou kingdom when at its zenith was, however, more extensive.

(Si) Kuoh: Capital 26 km east south-east of Pao-ki on the northern bank of the Wei (Kuoh-hien from the Sui until the Yüan period; distances as given by the Pr. map, as the other references differ:—40 li north-east T'ShTsCh' VI, 524/III, 1 b; 50 li east 526/IV, 10 b; 60 li east M. H. I, p. 276, note 1; IV, p. 256, note 1)<sup>1</sup>. The Kuoh province is further made up as follows: a Kuoh-wang-chen 31 km east of Pao-ki, 20 km south-east of Feng-siang, 10 km west of K'i-shan (Pr. map, WCh' map) and a T'ao-kuoh-ch'eng on the T'ao-ch'uan, presumably the old Shao Kuoh (v. p. 605), 50 to 60 km south-east of Pao-ki (Pr. map) T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 8 a: 150 li south-east of Pao-ki in the mountains; 12 b the direction is incorrect, 526/IV, 10 b both statement of direction and of distance) already directly west of Mei, where the border of Ch'ung is reached<sup>2</sup>. The most westerly point of the immediate Chou territory (and therefore of Kuoh) is, above all, a Wen-wang-ch'eng 45 li east of the old city Wu-shan (hien of the Sui, 120 li south-east of Lung) i.e., in the valley of the K'ien (T'ShTsCh' VI 526/IV, 22 a—23 b; cf. KMK 丙, 30 b).

The first known possessor of the fief is Kuoh-shuh, a brother of Wen-wang (cf. *Shu-king* 5, 16, 12, Ch. Cl. III, p. 481, *Tso-chuan* Hi 5,

<sup>1</sup> These differences may be partly due to the different positions of the seats of administration of Pao-ki—Ch'ao-ts'ang cf. T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 11 a.

<sup>2</sup> That on the south bank of the Wei stretched somewhat more to the west than to the north bank: The Loh-kuh-shui is the most easterly river source of the K'ien (Kan?)-kou-ho, which flows into the Wei 5 li to the east of Mei; T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 19 b.



Ch. Cl. V, p. 143/45; M. H. IV, p. 268; T'ShT'sCh' VI, 524/III, 1 b; 526/IV, 10 b)<sup>1</sup>; he no longer plays any part in the history of the conquest and was probably too old or else administrator or defender of the tribal country. His successors fought with varying fortune against the K'üan-jung (BA 書 21: 書 7; Ch. Cl. III/ProI. p. 152, 153) whose pressure upon the Wei Valley had been ever increasing since the time of Muh-wang; finally, after the unlucky battle of Ts'ien-mou (789) and especially after the storming of Kiang-yih (788) and K'üan-k'iu (776) by the K'üan-jung they had to evacuate their old province. In 775 they conquered Tsiao (BA 書 7, Ch. Cl. III/ProI. p. 175) and ruled here (Nan Kuoh): to the south of the Ho the Ho Valley from the Hua-shan and the mouth of the Wei (Tso-chuan Min 2, Ch. Cl. V, p. 126/28) eastward to the west of Mien-ch'i, and the upper Loh Valley to Yung-ning-hien and west of Sung (according to Tso-chuan to Siang 14, Ch. Cl. V, p. 460/64 this must have been very sparsely peopled), and north of the Ho parts of P'ing-luh-hien and Kie-chou (this territory mixed with those of the fiefs Yu, Wei and Ju)<sup>2</sup>. Here

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes' references in M. H. I, p. 276, n. 1. and M. H. IV, p. 256, n. 1, contradict one another; in the former Si-kuoh is assigned as fief to Kuoh-shuh and in the latter to Kuoh-chung. It might be remarked that the latter opinion receives no support from the passage in Shi-ki 39, 4a (M. H. IV, p. 256); for Chavannes' interpretation of the name 魏仲 as (*le prince descendant de*) *Kuoh-chung* (and the latter thus forefather of the dukes of Nan—Si-Kuoh) cannot in my opinion be justified, and can be reduced ad absurdum through Tso-chuan 10 Chuang 21 and 22 [Ch. Cl. V, p. 99/100 & 100/101; cf. Kuoh-yü 1 (Chou 1), 10b—11a]. In this instance 魏叔 appears without any doubt as the name of the then reigning duke of Kuoh, and to translate as *le prince descendant de Kuoh-chou* would result in exactly the opposite meaning of the Shi-ki passage as that really intended. In point of fact, all the passages [Tso-chuan Huan 8 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 51/52) and BA (Ch. Cl. III/ProI. p. 163) correspond to the Shi-ki passage; in addition Tso-chuan Huan 9 & 10 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 53 & 54)] Kuoh-chung can only be taken as the name of a person then living [Legge:—*Chung of Kuoh, the brother of the duke of Kuoh, the brother of (the duke of) Kuoh*]. We know the names of three dukes of Kuoh after 722:—Ki-fu (Tao-chuan Yin 8; the 魏公 of Yin 5), Chou (Hi 5, BA Hui 19; must surely be the 公 of Chuang 26, 27, 30, 32; Min 2 & Hi 2) and Lin-fu (Huan 5); Tu Yü considers Kuoh-chung as his surname, which Tso-chuan to Huan 10 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 54) also seems to confirm; Wei Chao (Com. to Kuoh-yü l. c.) declares that Lin-fu is identical with the Kuoh-shuh of Chuang 20 & 21, Kuoh-yü 1, 10b—11a, in which case he would also have to be the 魏侯 of Chuang 16 & 18; if we accept Tu Yü's hypothesis, then we ought to recognise a duke in 公 (叔), whose name has not been preserved.

<sup>2</sup> See the demarcation of the province conquered by Tsin in the Tso-chuan Hi 15 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 164/67) and TLKSh 253, 17b a. v. 陰地 (i. e. the province formed from conquered Kuoh) as well as 253, 3a a. v. 魏略 (in addition to this KKCh I, 6a and T'ShT'sCh' VI, 429, 17a; Kuoh-shan, half a mile to the north east of Lu-shi, the Kuoh-chou of the Sei dynasty, T'ShT'sCh' VI, 427/I, 7a—b), further KKCh I, 3a, TLKSh 252, 4a (cf. 3a), KMK 戊, 1a—b. The "five cities" of Kuoh were *Shang-yung*, the

again, the line was not able to maintain for long. Threatened from the west by the remnant of the K'ian-jung who had been driven from the Wei Valley by Ts'in (battles with them 660 & 658, Tso-chuan, Ch. Cl. V, p. 126/128, 135/37; after the destruction of Kuoh, between 649 & 638, they occupied the upper Loh and I Valleys) in the summer of 658 the kingdom lost to Ts'in the province to the north of the Ho (Ch. Cl. V, p. 135/37) and in the winter of 655 it was "extinguished" by it (Ch. Cl. V, p. 143-44/45-46).—Already in 687 the remainder of the old province (Shao Kuoh, probably only the city) which had maintained in the possession of a collateral line in spite of the K'ian-jung invasion, had gone over to Ts'in and had been changed into a hien (Shi-ki, M. H. II, p. 21).

Shao: Capital the present Shao-ts'un, 8 li south-west of K'ü-shan (city) (there Shao-kung-ting T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 7 a; it lies south-east of Feng-siang, the ancient Yung, for which reason the statement of Tu Yü in TLKSh 253, 8 b and of Shen-si t'ung-chi T'ShTsCh' VI, 524/III, 1 b; 523/1, 1 a refer to it); a Shao-kung-chen [= Shao-ts'un, with footmarks of Shao-kung (Shih) and of a (ruined) sacrificial altar for the dukes (or Duke Shih?) of Shao T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 9 b; 526/IV, 12 b] 30 li north of Fu-feng (or rather north-east-north, 15 km according to the Pr. map) and a Shao-chai (宅)-chen south-east of it (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 12 b; maps to T'ShTsCh' VI, 492/II) indicate that in the main Shao comprised the centre of the old state T'ai (v. p. 618 ff.). A temple to Shao-kung Shih, of the time of the Sung, stands near the Chou-kung temple north-west of K'ü-shan (v. p. 607; T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 4 a).

southern capital [south-east of Shen TLKSh 253, 3 b; exact localisation K'iao K'o to KMK 戊, 1 b: 36 li west of Hsiao-shih-chen (70 li east of Shen, T'ShTsCh' VI, 435/1, 7 a—b, 438, 30 b, resp. 26 km east of Shen, 27 km west of Mien-ch'ü, Pr. map) south-east of the post station Ch'ang-yang; T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 38 a—b does not correspond]; in the vicinity of the old capital of T'ai (TLKSh 253, 106—112, 17 b: 2 li south of Shen), both south of the Ho; north of the Ho: Hsiao-yang, the northern capital [45 li north-east of Ping-luh, 30 li north-east of old T'ai-yang TLKSh 253, 1 b; (T'ai had already a second capital north of the Ho, 5 li north-east of Ping-luh, T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 37 b)], Hsiao (5 li south-west of Kie, TLKSh 253, 106—112; the seat of administration of the T'ai province Yin-ti; cf. Tso-chuan Wen 13, Ch. Cl. V, p. 262/63, BA Hui 19, Ch. Cl. III/Prot. p. 163 and the name of the first governor of Yin-ti 瑕(父)呂貽甥=陰貽甥—子金 in Tso-chuan III 15, Ch. Cl. V, p. 163/68—69), and Ai-shiang [18(20) li south-east of Lin-tsin, TLKSh 253, 5 b, 60 li west of Kie, on the north bank of the Su, T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 27 b and therefore—in spite of 324, 206-212—identical with Peh-kie ku-ch'eng (327—394 hien)]. For the remaining land of Kuoh cf. further TLKSh 252, 202 a, v. 玨 and 酒泉, 222 a, v. 莘 and T'ShTsCh' VI, 438, 332 a, v. 稠桑.



Duke Shih (or K'ün-shih?, posthumous name: K'ang) is the first known holder of the fief, an alleged son of Wen-wang by a concubine<sup>1</sup>, but more probably his nephew. The last duke of Shao of importance (the margraves, since 333 kings of Yen, are descended from Shao-kung Shih side by side with the former) was Duke Hu of the time of the kings Li and Sian (posthumous name Muh)<sup>2</sup>.—With the conquest of the Wei Valley by the K'üan-jung, the dukes of Shao evacuated their tribal land and settled from this time north-west of the new capital, where their fief comprised the present Yüan-k'üeh-hien (Kiang-chou, Shan-si) and the western part of the Tsü-yüan-hien (Huai-k'ing-fu, Ho-nan)<sup>3</sup>. The present Kao-loh-ch'eng (chen) on the upper course of the Peh-ts'ing-ho (39 km north-west-north of

<sup>1</sup> This statement is made by Huang-fu Mi, TWSHK 5, 6a (cf. Legge, Ch. Cl. III, p. 430). It is not very probable that one of the three most important fiefs should have been assigned to the son of a concubine and Shao is also missing in the enumeration of Wen-wang's sons to whom fiefs were given (Ch. Cl. V, p. 189/94, cf. 750/54); on the other hand, an ancient enumeration of fiefs held by the sons of Wang Ki is not known. In any case the tracing of a direct descent from Wang Ki bristles with difficulties, as Shih only dies in the fourteenth year of K'ang-wang (BA Ch. Cl. III/Prot., p. 149) i. e. 57 or 56 years after the battle of Mu-ye, in which he took his share (Chou-shu 4 (36), 2b—3a, Shi-ki M. H. I, p. 233, 236, TWSHK 5, 4a—b); i. e. too young to be a son of Wang Ki. The only way of solving the difficulty seems to me to assume that Shih was a grandson of K'ün-shih, the son of one of the sons of this king, who held a fief with Shao.

<sup>2</sup> M. H. I, p. 271 n. 2 is abortive. First of all Muh as the posthumous name of Shao-kung Ho is confirmed by the BA I 12, 14, 26 and Sün 1 & 6 (cf. also Legge, Ch. Cl. IV, p. 413, 533 & 567, as well as Tao-chuan III 24, Ch. Cl. V, p. 189/92), the only deduction to be drawn from this is that Margrave Hui of Yen in the Shi-ki 34, 2a (M. H. I, p. 135), was someone else than Duke Hu of Shao. As a matter of fact, the BA report the death of Margrave Hui in the first year of King Sün (827; the same as the succession year of margrave Hui in the Shi-ki itself), whilst Duke Muh of Shao was still taking the field against the Hsüi-ti in 822 (BA, Sün 6, Shi-king 3, 8, Ch. Cl. IV, p. 551 ff.), at the end of which he still assisted at the investiture of the count of Shen with Sieh (Sün 7th year 822, cf. Shi-king 2, 8, 3; 3, 3; 3, 5; Ch. Cl. IV, p. 413/14, 535 ff.). Finally, there can be just as little justification for speaking of a unit of the fiefs Shao and Yen as there is in the case of Lu and Chou; thus, Charvannes M. H. IV, p. 135 n. 2 has rectified his assumption.

<sup>3</sup> More exactly the province of the old Wang-wu-hien—Shao-p'ei-hien since the Tang period, a district, which was detached by the Peh Chou from the Yüan-hien (to which the Wang-wu-shan originally belonged, v. KKCh I, 5b)—corresponding to the present Yüan-k'üeh-hien, and added to the Tsü-yüan-hien by the Yüan (TLKSH 254, 8a; T'ShTsCh' VI, 307/L 16a).

At the time of the Peh Wei, this part was under a Shao-kün, which was changed into a chon by the Si Wei and which existed with a break at the Sol period (617 Shao-yüan-kün) until 627 (T'ShTsCh' VI, 307/L 16a—b). Peh-shih was the seat of administration for the Shao-kün of the Peh Wei (Ti-hing-chi, I, 19b), and also probably that of the Shao-chou (the P'ing-yang-fu-chi is insufficient here) and lay, (since the Peh Chou



Yüan-k'ü; Pr. map), from the quotation from the Wen-hien-t'ung-k'ao in T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 51 a-b, seems to have been an important place of Shao; the centre lay north-east of Yüan-k'ü (60 li according to the KMK 戊, 36 b-37 a; the plateau of Shao 邵原 in the western part of the Tsi-yüan-hien: here was situated the old Wang-wu-hien, which was renamed Shao-peh-hien by the T'ang (the city itself 80 li west of Tsi-yüan, T'ShTsCh' VI, 421/IV, 7 a), the pass of Shao-yüan (120 li west of Tsi-yüan according to TLKSh 254, 8 a; 25 km according to the Pr. map, 39 km north-east of Yüan-k'ü) and to the west of it a temple to Shao K'ang kung (according to K'iao K'o to KMK 庚, 35 li to the west of the Wang-wu-shan, which in its turn is situated 100 li west of Tsi-yüan, T'ShTsCh' VI, 418/IV, 4 b)<sup>1</sup>.

The dukes of Shao must have lost the feudal tenure over this province in the seventh century: already in 660 (*i. e.*, one year after the conquest of Hing) a tribe of the red Tih is reported as being in Kao-loh (Tso-chuan Min 2, Ch. Cl V, p. 127/30; better than the localisation in TLKSh 252, 23 a), in 621 P'i (100 li west of Tsi-yüan, TLKSh 253, 13 b, 254, 5 a) is mentioned as belonging to Tsin (Tso-chuan Wen 6; Ch. Cl V, p. 243/45), in 572 Chu-hu-k'iu (Tso-chuan Siang 1, Ch. Cl V, p. 412/13; = Yang-hu-ch'eng, not quite 1 li south of Yüan-k'ü, on the north bank of the Ho, west of the mouth of the Ts'ing-shui (Poh-ts'ing-ho) TLKSh 254, 1 a; T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 51 b) and in 519 Shao itself (Tso-chuan Siang 23, Ch. Cl V, p. 498/502). Since Shao, P'i and Hu-k'iu do not belong to that part of the domain which was ceded to Tsin in 635 (Tso-chuan Hi 25, Ch. Cl V, p. 194/96), Tsin must have conquered them during its battles with the Tih, while the latter had already driven the Shao out of the province. The Dukes of Shao play an important part at the royal court for some time to come, but their last estates cannot be established (but cf. p. 608, n. 2; like the counts of Yüan, they may have remained as ground-lords in their old province, which politically was subject to Tsin).

Chou: Capital Chou-ch'eng, which is not identical with K'ü-chou but which lies 15 li north-west of K'ü-shan(city) at the foot of the Feng-huang-shan (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 6 b-7 a; a temple to Chou-kung Tan was built there between 618 & 626, T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 5 a, 525/III, 6 b; another temple in K'ü-shan itself and a third on the northern slope of the Feng-huang, 30 li north-west of K'ü-shan, T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 6 b)<sup>2</sup>.

Poh-ch'eng) 15 li north-west of the present Yüan-kü (T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 51 a, & 30 b well as 307/I, 16 a).

<sup>1</sup> T'ShTsCh' VI, 421/IV, 7 a & 420/III, 5 b knows only of a 邵 west of the town Wang-wu, without giving the distance.

<sup>2</sup> A distinction must be drawn between this Chou-ch'eng and the hien Chou-ch'eng of the Peh Wei, which comprised the southern part of the present K'ü-shan-hien and



The oldest known holder of the fief is Chou-kung Tan (Chou Wen-kung), a son of Wen-wang. The old fief continued with his successors, the dukes of Chou, likewise until the K'üan-jung invasion (v. Legge, Ch. Cl. IV, p. 2; Chavannes M. H. IV, p. 133, n. 1, & 100, n. 2)<sup>1</sup>. They also lost their territory in the Wei Valley in 771, and since then established themselves in the royal domain in Ho-nan (cf. Tso-chuan Yin 6, Ch. Cl. V, p. 20/21). They, however, did not evolve as a sovereign vassal state as were Kuoh and Shao (even Kiang Yung cannot give any information: TLKSh 252, 7 a). They must, after all, have had their real property here: a retainer seems to be, for example, in I (cf. Tso-chuan Chuang 18, Ch. Cl. V, p. 94/95; site unknown TLKSh 252, 19 a, 253, 13 b). This, however, is so remarkable in one of the highest dignitaries of the crown, that the assumption hardly seems to be too daring, namely:—they had the administration of the capital as an hereditary fief, as one or two things seem to suggest<sup>2</sup>.

## 2. The Kingdom of Pin.

The Shi-king 3, 2; 6 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 483 ff.) gives information about the size and extension of the kingdom of Pin at the time of Kung

at times Mei-hien, and the seat of administration of which lay south of the city K'ü-shan T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 8 b; 523/I, 3 b.

<sup>1</sup> The Tso-chuan passage mentioned here does not occur under Hi 25 as Chavannes remarks, but to the 24th year Ch. Cl. V, p. 189/92; the deductions in M. H. I, p. 271, n. 2, concerning the relations of Chou and Lu are untenable.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Chou-kung Tan was governor of the eastern capital (deeds of investiture Shu-king 5, 15, Ch. Cl. III, p. 434 ff.) and according to the BA (Ch'eng 11, Ch. Cl. III/Proh. p. 146) his office devolved on to his son P'ing, the second duke of Chou [and in fact during the life-time of his father who was then very old. P'ing is this man's posthumous name and investigations should be made to ascertain whether Duke P'ing was not the Kün Ch'en of Shu-king 5, 21, which opinion *v. g.* Shen Yoh has held; Cheng Hsün already (who did not know the BA) considers Kün Ch'en as a son of Chou-kung Tan, and although Legge (Ch. Cl. III, p. 538) dissents from this opinion on otherwise obvious grounds, he, nevertheless, has not made use of the BA passage in his argument]. At any rate, the office of the governor of the east country went over to the duke of Pin in the time of K'ang-wang (deeds of investiture Shu-king 5, 24, Ch. Cl. III, p. 568 ff.)—and under Shün-wang Prince To-fu (Count Hsün of Cheng) is its holder (BA, Sün 22, Ch. Cl. III/Proh. p. 156); but before the catastrophe of 771, the latter conquered a province for himself to the east of the later royal domain (legally Count Chuang was the first to be immediate) and with it Ch'eng-chou became free once more. According to Ho-nan-fu-chi, T'ShTsCh' VI, 427/I, 6 b Sung-hien would be considered as domain or spanage (聽訟之處) of the Dukes of Chou in the eastern royal domain; in 638, they would have lost their domain to the Lü-hün, a remainder of the K'üan-jung. My arguments do not seem affected by this. The same source (l. c. 427/I, 4a) attributes the hien I-yang to the Shao.

Liu: the capital was always situated on the Pin plateau, which together with the Huang and Kuo Valleys formed the nucleus of the kingdom; the valley of the Jui is described as the last province to be added.

The Pin Plateau & Capital of the Kingdom: The 京師之野 of stanza 3 is shown north of the present city of San-shui (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 19 b), which lies on a Pin-shan itself (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 30 b). The extensive ruins in the valley of Pin, 5 li to the east of San-shui (stretching 8 li east and west and 3 li north and south), are supposed to comprise the remains of the city of Kung Liu; they also include the ruins of the old city of San-shui, founded by the Han (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 19 b to 20 a (with reference to the T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-ki); KMK 丙, 29 a; TLKSh 254, 11a). Close by—and this is important because we have the same conditions in the oldest Chou country—there is a second Pin Valley with a second city 30 li west (Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi in the Chuh-shu t'ung-tsien Com. to 5, 15 b; Legge in Ch. Cl. IV, p. 2 note to 1, 1, 1), more exactly south-west (Lo Pi in KMK 1. c.), of San-shui, 30 li east (or rather north-east) of the present Pin(-chou) (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 27 a)<sup>1</sup>.

Huang & Kuo: Both branch valleys of the Wen-liang-ho, a tributary of the Pin-shui<sup>2</sup>, on which lies the city of San-shui; the Kuo Valley is, like the Liang-k'ü-ch'uan, a parallel river to the Pin-shui, which flows into the Wen-liang south-west of Chang-hung-chen (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 33 b), and the Huang Valley (or Chi-t'ung-ch'uan) is a parallel valley of the Ch'ü-sü-ch'uan, containing a source of the Wen-liang, 30 li north of San-shui (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 33 b).

The Jui-shui: It rises west of Hua-ting, passes Ch'ung-sin and flows near the city King(-chou) into the King (river) (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 27 b; 551/IV, 8 b, 13 a; 552/I, 1 b, 2 b, 3 a; cf. also 514, 14 b). T'ShTsCh' VI, 553/III, 2 a notes a temple to Kung Liu on the Feng-shan, north of Ch'ung-sin (cf. 551/IV, 5 b; a well of K'ang-wang in the city Ch'ung-sin 551/IV,

<sup>1</sup> Cheng Hsiao and Tu Yü TLKSh. 1. c. and Sâ Kuang in the Shi-ki tsü-kie to Shi-ki 4, 2b refer to it; Chavannes in M. E. L. p. 213, n. 2 and de Groot in „Die Hunnen der vorchr. Zeit“ p. 4, unfortunately do not notice Sâ Kuang's statement, but follow the Kuoh-ü-chi, which alone out of all the sources (or its abstract in the Shi-ki cheng-ü) gives an incorrect and incorrect localisation. The seat of administration of the present Pin-chou corresponds to the old Ts'ü(h)-hien and must be sharply distinguished from Old-Pin [cf. for example Tsün-shu 14/I, 27 b—28 a; here the Sin-p'ing-kün comprises 漆縣 and 汾邑 | (for 鄆 | )].

<sup>2</sup> 汎水; it is, of course, the old name of the country (關, 鄆), which is hidden in the name of the river; the sign is missing in Giles and the pronunciation pab which is given by Couvreur as a standard pronunciation is not confirmed by the Tse-tien for our name.—彼銀切, 府巾切, 悲巾切音鄆.



8 b). A sanctuary for Kung Liu in the Ch'ang-wu-hien tides over the transition (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 33 a).

Whereas the nucleus, the core, of the province is covered by the present hien San-shui or the river basin of the Pin-shui and the Wu-lung-ho, the whole province embraced the river system of the King, commencing with a line south-east of P'ing-liang, running east till north-west of Shun-hua, the spot where the King breaks through the upper terrace of the Wei Valley.

Valley of the Wu-lung-ho: The Wu-lung-ho or the Wu-lung-kuh-shui (Pr. map, WCh' map) is also called Kiang-yüan-shui (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 37 a and map to 492/II). The grave of Kung Liu and a sacrificial altar (祠) to him are mentioned as 30 li south of San-shui, 80 li east of Pin-chou (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 19 b, gives it as lying in 古公鄉 (I, 516, 26 b 二陵村 is given, 504, 31 a 杜陵村; the locality must be corresponding to the 姜娘鎮 of the WCh' map) show that this province belonged within the very narrowest domain of Pin.

Western Border of Pin (Barbarian states on the western border).

This is rather difficult to draw, because, although the expansion of the Pin kingdom was directed to the west (Jui Valley), it also set in motion the strongest counter pressure, and later on we find the old Chou country overrun with "barbarians", the Mih(-si), Wu-chi and Chu-no.

a) The Chu-no<sup>2</sup>: The most westerly of these tribes. The extent of their tribal land may be comprised by the hien Chu-no, which was established under the Si Han and (for a time broken up by the Peh-Wei) re-named P'ing-liang-hien by the Sui (at the present day the seat of administration of the fu of the same name); it originally consisted of the present districts Hua-ting-hien (for the most part), Tsing-ning-chou, P'ing-liang-hien (temporarily next to a King-yang-hien under the Si Han), Lung-teh-hien (first established under the Kin), Hui-p'ing-ch'uan-ting and the southern portion of Ku-yüan-chou, i. e., the south-west part of P'ing-liang-fu, the upper course of the King, the Ku-shui and the Ts'ing-shui and their tributaries, above all of the Jui<sup>1</sup>. The Hien city lay 15 li south-east of P'ing-liang (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 1 b; 553/III, 1 b; the temple is all that remains).—The name, however, has been preserved to this very day: in the name of a small market town Tung Chu-no shi, with a sacrificial altar (祠) 90 li north-west

<sup>1</sup> 朝 should be read as Chu here; Tse-tien s. v., 追離切音株; Chavannes' transcription: Tchao-no in M. H. II, p. 477, IV, 441 is therefore incorrect (cf. also Ying Shao in the Commentary to TLCh II, 3 b and Shao-h-wen in the Tse-tien s. v. 那).

<sup>2</sup> Shan-si Tung-chi in T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 1 b, 2 b, 4 b, 5 b.



of Ling-t'ai, probably in the valley of the P'an-k'ou-ho (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 16 b), in the name of a second Chu-no temple 10 li north-west of Hua-ting (T'ShTsCh' VI, 553/III, 4 b), in that of a third some 3 li east of King(-chou) (l. c. 7 a), in a Chu-no-shan 75 li west of Hua-ting (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/IV, 11 a), in the name of three ponds, two of which lie in Ku-yüan-chou, 40 li south-west and south-east of the city respectively (l. c. 17 b-18 a), the third some 90 li north of Hua-ting (l. c. 12 a, cf. 11 a) and in a ditch near King(-chou) (l. c. 20 a). In the east, therefore, local memories stretch the extent of the hien somewhat; the western and northern boundaries could be specified by the "long wall" of the Ts'in, the course of which being given as 10 li north-west of Ku-yüan and 60 li north-west of Lung-teh (T'ShTsCh' VI, 555/I, 11 a, 20 b; the Hui-ning-hien lies outside: 557/I, 4 a). This wall was built by the Ts'in after the overthrow of the Ngî-k'ü (between 327 & 310) and it is therefore not at all improbable that the Chu-no stood in some sort of near relationship with the Ngî-k'ü.

b) The Wu-chi: The same condition is much more probable with this tribe; the Kuah-ti-chi (quoted in the Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 110, 4 b) states that they were overthrown by King Hui of Ts'in, i. e., probably in one of the expeditions against the Ngî-k'ü kingdom in 327 or 315. But as Shi-ki 110, 4 b, as well as the T'SHSh 94 b (on the other hand not HHSh 87, 2 b<sup>1</sup>) reckon the Wu-chi with the Ngî-k'ü, the relations of dependancy mentioned above can only have been very vague<sup>2</sup>. The province of the Wu-chi comprised the present King-chou and extended in the west in the Jui Valley over Ch'ung-sin to the eastern part of the Hua-ting-hien; that, at least, is the extent of the later hien Wu-chi, which was established by the Si Han and dissolved by the Ts'in (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 2 b; 551/I, 14 a). The Hien city lay south-east of King(-chou), 30 li east of the old

<sup>1</sup> Generally written 烏氏; 氏 according to Yen Shi-ka's commentary to T'SHSh 94, 2 b and to TLCh II, 3 b and according to Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 110, 4 b should be read like 支, therefore chi, which is confirmed by the 枝, as it is written in the KKCh V, 3 b; 氏 instead of 氏 (Ts'in-shu 14/I 17 b and T'ShTsCh' VI, 555/I, 14 a) could quite well be the result of a printer's error (analogous 月氏 instead of 氏).

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the Kuah-ti-chi does not include King-chou 涇州, the province of the Wu-chi (v. above), among the possessions of the Ngî-k'ü tribe, as Chavannes M. II, II, p. 56 n. 1 mentions, but next to Ning-chou also K'ing-chou 慶州, i. e., the present K'ing-yang-fu, and that in both passages where it is quoted in the Shi-ki cheng-ngi (to Shi-ki 5, 20 a and 110, 4 b). The commentary to Chub-sha t'ung-tai'en 6, 8 b gives a fuller quotation, namely Yüan-chou besides Ning-chou and K'ing-chou; i. e., the present Chen-yüan-hien and Ku-yüan-chou (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 3 a-b). Whether de Groot's references in "Die Hanen der vorchr. Zeit" p. 22 go back to a variant of the text is not clear (from his very arbitrary transcription, all the more since the Kuah-ti-chi edition of Sun Sing-yen was not at my disposal).



Ngan-ting(-hien), which in its turn lay again 5 li north of the modern King(-chou), (Kuah-ti-chi in the Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 110, 4b; T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I 14a).<sup>1</sup>

c) The Mih-sü<sup>2</sup>: The most easterly of these tribes; their province included the south-eastern extremity of P'ing-liang-fu, the course of the Heh-shui and (part) of the P'an-k'ou-ho, i. e., for the most part the modern Ling-t'ai-hien (Ta Ts'ing Yih-t'ung-chi and Shen-si-t'ung-chi in T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/IV, 1a, KMK 甲, 30b, and Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi ibid.) The capital corresponded to the hien city Yin-mih of the Si Han<sup>3</sup>, 50 li west of Ling-t'ai, the modern Peh-li chen (TLKSh 254, 20a; T'ShTsCh' VI, 555/I, 15b; according to the Pr. map it lies 19 km to the west, in the Heh-shui Valley, at which point a pass goes down into the Wei Valley<sup>4</sup>; the west boundary is marked by the San-nü-ch'uan which contains the right source

<sup>1</sup> De Groot's localisation in "Die Hunnen der vorchr. Zeit" p. 22 is typical of the carelessness of his geographical references and may therefore be treated more fully: the Ngan-ting-hien of the Kuah-ti-chi is not identical with the modern Ngan-ting-hien in the K'ang-ch'ang-fu. Kan-ah, which is much later (the Sung first built Ting-si-ch'eng here, which was raised to Ting-si-hien by the Kin and later to Ting-si-chou; Ting-si-chou was not renamed Ngan-ting-chou until this was done by the Yüan, which again was changed by the Ming to Ngan-ting-hien); Tang-ch'ang-fu-chi T'ShTsCh' VI, 557/I, 3b-4a, but with King-chou; the Si Han already built a Ngan-ting-hien here which was inhabited by the Tung Han (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 14a, v. 涇川廢縣—at the same time a kün Ngan-ting, the seat of administration of which was not however Ngan-ting-t'ien) but Kao-p'ing (i. e. the present Chen-yüan, T'ShTsCh' VI, 555/I, 9b, and later was transferred to Lin-king by the Tsin (2 li west of Chen-yüan, l. c. 8b) and to P'an-yüan by the Peh Wei (40 li east of P'ing-liang, l. c. ibid.); the kün was dissolved by the Sui, but established again in 605 instead of King-chou and at the same time the old Ngan-ting-hien was brought into use once more. The Tang dissolved the kün once again (742-757 it was only existing in part, but the hien Ngan-ting remained intact until 757 (Shen-si t'ung-chi T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 1a, 3b-4a). This contemporary Ngan-ting, of course, is meant in the Kuah-ti-chi. The old city lay 5 li north of the modern King(-chou) which lies south of the King(-ho) ever since the Ming period (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 14a v. 保定古城).

<sup>2</sup> Mih-sü is the full name, Mih the abbreviation.

<sup>3</sup> TLCh II, 3b, cf. commentary (Ying Shao); Wei Chao to Kuoh-yü 1 (Chou II, 4b; Tu Yü in TLKSh 254, 20a; Shi-ki mih-k'ie to Shi-ki 4, 6a and 20b; Yin-mih-hien was dissolved by the Tung Han and made into the Yih-p'an-hien (KKCh V, 5a) which was dissolved of itself in 518 and added to the Shun-ku-hien; its name was ultimately changed in 743 into Ling-t'ai-hien (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 4a-b; 555/I, 6a; the statements of the Kuah-ti-chi in the Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 4, 6a and 20b and of the Kuah-ti-sing to K'iao K'ao to KMK 甲, 30b refer to Shun-ku-hien).

<sup>4</sup> The grave of Duke K'ang of Mih, a contemporary of Kung-wang is found in Peh-li chen, T'ShTsCh' VI, 555/I, 15b; 23b (here the direction is incorrect); cf. also M.H.I, p. 265, n. 6.









of the P'an-k'ou-ho, near which the tale of Kuoh-yü 1 (Chou 1), 4 b (cited in the Shi-ki M. H. I, p. 265 ff.) is supposed to be laid (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/IV, 22 a).

The Mih-süü—perhaps tribal relatives of the Chou (I must refrain from discussing this extraordinarily interesting and far-reaching question; it has already been treated by Chavannes M. H. I, p. 265, n. 6, p. 266, n. 1, but in my opinion not in sufficient detail)—were dangerous and obstinate opponents of the early Chou state. Here the reports are important only in so far as they have preserved geographical references for us; these, however, show a diminution of the Chou country as against the extension of the kingdom of Pin. Shi-king 3, 1, 7, 5 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 452—53; cf. BA Ti Sin 33, Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 140; the interesting account in TWSHK 5, 3 a and besides Chou-shu 3 (27) 7 b), gives this report about the battles of Yüan and Kung.

Yüan clings as the name of the country to the province between King(-chou) and Ch'ang-wu (v. Shen-si-t'ung-chi T'ShTsCh' VI, 552/IV, 1 a and Legge's note to the given Shi-king passage, further T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 33 a; Ch'ang-wu-ch'eng, 30 li north-west of the hien-city of Ch'ang-wu, considered as a kind of arsenal of Yüan); Kung has been preserved in the name of a pond, 5 li to the north of King(-chou) (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/IV, 19 b—20 a; 555/I, 13 a—b)<sup>1</sup>.

Thus about this time, the Chou territory stretched only to the mouth of the Jui. Wen-wang seems to have succeeded in pacifying his disturbing neighbour (Shi-king and TWSHK l. c.; for this reason a temple to Wen-wang on the Pao-yen-shan, 30 li south-east of Ling-t'ai—T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/IV, 20 b; 553/III, 9 b; a temple to Chou T'ai-pei 7 li north of Ling-t'ai, 533/III, 9 a); the last politically independent representative, a certain Duke (!) K'ang was deposed in the year 943<sup>2</sup>/904 and Mih-süü was "extinguished" (Kuoh-yü and Shi-ki, l. c.; BA, Kung 4, Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 151).

We can increase this territory in the East as far as about the present districts of Yao-chou and T'ung-kuan-hien, the plateau of the rivers Ts'ih and Tsü, corresponding to Shi-king, 3, 1, 3, 1 and in the north round about the valley of the lower Ma-lien-ho, especially the present districts of Ning-chou and Ngan-hua (seat of administration of K'ing-yang-fu) corresponding to the statements of the local chronicles.

<sup>1</sup> One has wanted to interpret 祖 in the Shi-king text between 阮 & 共, as the name of part of the country (Cheng Hsiao). Legge has dissented from this and in my opinion rightly so, although it should be noticed here that T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 25 b confirms a 明 祖 山 10 li west of Pin(-chou).



Ts'ih and Tsi: Since both these rivers are named before the emigration of Tan-fu from Pin, they can only stand for the two sources of the Shih-ch'uan-ho (*i. e.*, the Ts'ih and Tsi of the Yü-kung) which meet 3 li south of the city of Yao and flow into the Wei (mouth half-way between Wei-nan and Lin-tung; for the course cf. T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 19 a, 22 a to 23 a, 27 b).—The history of Ki-lih's expeditions gives us independent and indigenous information which shows that this province belonged to the oldest Chou territory, a fact which is all the more probable because the early relations of the Chou state with the states in the province of the Wei mouth (Sin; Wei, Jui, Yü) allow the presumption of a line of communication between Chou and them, taking course to the north of Ch'ung and Pih (the middle plain of the Wei Valley). It is curious that local memories here can only exhibit a mountain of Wen-wang and of Wu-wang and the temples connected therewith (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 21 a-b; 504, 27 a.)

Valley of the Ma-lien-ho: The local chronicles record: a Si Ki-ho (西姬河) as dwelling-place for descendants of Kung Liu, 10 li south of Ngan-hua (T'ShTsCh' VI, 571/IV, 4 a; 475/IV, 1 a), a village (莊) of Kung Liu, 30 li north (*i. e.*, north-westerly direction towards Huan) of Ngan-hua (573/IV, 1 a): a temple of Kung Liu, the ruins of which lie 80 li south-west of Ngan-hua (572/V, 2 a) and finally a city (邑) of Kung Liu, about 1 li west of Ning, which later became the capital of the Ngi-k'ü kingdom and was also called Peh Piu (northern Pin)\*. To these must be added the Puh-choh memories concerning the province of Ngan-hua-hien, for which cf. p. 616.

Neither was the later Chou kingdom able to keep the northern province any more; it was, in fact, just here that it suffered the greatest loss in its one time territory. The very city of Kung Liu west of Ning, just mentioned, became the capital of the Ngi-k'ü kingdom (T'ShTsCh' VI, 573/IV, 17 b; cf. 571/I, 3 b). The Ngi-k'ü must have entered there already in the time of Tan-fu, for the BA mention Wang Ki's battles with them (Wu-yü 30, *i. e.*, 9 years after the death of Tan-fu; Ch. Cl. III/ProL, p. 137); in the south their province approximately reached the boundaries of the provinces Kan-suh and Shen-si: the local chronicles according to the Fang-yü-sheng-lan specify a Ngi-k'ü-ch'eng to the north of the Ngi-

\* The Emperor Hiao-wen of the Peh Wei dynasty (471—99) called it Pin-chou (earlier Hua-chou under Hien-wen Ti, instead of the Ni-yang-hien of the Si Han) while the present Pin-chou was called Nan Pin-chou; the Si Wei united both under the name Pin-ning-chou, an arrangement which was maintained until the Peh Chou (T'ShTsCh' VI, 571/I, 1 a, 3 b; 573/IV, 17 b, cf. 491, 23 a).

luh-chen, *i. e.*, of the present city of Ch'ang-wu (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 18 a & 32 a; for the history of Ngi-luh cf. 491, 25 a; 514, 18 b & 32 a-b)<sup>1</sup>.

Similar to the conditions in the old Chou kingdom of the Wei Valley, we also find the administration of the kingdom here sharply divided into three, the military restrictedness of which is besides quite obvious on the face of it: the 三單 of Shi-king 3, 2, 6, 5. In view of direct historical statements we are no longer in the position to mark off the settlements of these three parts of the Kung Liu people, and thus the geographical structure of the province just sketched must prove the deciding factor when fixing them. This falls naturally into three original particular territories: 1) The north-west (right wing, front facing the Ngi-k'u): the valley of the Ma-lien-ho; 2) the middle: the basin of Pin, the valley of the King-ho; 3) south-east (left wing, front facing Ch'ung): plateau near the rivers Ts'ih and Tsü. Such a grouping at once directs the chief driving force of the whole kingdom against the west, from the King Valley upwards, and therefore has the advantage of making the direction of the expansion of the Pin kingdom, as transmitted by history, appear natural, thus lending it note-worthy support.

### C. The Heroes of Civilisation:

#### 1. Puh-choh, Kung Liu and Tan-fu and their "kingdom" within the state of Pin.

The chief evidence in favour of the above stated hypothetical division of the Pin kingdom is to be found in the fact that each of these geographical particular provinces at some time or other contain the centre of the "kingdom" of one of the heroes of civilisation, which fact seems sufficient justification for their political separate position.

<sup>1</sup> Of the very few Ngi-k'u names which have come down to us, the one 公孫 昆邪: Shi-ki 109, 1b, Ts'HSb 54, 12, 66, 12, resp. | | 渾邪: Shi-ki 111, 15b, Ts'HSb 30, 17a, pronunciation Hun-ya (ʃnan<g'-ja<x-; P'ei Yin to Shi-ki 109, 1b: 昆音魂, Yen Shi-ku to Ts'HSb 54, 12: | | 下禮反, to 66, 12 as well as to 6, 8b; | | 戶門反; cf. to 55, 5a 渾音下昆反) also occurs as Hunish and therefore presumably as Turkish: 渾邪王: Shi-ki 110, 23a, 111, 8a, 9b-102, Ts'HSb 55, 5a, 6a-b, resp. 昆邪王: Ts'HSb 6, 3b; 94/I, 13b. The old Chou name 君牙 (Shu-king 5, 25) is probably the same; on this point as on the Hunish parallel to 君陳 (Shu-king 5, 21; v. p. 608, n. 2) Conrady, the discoverer of both parallels, will express his opinion himself (v. p. 617).



Thus the north-west province (valley of the Ma-lien-ho) is the "kingdom" of Puh-choh: his capital is supposed to have been situated 3 li south of Ngan-hua<sup>2</sup>, his grave is found 2 li to the east<sup>3</sup> and a temple to the south of this city<sup>4</sup>. In the same way the south-east province (Ts'ih-Tsü plateau) is without any doubt connected with the Tan-fu tradition. Indeed, this connection occurs in the Shi-king 3, 1, 3, 1, in such a striking manner *i. e.*, this province of secondary importance—contrary to the tradition concerning Hou Tsih, Puh-choh, Kung-Liu and contrary to all historical probability,—is described with such emphasis as the original seat of the Chou, that the conjecture forces itself to the front, namely, that the rule of Tan-fu presupposed a change of power in the state of Pin, as the result of which the people of the left wing obtained the political lead<sup>5</sup>.—As far as the middle province is concerned, this is strewn with local memories of Kung Liu (city, village, grave, sacrificial altar as well as the places mentioned in the Shi-king 3, 2, 6, specially mentioned on pp. 608—10) and the extent of their dissemination is covered by the area of the narrower Pin Kingdom and its offshoot into the Jui Valley (temple to Kung Liu near Ch'ung-sin, v. p. 609). If at any rate it also overlaps into the Ma-lien Valley in the north (Si Ki-ho, village and temple to Kung Liu near Ngan-hua v. p. 614; the city near Ning is attached directly to the fundamental province of Pin, and may possibly have belonged to the middle province, since the district produces no Puh-choh memories), on the other hand the fact that the middle province is absolutely free of local memories of Puh-choh resp. Tan-fu is sufficient to speak in favour of Kung Liu as the hero of civilisation of the middle group.

In this way the program developed on pp. 598 & 600 is in great measure realised; Puh-choh, Kung Liu and Tan-fu are connected

<sup>2</sup> Statement of the Kuoh-ti-chi, quoted in the Shi-ki cheng-ug) 10 Shi-ki 4, 12, used by Chavannes in M.H.I, p. 212, n. 2; cf. also the statements of the Shen-si t'ung-chi and the K'ing-yang-fu-chi in T'ShTsCh' VI, 573/IV, 12 & 571/L, 12; Lo P' in KMK 丙, 29b calls the city Yü(Wei)-ki-ch'eng 尉季城 (K'iao K'o who considers this another way of writing: 郁郅城, the city of a hien of the Si Han must surely be wrong; because in ancient times the former was pronounced yü-ki and the latter yü-kin). It lies at the juncture of the Peh-ma and Ma-ling-ch'uan rivers.

<sup>3</sup> Statement of Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi, in Chavannes, l. c. According to the local chronicles, quoted in T'ShTsCh' VI, 573/IV, 23a but in a very bad state of preservation.

<sup>4</sup> K'ing-yang-fu-chi T'ShTsCh' VI, 573/V, 12; also ruined.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also the researches on p. 617 & p. 623.



with particular provinces of the Pin kingdom in such manner that each individual "kingdom" belonging to each of these heroes corresponds to the province of each of the three military unities of the kingdom of Pin.

The above result is sufficient for the purposes of this investigation but is not comprehensive enough to allow of any decision on the ethnical equivalencies or differences of these three parts. The continuation of study on these lines is surely very necessary, but it lies without the scope of the present work. Besides the historical-political investigation and that of history of civilisation, philological research will also have an important word to say in the matter, in so far as the list of names of the kings given on p. 596 as well as the Chou names of later periods will have to be examined as to their affinity of languages with regard to the Hirth-Conrady hypothesis of the Turkish origin of the Chou people. A work by Conrady on this very theme is about to be published. — Some more preliminary work which is just as essential and which must be accomplished by research is to find out whether the clan-membership of several "barbarian" members of the clan Ki (杞) goes back to an old ethnical relation with the Chou, which has also been omitted here.

The following investigation of Hou Taih will yield fundamental facts which will make it possible to pass judgment on the Chou tradition—(cf. also p. 623). Here just one thing may be added which can be deduced from the material already brought together: the south-eastern group (Tan-fu) stands isolated, whilst the middle group (Kung Liu) and the north-west group (Puh-choh) seem to have connections; so much so that the Kung Liu memories cover the territory of both and (Shi-king 3, 2, 6) an immigration of Kung Liu into Pin is given as over the "mountains", *i. e.* from the north—from the province of the Puh-choh group. Further, to work out an idea hinted at on p. 598: after re-establishing the provinces of Puh-choh, Kung Liu and Tan-fu, it is fairly easy to state as a fact that their economic conditions must have been widely different; the most favourable would have been the basin of Pin, which must have been capable of being already opened up to primitive agriculture (and the ode Shi-king 1, 15, 1, shows it on a high grade) and the most unfavourable the highlands of Ts'ih and Ts'ii. Now tradition puts the cultivation of the latter at a very late period *viz.* under Tan-fu, whilst Pin must have been cultivated land from very ancient times. Besides this the Hia calendar in Pin (in the agricultural ode Shi-king l. c.) and a Hia-hou-ch'eng, which the local chronicles describe as 5 li east of Pin(-chou) (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 18b), point to it.



2. Hou Tsih's Kingdom Tai; Population of Tai; Hou Tsih is the Hero of Civilisation of the West-Kiang.

It now remains to extend the investigation to Hou Tsih. Local memories of Hou Tsih, like those of the Kiang-yüan, are found, it is true, in the neighbourhood of Pin-chou, but on the other hand they do not make a good impression of their age and their real indigenous character<sup>1</sup>. The good old tradition on the other hand as already found in the sacred ode Shi-king 3, 2, 1, (5), knows Hou Tsih as lord of Tai. This state had its centre in the Wu-kung-hien, K'ien-chou, Shen-si, the Tsih-chou of the Tang period (according to T'ShTsCh' VI, 491, 22a—b, existed temporarily between 620 & 691, and according to KMK 丙, 29a already in 617 or 618), which contains a temple to Hou Tsih and Kiang-yüan (T'ShTsCh' VI, 504, 29b) whilst a grave of the Kiang-yüan is found outside the southern gate of the city (T'ShTsCh' VI, 516, 25b). The capital, Tai (Lai?) ch'eng<sup>2</sup> probably the present village Tai-feng should be placed 8 li south of Wu-kung (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 11a; TLKSh 254, 17a).

<sup>1</sup> The legend of the birth of Hou Tsih takes place outside the southern gate of Pin-chou, a sacrificial altar for Kiang-yüan, built in the time of the Tang and renovated in 1547, is found outside the city walls, and a grave of Kiang-yüan 10 li east of the city in a glen of the mountains (T'ShTsCh' VI, 504, 31a; 514, 14a; 516, 26b). In addition, Kiang-yüan-shui, the other name of the Wo-lung-kub-shui, in the river-basin of which the Kiang-liang-chen is also situated (cf. p. 610). This accumulation within the smallest compass of the modern city of Pin is suspect, because the most important places of olden times were situated, as has been shown, to the east of it in the Pin-shui Valley; only the country surrounding Kiang-liang-chen played any role at all in ancient times and that place was obviously an important one for the Kingdom of Pin, but bears also other names.

<sup>2</sup> 釐城: Pronunciation Tai in the Tse-tien: 湯來切 同 部 釐 on the grounds of the reference to the sound by Yen Shi-ku in TLCh 1, 8a: 釐 與 部 同 音 胎; thus already P'ei Yin and finally, Sze-nua Cheng in the commentary to Shi-ki 95, 3b: 釐 音 胎, resp. 台; in the KKCh I, 7b 部 亭 appears instead of the 釐 縣 of TLCh I, 8a. The character 釐 (representing 釐) is also pronounced li (又音離 Tse-tien s.v. 釐) and this is also the standard pronunciation of the variants, which are given to 釐, namely 釐 (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 13a; in the same way in the quotation of the passage Shi-ki 95, 3b in the Tse-tien; the editions, accessible to me print 釐) and 釐, Ku-wen form 釐 (TLKSh 254, 17a). In any case both are supposed to possess the pronunciation Tai as well: Tse-tien s.v. 釐: 湯來切 音 胎 與 部 同, s.v. 釐: 土來切 音 胎: 地名... 后稷之封也, besides this, however, the Tse-tien also admits the pronunciation Lai and for all these signs as well, when describing our place, —s.v. 釐: 郎才切 音 來: 地名, 在 夫 風 美 陽... 通 作 釐 又 作 釐.

Closely there exists a T'ai (Lai?)-ting to the east of Mei on the south bank of the Wei, 40 li south-west of T'ai (Lai?)-ch'eng (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 29b), resp. 30 li south-east of Fu-feng (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 13a) and 30 li south-west of Wu-kung (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 10b; this reference makes the distance too short and must be rectified by about 40 li); it is the T'ai (Lai?)-hien of the Si Han (TLCh I, 8a) which was dissolved under the Tung Han and added to Mei-hien (KKCh I, 7b, T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 16a. The Wu-kung-hien-chi gives the Wu-kung-hien of the Si Han as situated there, which statement, however, does not agree with the KKCh and is therefore incorrect); perhaps the statement of the Kuah-ti-chi (Shi-ki-cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 4, 2a) and (according to it?) that of Lo Pi in KMK 丙, 29a refers to this place with regard to the position of T'ai (=T'ai (Lai?) = Wu-kung-ch'eng(1), 22 li south-west of the hien city of Wu-kung).—In addition a county town T'ai-ch'eng 40 or 45 li south-east (or rather east-south-east) of Fu-feng, with a temple to Kiang-yüan (T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 9a; 526/IV, 12b) which cannot be identical with T'ai (Lai?)-ch'eng (=T'ai-feng-li) (the distance between the cities Wu-kung and Fu-feng alone amounts to 50 resp. 55 li: T'ShTsCh' VI, 492, 17a; 523/II, 32a); it may possibly coincide with the post station T'ai-ch'eng which the WCh' map enters west of Wu-kung on the north bank of the Wei (註) and which, according to TLKSh 254, 17a was built during the Ming period (in T'ShTsCh' VI, 508, 29b, the direction is incorrect again, east being given instead of west, which can be drawn here from the context itself).

T'ai, therefore, lay in the province of the Wei Valley which was conquered by the Chou after being dispossessed of Pin.

But this state T'ai was in the possession of the Kiang-clan<sup>1</sup>. This circumstance allows the possibility of ascertaining the population in the east of the Chou kingdom, which met these in the Wei Valley; but not here alone; the local memories of the whole district become revealed everywhere as the older stratum of Kiang clan settlements,

<sup>1</sup> A general assumption, cf. Chavannes in M.H.I, p. 209, n. 2 and possibly further T'ShTsCh' XIV, 115.

It is senseless for Lo Pi in KMK 甲, 15a—b to look for the T'ai of the Kiang-clan in the unimportant place of the same name in Lu on the border opposite Ka and Chu, to the south of the present Pi, merely to save T'ai for the Ki-clan (cf. 丙, 28b—29a); it is mentioned once in the Ch'an-t'ia (Ch. Cl. V, p. 454/55; the Ku-liang-chuan has the 卽 1. 卽), then in the Tso-chuan appendix (Ch. Cl. V, p. 860/61) and in the Shi-ki (M.H. IV, p. 81). According to Lo Pi, Kiang-yüan would possess a Kiang clan 隸, T'ai, in Shan-ung and her son Hou-Tai a Ki clan 隸, T'ai, in Shen-si.



A Lieh-shan, 2 li east of Yung-shou marks the northern boundary and closes the road to Pin (cf. thereto p. 601)<sup>1</sup>. The western boundary of the province of the Kiang-settlement—in the same way as with the Chou—merges into the Pao-ki-hien, whose seat of administration itself contains a temple to Shen-nung (outside the eastern gate of the city, T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 7b), and is marked by the city Kiang-ch'eng (Kiang-yih, Kiang-shi-ch'eng) the ruins of which, according to the modern local chronicles, lie 5 li south of the city and by a Kiang-shui.<sup>2</sup> In the same way the middle province is rich in local memories of such kind as to enable us to determine the Kiang-clan family, among whose possessions Tai was to be found: they are the princes of Lü (and after the division of this branch into Ts'i and Shen, the counts of Shen, v. below). An hereditary residence (Erbhof) of the Lü (呂宅) is known 30 li east of Fu-feng (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 13a); T'ai-kung Wang (Lü Shang) is supposed to have lived there. Several local memories are connected with him; a grave of his wife lies near Fu-feng, 8 li south of the Wei (魏) (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 27b), a temple near the Chou-kung temple of K'i-shan (v. p. 607; T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 4a), further, several places where he is supposed to have fished<sup>3</sup>; the best confirmed (also by the BA) in the valley of the P'an-k'i-ho, a tributary of the Wei (渭) from the Ts'in-ling, 60 li south-east of Pao-ki; here is to be seen a stone house in which he is supposed to have lived, a stone from which he fished, a temple and a terrace (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 12b. cf. 526/IV, 9a—b, 525/III, 7b); a further spot is shown on the bank of the Huang-shui, a tributary of the Wei (魏), 3 li south of K'i-shan city (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 8a—b) and a third is the "Eight Fish Spring", 30 li south-east of Pao-ki (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 11b).

It is now quite comprehensible why Lü Shang allies himself with the Chou and proceeds against the Shang dynasty. — Again, the

<sup>1</sup> T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 24b. The mountain bears the same name as the birthplace of Shen-nung and is besides a sacrificial mountain.

<sup>2</sup> Thus T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 9b and the Ta Ts'ing Yih-t'ung-chi quoted in the Chou-shu-t'ung-t'ien com. to 9, 10a that places the city 7 li south-west of Pao-ki. Another localisation which rests on the Shui-king-chu, places Kiang-shi-ch'eng to the south of Chou-ch'eng (15 li north-west of the city of K'i-shan, v. p. 607), on the west bank of the K'i-shui, which from thereon (probably until it flows into the Wei 魏) is supposed to bear the name of Kiang-shui; this also links up the statement of the T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-ki, according to which it rises near K'i-ch'eng (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 6a & Chou-shu-t'ung-t'ien l. c.)

<sup>3</sup> The story belonging thereto occurs in a primary gloss of the BA. Ch. Cl. III; Proh. p. 143.

Kiang element has not been preserved only as a subjected population in the western part of the Wei Valley; during the first periods of the Chou dynasty Kiang princes have remained here, not merely as owners of the land but as political rulers.<sup>1</sup>

The local Chronicles (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 10b, s. v. 懷亭) report that at the time of the Chou, T'ai was fief to the counts of Shen. And — extraordinary as this information may appear at first sight — it is specially qualified to throw light on a few hitherto dark points in the more ancient history of the Chou. We know that Shen had very great interests in the Western Wei Valley; thus the BA report under Hiao 1 (909/870 B. C.; Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 152) that the king gave the margrave of Shen the order and power (命) to lead a punitive expedition against the Si-jung (*i. e.*, generally speaking the K'üan-jung); thus under the same king the margrave of Shen boasts of very old and good connections with the Si-jung and has an influential word to say when a wall is inserted between the territory of the Chou and that of the K'üan-jung through the establishment of Ts'in; in fact, his consent is necessary for the bestowal of the fief (Shi-ki; M. H. II, p. 11); and finally, it is the margrave of Shen who is in a position to make just the K'üan-jung his allies when strife breaks out between him and King Yu (774) and who, with their help, is able to destroy 772 the power of the king in the Wei Valley. For if this state, whose centre lay in the furthest South-West Ho-nan, in the plains of the Peh- and T'ang-ho ("extinguished" here in 688 B. C. by Ch'u), had not had direct possessions in the province of the Wei Valley, its interest in this province would be incomprehensible.

I state therefore:—To Hou Tsih, the ostensible *first* ancestor of the Chou belonged the western part of the plain of the Wei Valley *i. e.*, the *last* province of which the Chou took possession before they commenced the struggle for the whole of China, *i. e.*, approximately in the thirteenth century after they had been driven out of large parts of the kingdom of Pin. Furthermore, the state which the Chou encountered here, Hou Tsih's "fief" T'ai, had a Kiang population and was still ruled in part by Kiang (Lü-Shen family) in the Chou period. Accordingly, Hou Tsih must have been the hero of civilisation (agriculture) of the Kiang population of the Wei Valley (West Kiang) and was adopted by the Chou as quite a strange tribe.—It is therefore absolutely clear why the mother of Hou Tsih bears the name of Kiang-yüan, *i. e.*, "Origin of the Kiang".

<sup>1</sup> A fact, which shows how weak in number this conquering people really was.



The connection of the West Kiang with the principal tribe of the Kiang people can be well established both in time and place. The province of the present *hiens Tsih-shan* and *Wan-ts'lian* in the *P'ing-yang-fu* of South-West *Shan-si* which borders on the land *T'ang*, the hereditary fief of Yao, is to be regarded as their home. Quite a considerable number of local memories of *Hou Tsih* and *Kiang-yüan* are found here (cf. the second part of Wedemeyer: Yao, Shun, Yü, which is appearing very shortly; partly entered on the WH map, by-map D).—In point of time the cleavage from the principal tribe takes place in the time of Shun: *Shu-king* 2, 1, 5, 18 (Ch. Cl. III, p. 43–44) already puts the investiture of *Hou Tsih* during the reign of Shun. The Shun period, however, from the point of view of the history of settlements, means the period of the irruption of the eastern tribes (*Jung*, relatives of Shun) into the province of the middle of the kingdom (*Ho-tung*, to take up once more this ancient but very useful geographical terminus) which formerly was under Kiang rule (relatives of Yao). Accordingly, the fall of Yao resulted in the emigration of the West Kiang.

One thing which made it easier for the hero of civilisation of the West Kiang to appear in the Chou genealogy is surely the marriage of *Tan-fu*, the ruler to whom the conquest of the Wei Valley is ascribed, with a lady of the Kiang clan, the *Kiang-nü* of *Shi-king* 3, 1, 3, 2 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 438), the *Chou-kiang* of *Shi-king* 3, 1, 6, 1 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 446) and the *T'ai-kiang* of the *Shi-ki* (M. H. I, p. 215) and of the *Lieh-nü-chuan* 1, 9 b, 10 a; she belonged to the *Lü* race (so at least *Lieh-nü-chuan*, l. c. 有呂氏之女) and from precisely that branch which ruled *T'ai* (KMK 甲, 15 a: 太王... 娶于 豳).

The seizure of *T'ai* by the Chou must have taken place in a friendly way; this is shown by the close alliance between the Chou and the princes of the Kiang (*Lü Shang*) besides the fact of the alliance by marriage. It is not necessary to represent *T'ai-kiang* as the heir (*Erbtochter*), because it is quite likely that the Kiang of *T'ai* found themselves in political difficulties, and apparently were at war with barbarian neighbours; the expulsion of the *Kuan-i* (= *K'ian-jung*), which in *Shi-king* 3, 1, 7, 2 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 459) is ascribed to *Tan-fu* at the foundation of *K'i-chou*, seems to point to this. And then the lords of *T'ai* themselves called the Chou into the country and at any rate could not rid themselves of them again<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> At the best, the Chou also added by conquest the country round the *K'i-shan* to the *T'ai* kingdom; we learn from the BA (Kuei 3, 1816:1587 B. C.; Ch. Cl. III)

This seems to me sufficient to clear up the position of Hou Tsih. His joining with Ti K'uh—Kao-sin, the legitimate ancestor of the Shang, was the result of a desire to place the aspiring dynasty on an equality, as far as nobility goes with the ruling one, to legitimatise it; and it is absolutely arbitrary. (To the legend of the birth of Hou Tsih, as found in sacred tradition, Shi-king 3, 2, 1, Kao-sin is not yet known, but it may be older than the Chou.)

At this juncture we may cast one more glance over the general structure of the Chou genealogy. We see then that the latest acquisition to the ancestral order is placed highest; therein the Chou follow an apparently universal Chinese tendency (cf. *e.g.*, what Conrady says of Pan-ku in his history of China p. 522). Are we justified in assuming that the same tendency was also effective when establishing the mutual relations of the three heroes of civilisation of Pin? It would constitute an important support in favour of a conception which would see the real Chou people, *i.e.*, its ruling elements, in the Tan-fu stratum (with property on the Ts'ih and Tsü) (cf. p. 616). At the present moment, however, this problem is not yet ripe for judgment (the necessary preliminary work was stated on p. 617; in particular, objections could still be raised to the fact that Hou Tsih must take this position in the genealogical tree of the Chou, on the grounds of a firm and general Chinese chronology).

Prob. p. 125) that the K'üan-i (K'üan-jung) had established themselves round the territory of the K'ü-shan [parallel passage in the HHSü 87, 1b: the country between Pin and the K'ü(ahan)] since the end of the Hsia period, and they may have held their own here during the Shang period.



## ON THE TRAVEL, WAYSIDE AND WIND OFFERINGS IN ANCIENT CHINA<sup>1</sup>.

By BRUNO SCHINDLER

The most important sacrifices of the ancient Chinese cult are the 類 *lei* and 旅 *li* sacrifices, the 禮 *yi* sacrifice and the 郊 *kiao* sacrifice.

Without going further into the rites of these sacrifices which are examined in detail elsewhere, we would draw attention to a characteristic feature which is common to these three principal sacrifices. In following up the development, one fact stands out clearly, namely, that the three sacrifices are in some way connected with road offering, or offerings to the four corners of the world or offerings to the winds: nay perhaps have sprung from them.

- I 1. To begin with the 類 *lei* and 旅 *li* sacrifices. Both were ordinary resp. extraordinary sacrifices offered by the ruler to Shang-ti. This is not the place, however, to investigate whether the names of

<sup>1</sup> In this article the text criticisms of the *Shu-king* and other works, as rightly asked for by M. Pelliot in *Toung Pao* vol. XXII. 1923 pp. 364, are not taken into account, out of the consideration that they are irrelevant for our purpose. And in spite of the fact given by M. Pelliot l. c. p. 365, also known to me for a long time, that the *Lin-shu-tung* and similar palaeographic works are of late and partly spurious origin, I base my palaeographic explanations on these works for the simple reason that the identification of ancient characters from bone—and other inscriptions are partly still doubtful and not complete. I myself devote my time to these identifications; unfortunately not all publications during and after the war are accessible to me. But I think that the methods in palaeography must be the same as in phonetics. There in general we also use for reconstructions the *Ts'i-yün* and similar late works and not *i. e.* the *Fang-yen* or other older works; simply for the reason that these works contain a systematic survey of all equivalents required. Besides I do not neglect the sufficiently identified characters from bone—and other inscriptions. But practice shows that standard characters like those of deities or of the ritual, remain the same in their composition.

both sacrifices have any etymological relation to one another<sup>1</sup>; it is quite sufficient to draw attention to the fact that both sacrifices have undergone development. For example, the latter sacrifice was brought to the mountains according to the Shu-king, ch. Yü-kung (= Ch. Cl. III, p. 121 resp. p. 125) [cf. also Lun-yü III, 6 (= Ch. Cl. I, p. 156)]. But let us leave the extraordinary sacrifices on one side and consider the ordinary *lei* sacrifice, which was the most important one to be brought by the ruler. We notice at once that according to Shu-king II, 1, III, 6, the *lei* sacrifice was offered *before* the tours of inspection undertaken by the rulers in the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> months when the four holy mountains were visited. This custom is confirmed in the Li-ki 3(5) 10b, ch. Wang-chi (= SBE 27, 218 ff) where it is clearly stated: 天子將出類乎上帝宜乎社造乎禘 "When the son of Heaven was about to go forth, (then) he brought the *lei* sacrifice to Shang-ti, the *i* sacrifice to the spirit of the land (shê) and the *tsao* sacrifice to the ancestors". Although the *lei* sacrifice was specifically brought *before* all journeys undertaken by the ruler—cf. e. g., Chou-li 6, 33a, ch. Ta-chuh (= Biot II, p. 92) or Li-ki 3(5), 12a (天子將出征 . . . "When the son of Heaven was about to go forth on a punitive expedition . . .")—the tours of inspection carried out by Shun appear to have been undertaken *regularly* (apparently coincident with the vegetation festivals).

It is also known of the *kiao* sacrifice that each time the son of Heaven "wishes to undertake a campaign of war, he must first offer the *kiao* sacrifice, in order to inform Heaven thereof; only when this is accomplished dare he venture to undertake the military attack, i. e., to go the right way of the son<sup>2</sup>." According to the Shi-king III, 1, VII, 8 (= Ch. Cl. IV, 455) the sacrifices which were brought on the scene of warfare itself, were the 類 *lei* and the 騂 *ma* sacrifices, i. e., offerings brought to Shang-ti and to the equineformed deity (of the Earth?)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Liu-shu-t'ung, the old forms of the character are as follows:—  
𧯛 𧯛 𧯛 𧯛 The oldest (here the third) form, apparently according to the Ku Shang-shu, consists of: "Hill" plus "Hair(?)" or "(Cloth?)" plus: "Flesh"—"Flesh for the army(?)". The other forms for the character 𧯛-*lei* (ancient: 𧯛)—"class", "kind" have been transferred to the character for the *lei* sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g., the Ch'un-t'ia' fan-lu quoted by O. Franke in „Das Problem des Tsch'un-t'ia' und Tung Tschung-schu's Tsch'un-t'ia' fan lu, Hamburg, 1920, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Li-ki 3 (5) 12a, ch. Wang-chi (= SBE 27, 220), the war sacrifice 騂 *ma* was offered up by the king when he took the field against rebellious princes.



The ceremony at the *lei* sacrifice as it was practised in the most ancient times is almost completely unknown. Occasional remarks, as for example those of Cheng K'ang-ch'eng to Chou-li 5, 22, ch. Ssü-shi (= Biot I, p. 460) state that the ceremony of the *lei* sacrifice corresponded to that of the *kiao* sacrifice<sup>1</sup>; the *kiao* sacrifice, however, was a burnt offering of faggots. Similar burnt offerings of a pile of wood, 柴 *ch'ai*, are in fact quite simply described as the offerings to Heaven. [Cf. e. g., Ngü-li 20, 44b: 祭天燔柴 *tsi tien fan ch'ai*; "By offering up to Heaven he brought the burnt sacrifice on a pile of wood", and 'Li-ki 8(23) 31a, ch. Tsi-fah: 燔柴於泰壇祭天也 "With a blazing pile of wood on the Grand Altar—they sacrificed to Heaven"]. If, then, it be the case that the *lei* sacrifice was a burnt offering of faggots, then a magical significance must be ascribed to it, because the smoke thereof was supposed to generate rain clouds. Again, its magical character is apparent from the conjuration formula 祈 *k'i* which, according to Chou-li 6, 28b, was recited by the liturgist at the *lei* sacrifice<sup>2</sup>.

There were *four lei* analogous to the *four kiao* and the *four* directions of Heaven (winds). Cf. Chou-li 5, 16b, ch. Siao-tsung-poh (= Biot, I, p. 441).

The modern written character which is supposed to designate that particular kind of sacrifice is very remarkable in that it is composed of *dog*, *rice* and *head*, and perhaps indicates something that has been preserved in the sacrificial cult. [Cf. . . e. g., the sacramental meal of the ruler which is reported in the calendar of the Ts'in. According to Lü-shi Ch'un-ts'iu 8, 11 = Li-ki 3(6) 81a (= SBE 27, 295) the ruler there offers dog's flesh with rice in the autumn].

The *lei* sacrifice is exclusively offered to Shang-ti; in view, therefore, of the many parallels which the history of religion offers from all times and all peoples; and according to the international cult of the dismembered god who rises again, the assumption may be entertained that Shang-ti himself was brought as a sacrifice and, as a matter of fact, in the forms both of the rice plant and the dog, if we take it that he was reincarnated in both. In the same way, the horse which is sacrificed to Earth probably represents the earth goddess herself.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Chou-li 6, 37a, ch. Tzu-chub (= Biot II, p. 101).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nieblaou, P. *Primitive Religion in Religionsgesch. Volksbücher* III, series 13/14, Tübingen 1911, p. 34.

- II 2. The yin 醴 sacrifice, according to Kuoh-yü 1, 16/17 ch. Chou-yü was considered as a sacrifice:—精意以享醴也. "In order to bring a sacrifice with pure thoughts" is called "yin". It stands to reason that this could not have been the original significance of the sacrifice; but as a result of continuous development such and similar sacrifices were often brought in the figurative sense of "Purification offerings", or rather as a "sacrifice with a pure mind".<sup>1</sup>

The written character 醴 *yin*, according to the Liu-shu-t'ung, has the following ancient forms:—醴 醴 醴 醴. It is difficult to recognise their construction. In the eighteenth century P. Gaubil tried to see in the more modern form (spirit plus bird over a nest [west] and earth), an indication that the Chinese had imported this sacrifice from a country of the west. Leaving other reasons aside, Legge in Ch. Cl. III, 451, rightly rejects this impossible hypothesis on lexicographic grounds<sup>2</sup>, but falls into an error himself in that he describes the right half of the sign as *purely* phonetic. In spite of Karlgren's assertion pure phonetics of such important notions are almost completely unknown, not only in China but everywhere. A comparison with the characters which are formed with 醴 *yin*, shows that almost everywhere 'yin' appears to have preserved its primary meaning "to immure", an assumption which is confirmed by the construction of the character of "earth" plus "bird" (swallow?, the typical wall-bird?) over its nest. The character is etymologically related<sup>3</sup> to 煙 *yen*<sup>4</sup> (resp. 烟) "smoke" (also to *yen*—swallow—festival?), a fact already recognised by Cheng K'ang-ch'eng and which points to its character as a burnt offering.

As a burnt offering the *yin* sacrifice has above everything else a magical significance. This is brought to light from the old incantation which was recited at the same time and which has been preserved in the Shu-king V, 13, 27 (Ch. Cl. III, p. 449). It runs as follows: 惠爲敘, 無有遘自疾, 萬年厭于乃德, 殷乃引考. "Let him be obedient to and observant of the (pre-ordained) course. Let him meet with no evil or bodily sickness. Let him live for

<sup>1</sup> Legge (Ch. Cl. III, 451) has sometimes a special talent for picking out the most improbable explanation and making it his own.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the commentary to Chou-li 5, 8b ch. Ta-t'ung-poh (= Biot I, 419).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the ancient form of the character according to the Liu-shu-t'ung:



myriads of years with your virtue. Let Yin (enjoy) prosperity everlasting!" As is usually the case with burnt offerings, the *yin* sacrifice was offered up in the open air and according to the commentary to the Chou-li 5, 8b, ch. Ta-tsung-poh (= Biot I, p. 419) at the time of the winter solstice and on the round hill. (冬至於圓丘). A description of the magical character of this sacrifice and of the site of its consummation has been preserved to us in the plastic representation in the Shi-king II, 6, VIII (= Ch. Cl. IV, 380 ff.); in verse two, the weeds are uprooted and destructive insects exorcised<sup>1</sup>, that they may be cast into the blazing fire (炎火 *yen huo*) by the 田祖 *tien-tsu*, "the Ancestral Lord of the Fields"<sup>2</sup>. Verse 3 which follows gives a representation of the rain which fertilises the soil and it seems evident from this that a kind of pantomime took place when the *yin* sacrifice was offered<sup>3</sup>.

The *yin* sacrifice was both the first and last offering, inasmuch as it was brought at the end of the year after the Harvest Thanksgiving Festival but was also reckoned for the ensuing season of the year; this is said quite distinctly in the Shi-king III, 2, 1, 7. (= Ch. Cl. IV, 471) where these words occur: 以典嗣歲 "in order to consecrate the coming year".

According to the Shi-king ode quoted above, Ch. Cl. IV, 381/382 (concluding verse), the sacrifice must have taken place after the Harvest Thanksgiving Festival. In the same way according to Shu-king V, 13, 29 (= Ch. Cl. III, 451/452) it is brought after the winter sacrifice 烝 *chêng*. Again, e. g., in the Tso-chuan, 6th year of Huan-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 47/49) it appears as a winter sacrifice.

Now while the offering of the *lei* sacrifice was reserved to the ruler from the beginning as a special privilege, the *yin* sacrifice was originally offered up by the people generally and only later became a special ceremony which was reserved to the king. In the Shi-king

<sup>1</sup> This is the most important of the rites which "are directed not so much to ensure fruitfulness as to render harmless the evil influences which threaten the seed". (Nielsson (P), Primitive Religion in Religionsgesch. Volksbücher III series 13/14. Tübingen 1911, p. 34). Cf. the conjuration formula in the Li-ki ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheung (=SBK 27, 432) with reference to the *Chia* festival.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the whole of this Shi-king ode was sung during the ceremony. Cf. also verse 2 of the preceding ode, where conjurations and prayers were addressed to the *tien-tsu* for "sweet rain".

II, 6, VIII, 4, it is also brought by the peasants in connection with the other harvest sacrifices. (曾孫來止 以其婦子 "The distant descendant will come with his wives and children".) It is apparent from the Shi-king III, 2, 1, 1—2 (= Ch. Cl. IV, 465/467) that women were also allowed to bring the sacrifice, for we are told in that passage that 姜嫄 Kiang Yüan, the ancestress of the Chou offered it as a sacrifice for fecundity. The special significance which this sacrifice assumed through it for the Chou dynasty seems to have led to the result that the Chou rulers ascribed special importance to it and made it a royal sacrifice. The Shi-king ode, which describes in detail this sacrifice for fecundity seems to have played a special role in the sacrificial cult. There is also the curious remark in the Shi-king fragment IV, 1, III (= Ch. Cl. IV, 571) that Wên-wang was the first to offer up this sacrifice or else—since 肇 *chao* can also be translated thus—"founded" it<sup>1</sup>. It is quite clear, however, from the Shu-king V, 13, 26/29 and apparently so from the Chou-li ch. Ta-tsung-poh that the Chou rulers did in point of fact actually offer up this sacrifice.

According to the Shi-king II, 6, VIII, 4, the passage which apparently characterises the most primitive conditions, the *yin* sacrifices were offered up to the 方 *fang*, i. e., to the cardinal points or to the gods of the winds<sup>2</sup>. The fact that mention is made of a red and a black (sacrifice) 騂黑 in this connection could very well lead to the conclusion that it was not merely a matter of the four cardinal points but of Heaven and Earth as well<sup>3</sup>. Again, we learn from the Shu-king II, 1, 6, (= Ch. Cl. III, 33/34) that Shun offered up the *yin* sacrifice to the 六宗 *liu-tung*, "the six Honoured Ones". This strengthens the suggestion first thrown out by the commentator Fu

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the commentary in Legge's note on p. 572 for both interpretations.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. as well Shi-king II, 6, VII, 2, where a *yin* sacrifice is apparently also meant.

<sup>3</sup> Chinese commentators as well as Legge ascribe both these expressions to the animals offered up to the North and South. This, however, cannot be the case, for were that so, a white animal would have to be offered to the West and a blue (or green) one to the East; no mention of this is to be found anywhere. A more probable assumption would be that a vegetation sacrifice was offered to the winds. Cf. Shi-king II, 6, VII, 2, where millet seed was offered to them and a sheep to the Spirit of the Soil 社 *shé*. Red and black sacrifices are much more likely to refer to Heaven and Earth. For the actual bringing of the *yin* sacrifice cf. also Tao-chuan, Ch. Cl. V, 47/49.



Shêng\* and recently by Laufer† that the *lin-tsung* should be interpreted to mean the six cardinal points: north, south, east, west, zenith and nadir‡. They are probably identical with the so-called 方明 *fang ming* found in the *Ngü-li* 20, ch. Kin-li (= Harlez p. 241, = Couvreur, p. 381, = Steele II, p. 7) which according to the commentary to the passage in question are = the 上下四方之神 or more commonly 神明 "the holy spirits", a colour is ascribed to each of these and as we find in the *Chou-li* ch. Ta-tsung-poh (= Biot I, 431 ff.) and *ibid* ch. T'ien-jui (= Biot I, 483 ff.) as well as *ibid* ch. Yü-jen (= Biot II, 519) they were each conceived symbolically by means of a jade sceptre. The six tortoises mentioned in the *Chou-li* 6, 24a, ch. Kuei-jen (= Biot II, 76/77 ff.) are attributed in special colours to Heaven, Earth and the four corners of the world respectively.

The important role played by the wind speaks for the high antiquity of the sacrifice, because the wind is a very important factor among those tribes where the sun has not yet acquired any special religious significance. The natural development of the vegetation cult would be for the chief role to be assigned to the demons of Heaven, especially the sun, and no longer to the winds or the other lower demons of nature. In accordance therewith we expect to find in China also the god of the sun or the god of Heaven gradually taking the place of the demons of the wind. In point of fact, we find, among other things, in the *Chou-li* 5, 8b, ch. Ta-tsung-poh, that the sacrifice is offered up to Heaven but not to Heaven alone: it is also offered to the Dyas *Huang-t'ien Shang-ti*. At the first glance the presence

\* Cf. Legge ad *Isa* (footnote).

† Cf. Laufer, *Jade, A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*, Field Museum Publications 154, Anthropol. Ser. X, Chicago 1902, p. 120 ff. Laufer bases his argument mainly on *Chou-li* 5, 32a ff. (= Biot I, 486 ff.) and *ibid* 12, 46 (= Biot II, 528 ff.) and identifies the symbols of Heaven, Earth and the four cardinal points with the *lin-tsung*. Cf. also Hama, *Theol. Literaturzeitung* 1913, p. 290; Söderblom, *Das Werden des Gottesglaubens*, Leipzig 1916, p. 283 and Schindler in *O. Z.* 1916, IV, 324. Franke, *Das Problem des Tsch'ün-t'ün* etc., p. 262, tried to identify the *lin-tsung* with both the sacrifices which were afterwards called *li* and with those of the four seasons. He has obviously fallen a victim to the incorrect rendering of Fu Shêng's opinion given in Chavannes, *M. H. I.*, p. 61, note 1.

‡ Even to-day the importance of the four cardinal points (four corners of the world) is very great in the belief of indigenuous Siberians. Cf. Tschubinow (G), *Beiträge zum psychologischen Verständnis des sibirischen Zaubers* (Diss.), Halle 1914, p. 61 and Wundt, *Mythus und Religion* I, 519.

of *Shang-ti* seems very surprising, since as one of the inner demons of vegetation, *Shang-ti* should have nothing to do with a sacrifice which is offered up to the outer deities of vegetation. As a matter of fact, it is hardly possible to explain his presence through natural religious evolution; on the contrary, we seem to have to do with forced change of cult, which was probably the result of political motives. This supposition becomes stronger when we mention *Shi-king* III, 2, 1, the Totem ode of the Chou Dynasty, where the *yin* sacrifice is described in detail. According thereto, Kiang Yüan, the ancestress of the Chou, offered up the *yin* sacrifice to enable her to bear the Totem of the Chou, Prince Millet, Hou Tsih. As the highest inner vegetation deity of the Chou, Hou Tsih, had to be reconciled with the highest inner vegetation demon of remote antiquity, and the best way of overcoming the contradiction was to make him a descendant of the other<sup>1</sup>. For this reason, Kiang Yüan brings the sacrifice for fruitfulness not to the winds but to the highest plant-god and treads in his toe-print that she may become pregnant by him<sup>2</sup>: 克禋克祀. "She brought a burnt sacrifice, she brought offerings" in order that she might not be childless. It seems, therefore, that the *yin* sacrifice has taken the place of an older sacrifice (*Shang-ti* sacrifice?), an hypothesis which arises from the warding-off ceremony 輅 *pah* which was performed at the same time. We shall touch upon this ritual again and we shall then see that originally a dog was driven over. Now, if the dog has been replaced by a ram in the *yin* sacrifice, the fact begins to glimmer through, that originally a sacrifice other than the *yin* was brought to *Shang-ti*. We may perhaps be allowed to read, into the statement of the *Erh-ya* 8, 11 resp. the commentary ad loc, a further confirmation of the warding off ceremony at the *yin* sacrifice as found in the *Shi-king*. We are told there:—祭風曰縶 "To sacrifice to the wind is called *chih* 'to tear to pieces'." The commentator ad loc (Kuoh Poh) adds:—今俗當大道中縶狗云以止風此其象也 "To-day a dog is torn to pieces in the midst of the high road and one says, to appease the wind. This

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *l. c.*, the role which the god Marduk had to adopt from the older Enlil in the Babylonian-Assyrian cult.

<sup>2</sup> The verse which follows, where *Shang-ti* lends his aid to Kiang Yüan, proves that it is really a question of *Shang-ti*'s toe-print and not, as Mao believes *l. c.* 466, foot note, a matter of the Emperor Ku, although she sometimes appears as his concubine.



is his image." The Tzû-tien s. v. observes:—孫炎曰既祭拔縶其柱以散風也云云 "Sun Yen says: After that which has been bound<sup>1</sup> has been offered up, the sacrificial animal is torn to pieces that it may appease the wind etc<sup>2</sup>."

- III 3. The 郊 *kiao* sacrifice is generally literally translated as border or boundary sacrifice, resp. sacrifice in the suburb, this translation being partly due<sup>3</sup> to the written character. What are meant, however, are the old crossroads, *ubi viae competunt*, which served as the abodes of the spirits and were the spots at which they were worshipped.

This character of the sacrifice as a boundary sacrifice, resp. sacrifice of the suburb, finds its justification in the description given by Kiao-t'eh-sheng in the chapter of the Li-ki specially devoted to the *kiao* sacrifice, where the ceremonial therefore is described<sup>4</sup>. The K'iao-t'eh-sheng tells us that according to its own characteristics, the special *kiao* sacrifice was a sun offering, for it says quite distinctly:—大報天而主日也 "It was a great act of thanksgiving to Heaven and the sun was made the chief personality<sup>5</sup>". In the chapter Tsi-ngi of the Li-ki 8 (24) 46a (= SBE 28, 218) in a similar passage,

<sup>1</sup> On binding up the winds v. Gruppe, Griech. Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, München, 1906, I, 835. The binding of the Spirit of the Soil 社 and is similar thereto. Cf. Chavannes, Le T'ai chan, p. 486 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. similar ceremonies among the Indians along the North American Lakes. If surprised by a storm, they bound a dog and threw it overboard. Brinton, Myths of the New World I, Philadelphia 1896, pp. 159—162.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Lün-shu-t'ung the old forms of the character showed: *nyehwe* and *tsieh*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Li-ki 5 (11) 24 b ff, esp. 34 b ff (= SBE 27, 428 ff). Among other things we are told: 於郊故謂之郊 "(The sacrifice took place) in the suburb [at the boundary]. Therefore it is called the sacrifice of the "boundary" ('suburb')." Shi-ki 28, 18 b, ch. Fêng-shan-shu — M. H. III, 457, gives a similar explanation:—有司皆曰古者天子夏親祠上帝於郊故曰郊 "The officials say all: In olden times the Son of Heaven himself used to offer up sacrifice in the *kiao* to Shang-ti in the summer and in the *kiao* (suburb): therefore it is called *kiao* (sacrifice)."

<sup>5</sup> P. Callery has already rightly recognised this aspect of the sacrifice. On the other hand, Legge (SBE 27, 427, note) is absolutely wrong. He reads into the words: 而主日 of the text:—"And the sun was considered (for the occasion) as the residence of (the spirit of) Heaven." 主 is here supposed to mean "spirit tablet" and he actually says:—"The sun became for the time the 'spirit tablet' (神主) of Heaven." He has been led astray to his curious interpretation partly through a rationalistic explanation of Fang Kueh. It is, however, unnecessary to mention that such a conception is out of the question for a sacrifice which belongs to primitive times.

in the first place it is also brought to the sun. The use of torches (燭 *chuk*) although the sacrifice took place during the day (?) speaks in favour of a sun offering as well<sup>1</sup>. Further, the sacrifice took place on a round hill, on the 圖丘壇 *yuan k'iu tan*<sup>2</sup>. When the Emperor Wên offered up the *kiao* sacrifice in 165 B. C., he chose the colour *red* in its honour (in memory of the ancient sun offering)<sup>3</sup>. That, however, cannot possibly have been the original character of the sacrifice, for in very primitive stages, the sun is not yet a deity to be worshipped. It is only much later that he assumes the role originally played by the lower demons of Heaven, i. e., the winds. Here again we have various indications which go to show that the Chinese sun offering was originally sacrificed to other powers. In point of fact we find in the Chou-li 7, 16a, ch. Ta-ssü-ma (= Biot II, 181) that a *kiao* sacrifice took place after the autumn hunt at which a wild animal which had been overcome (*shou*) was offered up<sup>4</sup>, and that according to the Li-ki ch. Yüeh-ling (= SBE 27, 295) which is noticed in the Chou-li commentary ad loc. it was offered to the 四方 *ssü fang* "the four corners" "(winds)."<sup>5</sup> It follows from this that the supplicatory sacrifice which was accomplished by laying out the net before the autumn hunt, was intended for the winds<sup>6</sup> (風).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Li-ki 3(11) 36a, ch. Kiao-p'eh-sheng (= SBE 27, 429), also Shi-ki 28, 15b, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (= M. H. III, 447):一通權火 "Des feux suspendus en l'air éclairaient toute la scène."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the symbol of the sun at the sacrifice to the sun, the *kiao-pi*.

<sup>3</sup> Shi-ki 28, 19a, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (= M. H. III, 457).

<sup>4</sup> 陸獸于郊入獻禽以享烝 "The wild animal was brought to the *kiao* (as food for the gods) and when entering (the capital) the game was offered up as a winter sacrifice." Chou-li 7, 16a.

<sup>5</sup> 命主祠祭禽于四方 "He (the Son of Heaven) commands those who administer the sacrifice to offer up the (captured) game to the four corners of the earth (the winds)." Li-ki 3(6) 30b ch. Yüeh-ling (last month of autumn). The commentary observes that the sacrifice took place in the *kiao* 以報四方之神 "in order to thank the spirits of the four corners of the earth (the winds)." Chou-li 5, 18b/19a (= Biot I, 450) reports the same application of the offering:—[若大甸則帥有司而陸獸于郊 . . . "If there be a great hunt, then he (Shiao-teng-poh) places himself at the head of the officials and offers up a wild animal at the *kiao* (as food for the gods)"], and then the commentator refers to the spirits of the winds.

<sup>6</sup> Chou-li 7, 13a ch. Ta-ssü-ma — Biot II, 175:—羅弊致禽以祀風. The word 風 *fang* is related to 方 *fang*, both etymologically and palaeographically, a fact which is noticed by the commentator. The character 示 "spirit" is simply added to the character 方 to denote the religious element.



*fang*) in the same way. Thus in connection with the hunt, which probably is the most primitive of all professions, the most important sacrifice was still offered to the winds and not to the sun. As an ancient hunt sacrifice the *kiao* is also characterised because the king has to shoot the sacrificial animal<sup>1</sup>.

At the beginning of settlement, in the period of agriculture, the demons of the wind also played their part which afterwards was taken over by the sun. While later on again we find the Spirit of the Soil 社 *shê* and the sacrifice called after him in permanent connection with the 郊 *kiao* as the sacrifice to the heavenly powers; thus, *c. g.*, Shu-king V, 1, III, 3, (郊社不修) "the sacrifices *kiao* (to Heaven and *shê* to Earth) he did not perform" and Chung-yung XIX, 6 (= Ch. Cl. I, 404) (郊社之禮所以事上帝也云云). "With the ceremonies at the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth [*kiao shê*] they served Shang-ti etc. etc."; we still find, however, in Shi-king III, 3, IV, 6 (= Ch. Cl. IV, 532):—新年孔鳳, 方社不莫 "In praying for a good year<sup>2</sup> I was abundantly early, (in sacrificing) to (the Spirits of) the four Quarters and of the Soil (*fang shê*) I was not late"; and again in Shi-king II, 6, VII, 2 (= Ch. Cl. IV, 377)<sup>3</sup>:—以我賁明, 與我犧, 羊以社以方 "With my vessels full of bright millet and my pure unblemished victim-rams I have sacrificed to [the Spirit of]<sup>4</sup> the Soil and to [those of] the four Quarters (*shê fang*)."

Here we still have the heavenly and earthly demons comprehended as 方社 *fang shê*: and it is the winds, not the sun, who are the foremost representatives of Heaven<sup>5</sup>. We have, however, a probable date for the transmission of the sacrifice to the sun which is found in a statement of Li-ki 8 (24) 46a, ch. Tsi-ngi, where we are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chou-li 8, 14<sup>a</sup> (= Diot II, p. 243), Shi-ki 28, 31<sup>b</sup> (= M. H. III, p. 497). For further references see Schindler, Das Priestertum etc. p. 76 note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the 新年殿 *Ki-nien-tien*, "hall of the temple where prayers are offered up for the year's harvest," with the province of the sacrificial country of Heaven; de Groot, Universalismus, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> The inversion of the usual 方社 is only due to the exigencies of rhyme.

<sup>4</sup> Legge, *l. c.*, follows up the impossible identification of 社 *shê* with 后土 *Hou Tu* which was already essayed by Mao and Ciu Ht, only to be rejected by them and rightly so.

<sup>5</sup> There still seems to be a remembrance of the original significance of the sacrifice in the Li-ki 5(10) 18b, ch. Li-ki (= SBE 27, 410) where we are told that by offering up the sacrifice at the *kiao*, the wind and rain would be regulated and cold and heat made to set in at the appointed time (饗帝于郊而風雨節寒暑時).

told that the Hia still offered it up in the darkness of the night. (夏后氏祭其闇). But the sun was not allowed to enjoy the *kiao* sacrifice alone: it had to share it with other celestial bodies. We are told in the above mentioned passages of the Kiao-t'eh-sheng und the Tsi-ngi of the Li-chi that the moon was associated with the sun<sup>1</sup>. The adoration of other deities of vegetation at the same time always enlarged the circle until at last the character of the *kiao* sacrifice was to a large extent hidden under the guise of a sun offering, although it was never completely extinguished. Besides the sun and moon, it seems that the dragon was drawn within the scope of the *kiao* sacrifice, for it appears on the royal standard (旗 *ki*) together with the sun and moon, thus, we are told, representing Heaven (以象天也)<sup>2</sup>.

Again, when offering a sacrifice to the heavenly deity (天), the king always wore the costume with the rising dragon (as the symbol of Heaven).<sup>3</sup>

Now the dragon was a deity of the rain, for the crocodile (蛇) (scil. the dragon) awakes with the commencement of rain and appears on the banks of the river; and the primitive mind naturally looks upon the herald of rain as its bringer. Since wind and rain deities always stand in active relationship to one another, it is quite possible that the dragon may already have had his share in the *kiao* sacrifice while

<sup>1</sup> 郊之祭 . . . 配以月 "With the sacrifice at the *kiao* . . . the moon was associated . . . ." Li-chi 8(24) 46a. The 望 *wang* sacrifices which in practice were brought in the closest connection with the *kiao* sacrifices and in some extraordinary cases took their place, might be mentioned here for they seem to contain the moon element.

<sup>2</sup> V. Li-chi 5(11) 36b, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (=SBE 27, 430).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Li-chi 6(13) 12, ch. Yü-t'ao (=SBE 28, 1). Different, however, according to Chou-li 5, 36a, ch. Ssu-fah (=Biot II, 3) where the ruler put on the 袞 *ku* robe (which according to the commentary was decorated with dragons) when he brought sacrifices to the ancient rulers.

<sup>4</sup> Therefore the commencement of the rainy season is called 龍見 *lung-ken* "the appearance of the dragon". Cf. Tso-chuan, 5th year of Huan-kang (=Ch. Cl. V, 45/46). In the Shi-ki ch. K'ung-tzu-chuan (=M. H. V, 352), according to an old proverb, Confucius offers the warning to drain the pond because then the "scaly dragon" 蛟龍 *kiao-lung* (cf. thereto De Visser, The Dragon in China and Japan, Amsterdam 1915, p. 76 ff.) will find no nourishment and will not show himself, and so the rain will be averted. For farther information concerning the earth dragon who brings rain, see Erkes, Das Weltbild des Hsai-nan-tze, note 172.



it was still a wind offering. According to the *Shi-ki* 28, 8b, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (=M. H. III, 430) during the Hia period green dragons sojourned on the boundary (in the suburb) (where the *kiao* sacrifice was offered up) and "the vegetation thrived wonderfully" (青龍止於郊草木暢茂)<sup>1</sup>.

In the *Li-ki* 8(23) 29b, ch. Tsi-fah (=SBE 28, 201/202) there is an enumeration of those deities of vegetation to whom the old *kiao* sacrifice was brought under the old dynasties. It seems to be that they are all totems. According to it Shun brought the *kiao* sacrifice to 畢 K'uh, the Hia offered it up to 鯀 K'un, the Yin to 冥 Ming and the Chou to 稷 Tsih<sup>2</sup>. (According to the commentary these deities were only 配 *p'ei* "mates," "correlates" or "associated"). This statement may possibly have been systematized: some Chinese too assume this to have been the case, but the character of the gods mentioned shows that it cannot be pure invention. First of all, evidence occurs over and over again proving Hou Tsih to be a recipient of the *kiao* sacrifice. It is directly stated in the *Tso-chuan*, the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Siang-kung (=Ch. Cl. V, 430/431), that "the *kiao* sacrifice was offered up to Hou Tsih in the Lu state, to implore (blessings) for agriculture" (夫郊祀后稷以祈農事也)<sup>3</sup>.

According to the *Li-ki* 5(11) 36b, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (=SBE 27, 430) Shang-ti<sup>4</sup> and Hou Tsih both received the *kiao* sacrifice. *Shi-ki* 28, 3a, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (=M. H. III, 419) gives still earlier conditions, according to which Hou Tsih is a correlate to (associated with)<sup>5</sup> Heaven, 天, with the deity to whom the *kiao* sacrifice was originally brought. He seems to have taken part in the enjoyment of the sacrifice already in the *Shu-king* V, 12, 5; we are told there

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *The Annals of the Bamboo Books*, Ch. Cl. III, Proleg. p. 117: 夏道將典草木暢茂青龍止于郊

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Legge, *l. c.* p. 202, note 1 and Pini, *Le Capitoli del "Li-ki"*, Florence 1886, p. 1—2, who mentions a parallel passage from the *Kuo-h-yü*.

<sup>3</sup> The commentator understands from this that Hou Tsih was associated with Heaven (以配天).

<sup>4</sup> At any rate the commentary to the passage says, mistaking the equality of Shang-ti and T'ien—郊祀后稷以配天 "At the *kiao* sacrifice Hou Tsih is associated with Heaven."

<sup>5</sup> 周公既相成王郊祀后稷以配天 "When Chou-kung was adviser to Ch'eng-wang, he brought the *kiao* sacrifice to Hou Tsih that he might be associated with Heaven."

that Chou-kung used two oxen as sacrificial animals at the *kiao* sacrifice (in Lo-yang) (用牲于郊牛二). According to Mao's commentary one of the animals was intended to Hou Tsih (as associated with Heaven) and as we can find no proof for the statement of other commentators that the animal was sacrificed to the earth (地), Mao may quite well have hit upon the correct interpretation.

The fact that the other statements have not given us an imitation of the Chou sacrifice<sup>1</sup>, goes to prove that they were drawn from real conditions and that these conditions were not parallel to those prevailing at the sacrifice just mentioned. As the Chou brought the sacrifice to their ancestor, we should be right in expecting to see 契 Sieh<sup>2</sup> their ancestor mentioned among the Yin. Instead, however, 冥 Ming, the fifth ancestor, is the one given. 冥 Ming<sup>3</sup> like 鯀 K'un<sup>4</sup> is a water deity and therefore a demon of vegetation.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, e. g., in the Tao-chuan, 7<sup>th</sup> year of Ch'ao-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 613/617) K'un asserts that the *kiao* sacrifice was offered to him under the Hia and in consequence all three dynasties offered to him.

<sup>2</sup> In its old form 𪛗 (= Chuan-tzu-wei: 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗). The Chuan-tzu-wei add 蟲 *chung*—"vermin". The T'ao-tien s. v. 𪛗 adds further 象形 "in the form of an elephant." The Han shu 22,8b differentiates between Sieh and the "dark king" who is otherwise identified with him. According to the Chou-shu-ki-nien, The Annals of the Bamboo Books (Ch. Cl. III. Proleg. p. 128), Sieh was born from a swallow's egg which his mother 簡狄 *A'ien-a* had swallowed. The statement that Sieh was born from an egg (在於卵) also occurs in Hsui-nan-tzu 19,4a. In the Li-ki S (23), ch. Tai-fah 契 Sieh is also commemorated as minister of education (司徒).

<sup>3</sup> According to the Chuan-tzu-wei, the old forms of the sign 冥 are: 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗. They mostly designate "Covered (imprisoned) sun". According to the same work (v. T'ao-tien s. v.): 玄冥水神也—"The dark ming is a water spirit." We are told in the Li-ki S (23) 37b, ch. Tai-fah (=SBE 28, 209):—冥勤其官而水死 "Ming died in the water in the midst of the greatest efforts for the execution of his office." The commentator remarks that this concerns the 玄冥 *A'ian-ming* "the dark ming" and that he appears in the Yüeh-ling as "the deity of the winter" (i. e. when the sun has disappeared). In the Tao-chuan, in the 18<sup>th</sup> year of Ch'ao-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 669/671) we are told that at a conflagration, a supplicatory sacrifice was brought to Hsüan-ming and 回祿 *Hui-luk* (the god of fire) to stay the fire 讓火玄冥 回祿. Cheng K'ang-ch'eng to Chou-li 5, 9a, ch. Ta-tung-poh (= Biot I, 421) explains Hsüan-ming—with leanings towards the theory of the elements—as originating from the two sons of Shao-hao (脩 Su and 熙 Hi) who was reared on water.

<sup>4</sup> 鯀 K'un "the great fish", father of 禹 Yü and therefore ancestor of the Hia Dynasty, is the hero who was to regulate the great floods, in which, however, he was unsuccessful. For this reason, according to Shu-king II, 1, 12 (= Ch. Cl. III, 40) he



The variation of the statements<sup>1</sup> concerning the sacrifice of Shun shows that this was not a matter of mere systemization; Even 畢 K'uh<sup>2</sup>, who disputes with Shang-ti the fatherhood of Hou Tsih, seems to have been a demon of vegetation.

Owing to Shang-ti's association with Heaven, the *kiao* sacrifice was transferred more and more to him: this step, however, seems to have been taken at a comparatively late date since the older sources know nothing of such a practice<sup>3</sup>. It is not until in the Li-ki that we find the *kiao* sacrifice offered up to Shang-ti as well. Cf. e. g., Li-ki 4(9) 65a, ch. Li-yin (=SBE 27, 385). We learn from these passages that the distinction between Shang-ti and Heaven has completely disappeared and that for this reason they cannot be very old. In the Li-ki 5(10) 18b, ch. Li-k'i (=SBE 27, 410) [cf. also Li-ki 5(10) 22b=SBE 27, 413] we are told that sacrifices were brought 饗 to Shang-ti at the *kiao* and that in this way the site of Heaven was established. In the Kiao-t'eh-sheng of the Li-ki 5(11) 36b (=SBE 27, 430/431) mention is made of the sacrificial animals at the *kiao* and then it says:—萬物本乎天. 人本乎祖此所以配上帝也 "All things have their roots in Heaven (天); man has his root in (his) ancestor (祖); this is the reason why he (Hou Tsih) was associated with Shang-ti." This remarkable rationalistic argument proves in itself the lateness of this statement<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand,

was banished to the Yü-shan (羽山) (in Shantung) where he was kept a prisoner until his death. For the history of K'ao cf. also Shuo-king V, 4, 3: Li-ki 8(21) 37a, ch. Tai-fah et saepe. According to the Tao-chuan, the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Ch'ao-kung (=Ch. Cl. V, 613/617) "(after his death) his spirit turned into a yellow bear that it might enter the Yü abysses" (其神化為黃熊以入於羽淵). According to the T'ien-wen hua 40, he was revived by a sorceress.

<sup>1</sup> Differences are also found as far as the others are concerned. According to the Li-ki 4(9) 53a, ch. Li-yin (=SBE 27, 372) (the rulers) of 杞 K'i (as descendants of Hsia) offered up the *kiao* sacrifice (co-ordinately) to 禹 Yü, (the rulers) of 宋 Sung (as descendants of the Shang) offered up the *kiao* sacrifice (co-ordinately) to 契 Sieh.

<sup>2</sup> The emperor K'eh (Ti K'eh) with the dynastic title Kao-sin (高辛) is the father of Sieh.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the observation in Shih-ki 28, 18b, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (=M. H. II, 457) and f. 2, 3b (=M. H. 451), that from older times onwards, the *kiao* sacrifice was always brought to Shang-ti in the territory of 亳 Yang. The latter statement is looked upon as uncanonical (不經) and is not mentioned by the official writers (摺紳).

<sup>4</sup> The Kiao-t'eh-sheng is, like the whole of the Li-ki, a compilation of texts which belong to very different periods; hence the continual contradiction in the statements.

the more ancient character of the sacrifice still glimmers through the Li-ki passage (SBE 27, 410) quoted above, for it says there that when sacrifice was presented to (Shang-)ti at the *kiao*, the winds and rains were duly regulated and the cold and heat came each in its proper time. (饗帝于郊而風雨節寒暑時)¹

The passage in Chung-yung XIX, 6 (=Ch. Cl. I, 404) with the dictum attributed to Confucius shows still further fusion: 郊社之禮, 所以事上帝也... "With the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth (*kiao shè*), they served Shang-ti." This attempt to reconcile all the sacrifices is to a certain extent due to the strong influence which was clearly exercised by Taoism in the Chung-yung time and according to which Heaven, Earth and all things in existence are merely emanations of one original being.

With the rise of the 五帝 *wu-ti* the *kiao* sacrifice was devoted to these gods. On the other hand the Ts'in and Han reformed this sacrifice again and according to the Shi-ki 28, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (=M. H. III, 485), extended it to their own highest deity, the Great One *T'ai-yih*, in memory of its ancient character, and we find it thus officially established in 113 B. C.

Originally the sacrificial gift probably consisted of the conquered wild animal which was offered up on the spot where the *kiao* sacrifice was presented to the winds. Cf. Chou-li 5, 18b/19a, ch. Siao-tsung-poh (=Biot I, 450): 若大甸則帥有司而饗獸于郊... "If there be a great hunt (by the king), then he places himself at the head of all the officials and offers up the wild animal at the boundary (*kiao*)."<sup>2</sup> The commentary to this passage adds that the wild animal was offered up at the *kiao* to the spirits of the four corners of the world (the winds) (以禽饋四方之神於郊). Cf. further the Chou-li passage (=Biot II, 181).

When the sacrifice developed into a sun offering (under the Chou?) we find a red bull as the representative of the sun. Cf. Kiao-t'eh-sheng in the Li-ki 5 (11) 35a (=SBE 27, 428): 牲用騂尙赤也 "The victim used (for the sacrifice) was a red one (a red steer) because red was highly prized." The sacrificial ritual of the ancient

¹ On the other hand, at a later period, a passage occurs in the Li-ki 5 (10) 22b, ch. Li-k'ü (=SBE 27, 413) where it is stated "that when offering the sacrifice to *ti* at the *kiao*, the highest expression of reverence is uttered," (祀帝於郊敬之至也).



hunt offering has, however, been retained, for the king generally *shoots* the animal instead of *slaughtering* it. The Kiao-t'eh-sheng [Li-ki 5 (11) 24b] begins with the statement that only one sacrificial animal is offered up (郊特性). [Cf. further ch. Li-ki of the Li-ki 5 (10) 5b = SBE 27, 398: 祭天特性 "He offered sacrifices to Heaven with a single victim." The commentary to the passage runs as follows: 特觴也 "The victim is a single one."] The command that no pregnant animal had to be sacrificed may have something to do with this<sup>1</sup>; but conceptions of ritual purity probably also have been the cause of such a command. In practice the matter was quite different. Hou Tsih, who is associated with Heaven, also receives an ox, as is shown in Shu-king V, 12, 5<sup>2</sup>. In his case it was not necessary for the animal to be absolutely flawless although the animal dedicated to Heaven had to be without blemish<sup>3</sup>. The numerous observations of the Ch'un-tsi'u and the Tso-chuan go to show that this command was faithfully observed, for according to them the sacrifice took place at a later season and in fact had to be dropped at several occasions because no perfect animal could be obtained<sup>4</sup>. The *red* colour of the sacrificial animal is easily explained through the character of the sun sacrifice.

Strangely enough blood plays one of the chief roles at this sacrifice. Cf. Li-ki 5 (10) 15a = SBE 27, 406 and Li-ki 5 (11) 25a = SBE 27, 417: 郊血. According to the Chou-li 5, 9a, ch. Ta-tsung-poh

<sup>1</sup> 故天子牲孕弗食也. 祭帝弗用也 "Therefore the Son of Heaven did not ate of a pregnant sacrificial animal, neither did he use it when sacrificing to H." Li-ki 5 (11) 24b, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (= SBE 27, 417).

<sup>2</sup> Since other deities already partook of the *kiao* sacrifice in hoary antiquity, we may assume that the custom of offering two sacrificial animals goes very far back.

<sup>3</sup> 帝牛不吉以爲稷牛, 必在滌三月云云 "If the bull intended for the 上帝 were found to be not felicitous, it was used as the (sacrificial) bull for (Hou) Tsih. The (sacrificial) bull intended for 上帝 had to be kept in a pure stall for three months, etc." Li-ki 5 (11) 36b, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (= SBE 27, 430).

<sup>4</sup> Thus e. g., Ch'un-tsi'u in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Shun-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 291/292) 三年, 春, 王正月, 郊牛之口傷, 改卜, 牛牛死乃不郊 "In the third year, in the spring, in the first month of the king, the mouth of the bull was damaged. It was exchanged and the tortoise-shell consulted about the (other) bull. (This) bull died and then the *kiao* sacrifice did not take place." Cf. also the numerous passages where field-mice gnawed at the horns of the bull and so made the sacrificial animal unclean. Finally in Mêng-tzu and Chuang-tzu references are made among other things about the value and care of the sacrificial animal.

(= Biot I, 421) in its enumeration of the characteristic customs of the individual sacrifices, blood plays a special part at the Earth sacrifice only<sup>1</sup>; we can therefore see an interweaving with the terrestrial cult<sup>2</sup>. But the enumeration of the sacrificial gifts in both the Li-ki passages already mentioned seems to indicate a certain amount of systemisation. The actual burning seems rather to have been the chief feature of the ceremony; for in the middle of it all, next to the round hill, stood the fire altar 燔壇 *fan tan* so characteristic of sun and celestial sacrifices. The so-called burnt sacrifice of a pile of wood 柴 *ch'ai* is, as a matter of fact, often designated as the sacrifice to Heaven. In the Chou-li it is to be found among the enumeration of those sacrifices and in the place where one might expect the *kiao* sacrifice, for it is offered to the sun with whom are associated the moon and the stars<sup>3</sup>. Again, the statement of the Tsi-fah in the Li-ki 8(23) 31 (= SBE 28, 202)<sup>4</sup> refers to Heaven. There the pile of wood is set alight on the great altar 泰壇 *tai tan*<sup>5</sup>. Again, the king offered up a 柴 *ch'ai* when he went on tours of inspection or expeditions of war if he attained his goal. Thus according to the Shu-king II, 1, III, 8 Shun offered up a burnt sacrifice of a pile of wood when he reached the T'ai-shan or the other holy mountains; Li-ki 5(5) 8b, ch. Wang-chi (SBE 27, 216) has the same reference<sup>6</sup>. An extension of this cult, however, can be seen from Li-ki 6(16) 66a, ch. Ta-chuan (= SBE 28, 60) where Wu-wang offers up a burnt

<sup>1</sup> 以血祭祭社稷五祀五嶽 "Through the blood offering, sacrifices are brought to the Spirit of the Soil and of the Grain, to the five *shü* [= 5 lares (?) or 5 ancient heroes(?)] and to the five holy mountains."

<sup>2</sup> It may also be an interpolation.

<sup>3</sup> 以實柴祀日月星辰 "Through (the bull) on the pile of wood burnt offering, sacrifices are brought to the sun, moon, stars and stars." (Chou-li 5, 8b ch. Ta-tung-poh [= Biot I, 420].)

<sup>4</sup> 燔柴於泰壇祭天也 "Sacrifices were brought to Heaven through a flaming pile of wood on the Great Altar." Li-ki 8(23) 31a, ch. Tsi-fah.

<sup>5</sup> According to the commentary the sacrificial animals and pieces of jade (牲玉) were placed upon the pile of wood. The fire altar is situated south-southeast of the middle point of the Round Hill" (cf. De Groot, *Universalism*, p. 146).

<sup>6</sup> 歲二月東巡守至于岱宗柴望秣于山川 "In the second month of the year he made a tour of inspection to the east, as far as T'ai-tung. (There) he brought a burnt-offering on a pile of wood and offered up a sacrifice from afar (*tsung*) towards the mountains and rivers". Shu-king II, 1, III, 8.



sacrifice on a pile of wood after the battle near Muh-ye to Shang-ti<sup>1</sup>; the Shu-king V, 3, 3, confirms this statement without mentioning that the *ch'ai* sacrifice was offered to Shang-ti<sup>2</sup>. Ch. Li-k'i of Li-ki 5(10) 12b (= SBE 27, 403/404) mentions a curious use of this sacrifice: Hia Fu-k'i, the keeper of the ancestral temple of Lu who is also conspicuous<sup>3</sup> for his neglect of ceremonial at the sacrifices, offered up the burnt sacrifice *ch'ai* to the goddess of cookery<sup>4</sup>. This sacrifice, however, seems to have been limited to the Lu province<sup>5</sup>.

The remaining customs of the sacrifice *kiao* seem to show a high antiquity. The preparations alone, apart from anything else, are very extensive and point to the important position occupied by the sacrifice. The command in Kiao-t'eh-sheng to sweep the altars<sup>6</sup>

「牧之野武王之大事也。既事而退，柴於上帝，祈於社，設奠於牧室。...」 Wu-wang performed a great (sacrificial) service on the field of Muh-[ye]. Before he completed the service and had withdrawn, he brought a burnt offering on a pile of wood to Shang-ti, prayed (sacrificed) to the Spirit of the Soil (shé) and offered libations in the house (on the site of the temple) of Muh. Li-ki 6(16) 66a. The commentator adds:—「燔柴以告天」 He offered up the burnt offering on a pile of wood that he might solemnly proclaim (the events) to Heaven.

「越三日庚戌，柴望大告武成。」 On the third day following, K'eng-ku, he brought a burnt offering on a pile of wood and the sacrifice, from afar (towards the mountains and rivers) wang and (thus) solemnly announced the successful completion of the war. Shu-king V, 3, 3.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Legge, SBE 27, 403, note 3. The commentary to the passage observes:—「遂燔柴祭之，是朱禮矣」 to offer up a burnt sacrifice on a pile of wood to it (the hearth), is not according to the *li* (law).

<sup>2</sup> 「燔柴於庖」 He brought a burnt sacrifice on a pile of wood to the goddess of cookery. Li-ki 5(10) 12b. For further information concerning the goddess of cookery cf. Couraud in Stenz, Beiträge zur Volkskunde Süd-Schantungs, p. 389.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Stenz, *l. c.*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> 「埽地而祭於其質也」 The earth was swept and the sacrifice was offered up (there) to mark its simplicity. Li-ki 5(11) 34b, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (= SBE 27, 428). Cf. Li-ki 5(10) 8a, ch. Li-k'i (= SBE 27, 400):—「...至敬不壇，埽地而祭」... When offering up a sacrifice the greatest act of reverence was not in the erection of the altar (but) in the sweeping of the earth, where the commentator refers to the *chiao* sacrifice. Cf. the direction in the present cult according to which the Round Hill must be swept and which must be purified from top to bottom: De Groot, *l. c.*, p. 166. Further it might be noted that the ancient character for "house", "temple" ("living room") 寢 *tsin* = "a large house". Cf. also the character for "broom" in 婦 *fu* "wife". It was apparently the duty of the wife to purify the ancestral temple besides providing the vessels for the grain. For further information about the "sweeping" of the altar, v. Franke, Das Problem, etc. p. 272, note 4.

shows that the pile of wood was originally erected on the ground itself and not on an altar. Simple earthenware vessels and calabashes<sup>1</sup> served as sacrificial utensils. Again, at the beginning, the king wore simple garments, a point which is confirmed by the mention of the hempen<sup>2</sup> cap in the *Shi-ki* (= M. H. III, 225), while the chariot in which he drives is also simple<sup>3</sup>. Later on, the king displayed great pomp and wore the cap with the twelve precious stones besides the glorious robe<sup>4</sup>. As the solstice festival, the *kiao* is also a festival of great rejoicing and the *kiao* sacrifice is therefore celebrated with song and dance. According to Chou-li 6, 2b, ch. Ta-ssü-yoh (= Biot II, 30) "at the time (the strain) *Huang-chung* was played (on the instrument), (the melody) *Ta-lü* was sung and the (dance) *Yün-men* was danced in order to sacrifice to the heavenly spirits." (乃奏黃鍾歌大呂舞雲門以祀天神.)

Further on fol. 4b (= Biot II, 34), we read:—凡樂圓鍾爲宮黃鍾爲角大蕤爲徵姑洗爲羽雲鼓雲鼗孤竹之管雲和之琴瑟雲門之舞冬日至於地上之圓丘奏之 "Generally music is performed whereby the melody *Yüan-chung* is played with (the note) *Kung*, (the melody) *Huang-chung* is played with (the note) *Kioh*, (the melody) *Ta-ts'ü* with (the note) *Chi*, (the melody) *Ku-si* with (the note) *Yü*, and whereby thunder drums (are beaten) and the thunder tambourines (are shaken), the bamboo flutes (are blown), the harps and zithers from (the mountain) *Yün-ho* seized and (the dance) *Yün-men* performed, (all) at the winter solstice on the round hill, above on the earth." Cf. De Groot, *Universism*, p. 168 ff.

<sup>1</sup> 器用陶匏以象天地之性也 "Clay utensils and pumpkins were used as vessels, in order to represent the natural of Heaven and Earth." Li-ki 7, 2. Cf. the 匏樽 "pumpkin-goblets" of the modern *kiao* sacrifice in De Groot *l. c.*, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lun-yü IX, 3, 1:—靡冕禮也 "The hempen cap is accordance with the *li*." Otherwise the king would have worn the great tiara during the sacrifice to Heaven. Cf. Chou-li (= Biot II, 5).

<sup>3</sup> 乘素車貴其質也 "He drove in the simple (white) chariot on account of its (i. e., the sacrifice's) simplicity." Li-ki 5(11) 36b. The commentary explains the 素車 *ssü-ch'ü* as "the wooden chariot of the Yin" (殷之木路也). Cf. Chou-li, 6, 48a (= Biot II, 127) concerning the *ssü-ch'ü*.

<sup>4</sup> 天重象聖人則之 "Heaven hangs out (his) shining pictures and the sages imitated him." Li-ki 5(11) 36b. Later on the *kiao* sacrifice became the most grandiose ceremony of the state cult.



on the placing of the musicians during the *kiao* sacrifice in the modern cult: mourners have to put off their mourning for the day<sup>1</sup>.

Originally, while it was still an offering to the winds, the *kiao* sacrifice was not limited to any special point of time, but as the sacrifice after the chief hunts it took place in spring and autumn. When it was transferred to the sun it was limited to the solstice festivals. In the Tzū-tien s. v. 郊 *kiao*, we are told:—祭名冬至祀天于南郊夏至祀地于北郊故謂祀天地爲郊 "The name of the sacrifice of the winter solstice is the offering to Heaven at the southern suburb [boundary] (*kiao*); that of the summer solstice is the sacrifice to Earth at the northern suburb [boundary] (*kiao*). Therefore the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth are called *kiao* (sacrifices)." Leaving later embellishment aside (as that of the sacrifice to the Earth in the summer) we must retain the winter solstice as the time limit for the sacrifice. The Shi-ki 28, 2b, ch. Fêng-shan-shu (= M. H. III, 417) quotes from a certain 周宮 Chou-kuan "The Officials of the Chou", according to which sacrifices were brought to Heaven at the southern suburb [boundary] (*kiao*) during the winter solstice and to the deities of the Earth at the northern (*kiao*) during the summer solstice<sup>2</sup>. The *kiao* is verified twice in the Kiao-t'eh-sheng as the sacrifice of the summer solstice. We are told in the Li-ki 5(11) 34b (= SBE 27, 427):—郊之祭也迎辰日之至也 "At the sacrifice at the suburb [boundary] (*kiao*), he (scil. the

<sup>1</sup> 喪者不哭不敢凶服 "The mourners wept not, neither did they dare put on their mourning dress." Li-ki 5(11) 36a, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (= SBE 27, 429). Cf. similarly Li-ki 8(24) 43a, ch. Tai-pi (= SBE, 28, 217): "During the *kiao* sacrifice, the mourners dared not weep and those who wore mourning dress dared not enter the gate of the capital (不敢入國門)."   
<sup>2</sup> 周宮曰冬至祀天於南郊迎辰日之至夏日至祭地祇皆用樂無而神乃可得而禮也 "The Chou-kuan says: At the winter solstice sacrifices are brought to Heaven at the southern *kiao*. Thus the advent of growing day is awaited. At the summer solstice sacrifices were brought to the Spirits of the Earth. (On) all (these occasions) music and dances are performed, and so the spirits can be reached and the rites carried out." Shi-ki 28, 2b, Fol. 15b of the same chapter of the Shi-ki (= M. H. III, 417) also tells us among other things:—

三年一郊奏以冬十月爲歲首故常以十月上宿郊見 "One *kiao* sacrifice took place every three years. The Ts'in reckoned the tenth month in the winter as the beginning of the year. Therefore (the ruler) in his own mighty person went in the tenth month, within the first ten days of the month to perform the *kiao* sacrifice."

Son of Heaven) solemnly welcomed the arrival of the longest day." Then again 5 (11) 35a:—郊之用辛也周之始郊日以至 "The *kiao* was offered up on a *sin*-day (for it was) the Chou (N. B. King Wu-wang after the battle near Muh-ye) who commenced the *kiao* at the (winter) solstice." As a result of the confusion with other vegetation sacrifices of various dynasties, the *kiao* sacrifice became a spring sacrifice, as is shown by the practice of the Ch'un-ts'iu and the Tso-chuan for Lu. The following statements are found in the Ch'un-ts'iu concerning the time when the *kiao* sacrifice was offered: 1. Ch. Cl. V, 217:—夏四日四卜郊 "In summer, in the fourth month, the tortoise-shell was consulted for the fourth time concerning the *kiao* sacrifice". 2. Ch. Cl. V, 291:—三年春王正月郊牛之口傷改卜牛牛死乃不郊 "In the third year (of Duke Silan) in the spring, in the first month of the king, the bull (which was destined) for the *kiao* suffered some injury in the mouth. It was exchanged and the tortoise-shell consulted concerning the (other) bull. The bull died, and so the *kiao*-sacrifice was not offered." 3. Ch. Cl. V, 361 says:—七年春王正月謁鼠食郊牛角改卜牛謁鼠又食其角乃免牛 "In the seventh year (of the duke), in the spring, in the first month of the king, some field mice gnawed at the horns of the bull (destined) for the *kiao* sacrifice. It was exchanged and the tortoise-shell consulted concerning an (other) bull. (But) field mice again gnawed at its horns, whereupon the bull was let go." Again *ibid*:—不郊猶三望 "(In summer) there was no *kiao* sacrifice but in spite of that we offered up sacrifices to the three *wang*." Ch. Cl. V, 372 tells us:—夏四月五卜郊不從乃不郊 "In summer, in the fourth month, the tortoise-shell was consulted for a fifth time about the *kiao* sacrifice. As (the result) was not favourable, the *kiao* sacrifice did not take place." Ch. Cl. V, 789:—謁鼠食郊牛牛死改卜牛 "(In the fifteenth year of Duke Ting, in the first month of spring) field mice gnawed at the bull (which was destined) for the *kiao* sacrifice. The bull died; it was exchanged and the tortoise-shell consulted concerning the (other) bull." And *ibid*:—夏五月辛亥郊 "In summer, in the fifth month, on the day *Sin-hai*, the *kiao* sacrifice took place." Ch. Cl. V, 792:—謁鼠食郊牛改卜牛 "(In the first year of Duke Ngai, in the spring) field mice gnawed at the bull (which was destined) for the *kiao* sacrifice. It was exchanged and the tortoise-shell consulted concerning



the (other) bull." According to the same source, the *kiao* sacrifice took place in the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *Sin-azü* (夏四月辛巳郊).

We learn from this that in Lu, under the Chou, the sacrifice was brought in the summer: in reality, therefore, in the spring. This practice is further confirmed by the statements of the Tso-chuan. According to it, in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Huan-kung (=Ch. Cl. V. 45/46) the *kiao* sacrifice was brought at the time *Êi-chih* 啟蟄 "at the emergence of the insects from their burrows" i. e., at the beginning of spring. This statement is confirmed in the Tso-chuan, 7<sup>th</sup> year of Siang-kung (=Ch. Cl. V. 430/431) and the writer adds that ploughing followed directly on the *kiao* sacrifice.

The last passage mentions that the *kiao* sacrifice concerned an offering to Hou Tsih and that blessings for the tilling of the fields were entreated<sup>1</sup>.

The practice during the Ch'un-ts'iu period shows therefore—although not all commentators will admit it—that by that time the *kiao* sacrifice was no longer (or rather not only) a solstice sacrifice but also a spring sacrifice<sup>2</sup>.

The sacrifice is specially mentioned under the Ts'in as the offering after the 立春 "beginning of spring" and before ploughing the land. Lü-shi Ch'un-ts'iu 1, 3a and Li-ki 3(6) 47b, ch. Yüeh-ling (=SBE 27, 254) tell us:—是月也天子乃以元日祈穀于上帝 "In this first (spring) month the son of Heaven on the first day<sup>3</sup> brought sacrifices of grain to Shang-ti (or: the son of Heaven entreats Shang-ti to bless the grain)<sup>4</sup>.

Since that time the sacrifice remained<sup>5</sup> as the sacrifice of the winter solstice and that of the spring at the southern boundary 南郊

<sup>1</sup> 是故啟蟄而郊郊而後耕 „Therefore the *kiao* sacrifice is offered at the time *Êi-chih* and ploughing follows after the *kiao*. Tso-chuan, 7<sup>th</sup> year of Siang-kung.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Legge, Ch. Cl. V, 219, par. 3–5.

<sup>3</sup> According to the commentary the first day (元日) is the first (辛) *sin* day.

<sup>4</sup> The commentary adds that the Son of Heaven reaps his grain offering by tilling the field with 1000 Mou.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the description in De Harlez:—大清祭禮 La Religion et les Cérémonies Impériales de la Chine Moderne, 1893, p. 76 ff.;—Farjanel, Le Culte Impérial en Chine, J. A. Sér. 10, vol. VIII (1906) p. 431–516;—Grube, Religion und Kultur der Chinesen, p. 73 ff. and lastly the most detailed and best representation of the modern principal

*nan kiao* of the capital. The former is offered up on the 圓丘壇 *yüan-ku-t'an*, "The altar of the round-hill"<sup>1</sup> and the latter on the 新穀壇 *ki-kuh-t'an*, "the altar of the grain offering"<sup>2</sup>.

Under the Chou the day of sacrifice had at least to contain the cyclical character 辛 *sin*. The reason given is that after the battle near Muh-ye Wu-wang first offered the *kiao* sacrifice on a *sin* day<sup>3</sup>.

The real *kiao* sacrifice is only that which is offered to Heaven at the southern *kiao*, although other sacrifices analogous to it were also brought at the other suburbs (boundaries); it may perhaps be that these inherited the remembrance of the *kiao* sacrifice being originally offered to the four corners of the world (四方). There is an obscure passage in the Chou-li where mention is made of 2 *kiao* while the Shu-king speaks once of 3 *kiao*<sup>4</sup>. There were 4 *lei* and 4 *wang* corresponding to the 4 *kiao* and according to Chou-li 5, 16b, ch. Siao-tsung-poh (=Biot I, 441) altars were erected at all of them<sup>5</sup>.

It is probable that as an offering to the winds, the *kiao* was not offered up to any special demons or gods, as little as it is the case to-day among the Siberians and other peoples. This would explain why it was brought by an official of quite secondary rank when it became part of the state cult, in that place where it first attained significance, *i. e.*, after the autumn hunt. Once, however, it was directed to the sun or Heaven, it fell under the personal duties of the ruler of the state, by whom the rite is to be performed to this very day. In the Li-ki 4(9) 65a, ch. Li-yün (=SBE 27, 385) mention

sacrifice in De Groot, *Universismus*, p. 141 ff. There is an illustration of the sacrifice in S. Wells-Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, New York 1895, I, with the words "Imperial Worship of Shangti on the Altar of Heaven at Peking."

<sup>1</sup> De Groot, *l. c.* p. 144 ff.

<sup>2</sup> De Groot, *l. c.* p. 150 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 郊之用辛也周之始郊日以至 "For the *kiao* a *sin* day was used, (because) the Chou first offered up the *kiao* at the (winter) solstice." Li-ki 3 (11) 35a, ch. Kiao-t'eh-sheng (=SBE 27, 428) (x. above p. 645). Cf. the notes of the K'ien-lung editors in Legge *l. c.* For further explanations why a 辛 *sin* day has been chosen cf. E. Morgan, *A Case of Ritualism in JRAS China Branch*, 1917, p. 136, note.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Shu-king V, 29, 5.

<sup>5</sup> 兆五帝于四郊四望四類亦如之 "He erected altars to the *wu-ti* at the four *kiao*. He did likewise for the four *wang* and the four *lei*." Chou-li 5, 16b.



is made that the ancient kings used to offer it<sup>1</sup>. In the Shu-king V, 1, III, 3, the last Emperor of the Shang dynasty Chou-sin, is reproached for neglecting<sup>2</sup> the *kiao* (and the *shé*). In the Shi-king III, 3, IV, 2, the king complains that drought has set in in spite of the fact that he piously offered up the *kiao* sacrifice<sup>3</sup>. In the Shi-ki (=M. H. III, 221) the *kiao* sacrifice is designated as royal sacrifice. Therefore Confucius makes a serious reproach in the Li-ki 4(9) 53b, ch. Li-yün (=SBE 27, 371)<sup>4</sup> that the ruler of Lu has taken upon himself to offer up the *kiao* sacrifice. We are told there:—魯之郊禘非禮也周公其垂矣杞之郊也禹也宋之郊也契也是天子之事守也故天子祭天地諸侯祭社稷 "The *kiao* and *ti* sacrifices performed in Lu are against the ritual instructions. How has (the ritual) of Chou-kung (fallen) into decay? The *kiao* sacrifice in K'i was offered (on account of) Yü. The *kiao* sacrifice in Sung was offered (on account of) Shih. Thus were preserved the sacrificial observances of the Son of Heaven. For the Son of Heaven offered sacrifices to Heaven and Earth (only) while the feudal lords offered to the Spirits of the Soil and the Grain."

The ploughing of the land by the ruler<sup>5</sup> took place in connection with the spring *kiao* sacrifice; in the Li-ki 3(6) 47b, ch. Yüeh-ling (=SBE 27, 254/255) (=Lü-shi Ch'un-t'sün 1, 33a ff) it is called: 耕帝藉 *k'ing ti-tsieh* "the ploughing of the imperial field".

<sup>1</sup> 故祭帝於郊所以定天位也 "Therefore the (ancient) kings brought sacrifices to the *ti* at the *kiao* and thus the place of Heaven was established." Li-ki 4(9) 65a.

<sup>2</sup> 郊社不修 "The sacrifice *kiao* (to Heaven) and *shé* (to the Spirits of the Soil) he did not perform." Shu-king V, 1, III, 3.

<sup>3</sup> 自郊徂宮 "From the *kiao* I have gone to the ancestral temple." Shi-king III, 3, IV, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also M. H. V, 392, note.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also Ch. (I, V, 430/431; further this commentary to Chou-li 1, 31b ch. Tien-ku (=Brot I, 84):—王以孟春躬耕帝藉云云 "At the beginning of spring the king himself ploughs the imperial field, etc." According to the present ritual, the ploughing ceremony was preceded by a sacrifice to the Sien-nung (先農). (Cf. De Groot, *l. c.* p. 238). Cf. the fuller treatment of the cult of Sien-nung alias Shen-nung (神農) in Franke, *K'ang tschi t'u* p. 11 ff. We have taken the following statement of the Hsu Han-shu 14, 52 from there:—"According to the old ritual of the Han, the princely field was ploughed in the east at the beginning of spring and there the princes offered sacrifices to Sien-nung. Sien-nung is synonymous with Shen-nung or Yea-ti."

We have thus seen how the three greatest sacrifices of China have had their beginnings in ancient travel, roadside or wind sacrifices.

- IV The actual road sacrifice is mentioned in Ngi-li 16, 10a, ch. P'ing-li (= De Harlez p. 163, Steele I p. 191). We are told there of the ambassador of a certain state who received a 命 *ming*, a commission, and performed the solemn ceremony in the ancestral temple before his departure. It was a question of the gifts which the ambassador should take with him and which had been laid out. After the ambassador had performed the sacrifice and the sacrificial silk had been buried 理 *mai*, the text says:—又釋幣于行遂受命 "Then he (the liturgist) offers up the sacrificial rolls of black and red silk to the Road<sup>1</sup> and after that he (the commissioner) receives the 命 *ming*." The sacrifice to the God of the Road 行 *hing* forms one of the five 五祀 *wu ssü* sacrifices, which are generally designated as domestic sacrifices. These consist of the sacrifices to the protecting spirits of the inner gate, the cooking hearth, the outer gate, the road leading home and the middle rain gutters. In the Ts'in calendar of the Li-ki, the Yüeh-ling (Li-ki 3, 82a, 3, 86b, 3, 91b = SBE 27, 297, 302, 306), the 祀行 sacrifice is recognised<sup>2</sup> as specifically a winter one. We find mention of the real travel sacrifice in the commentary (*ki*) of the Ngi-li 18, 24a, ch. P'ing-li (= de Harlez p. 216)<sup>3</sup>. We are told there: (使者)出祖釋枝祭酒脯乃飲酒于其側 "When departing (the commissioner) offers up the *tsu* sacrifices and performs the *pai* ceremony. He offers up wine and dried meat and then drinks wine etc. etc." Here we have two sacrificial rituals which must be explained more fully. Concerning the 祖 *tsu* sacrifices, this is generally regarded as the sacrifice to the God of Road<sup>4</sup>. The modern character consists of

<sup>1</sup> 釋 *shü*—"to sprinkle, to saturate, to leave;" it also has the meaning "to lay down, to bring," throughout in the Ngi-li.

<sup>2</sup> The commentary observes concerning the passage where the sacrifices are brought to the road:—在廟門外之西 *i. e.*, outside the gate of the temple in the west. Cf. Legge's remark in SBE 27, 297. According to the Ch'un-t'ü-fan-lu and other sources the well has taken the place of the road.

<sup>3</sup> De Harlez *l. c.* has the following fantastic translation:—"Quand l'envoyé a passé la porte de la capitale, il offre un sacrifice aux ancêtres et au génie des chemins (et pose les offrandes sur le chemin à gauche de la grande porte). Il offre du vin et des viandes séchées (prie, annonce son voyage) et boit le vin (offert) à côté (du lieu du sacrifice)."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Legge to Shü III, 3, VI, 7 (= Ch. Cl. IV, 545) in his note where he says:—"祖 was the name of a sacrifice to the Spirit of Roads, at the commencement of a



示 "god" and 且 "ancestor" (ancient picture = Phallus<sup>1</sup>); so according to the Liu-shu-t'ung the old forms are:—祖 祖 師 夫 自 △ 台 委 祖 禱. But it may be that the character has been built up anagrammatically from 示 and 往 "to depart". The character may perhaps have shown that, according to the Ngî-li, sacrifices had to be brought to the ancestor either before or after the journey<sup>2</sup>; it might also be that the spirits 示 were worshipped<sup>3</sup> before departure (往). It says in the Shi-king III, 3, VI, 7 (= Ch. Cl. IV, p. 544):—仲 山 甫 出 祖. "When setting out Chung Shan-fu offered up the *tsu* sacrifice"<sup>4</sup>. And in Shi-king III, 3, VII, 3 (= Ch. Cl. IV, p. 548):—韓 侯 出 祖. "The prince of Han when setting out offered up the *tsu* sacrifice." In both cases it concerned an ambassador who had a 命 *ming* to carry out<sup>5</sup>. It is quite possible that this had something to do with an ancestral sacrifice, but it could also have something to do with a tribal god who exercised his function as a patron god. Tso-chuan gives a little fuller information about the travel sacrifice 祖 *tsu*. The passage in question is found in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Chao-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 612/616) (It is repeated in the Feng-shu-t'ung-ngi 8, 8a with a few variations):—公 將 往 夢 襄 公 祖 梓 慎 曰 君 不 果 行 襄 公 之 (Fst': 將!) 適 楚 也 夢 周 公 祖 而 行 (Fst': 而 遣 之). . . . 先 君 未 嘗 適 楚 故 周 公 祖 以 道 之. "As the duke was on the point of

journey or expedition." I am very doubtful whether the 祖 *tsu* in Yen (Forkx, Mé Ti, Berlin 1922, p. 347) should be interpreted as the feast by the T'ai Lake as some commentators insist.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the phallic symbols on the road in Japan as protection for travellers.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the announcement to the ancestors before departure and after return before the 祖 and 禱. Cf. further the farewell sacrifice before the final burial, after the dead body being placed in the coffin, as we find it described in the Li-ki 2 (3) 24a ff., ch. T'an-kung (= SBE 27, 141/142). The 祖 *tsu* sacrifice which took place in the courtyard 庭 *t'ing* might also be estimated as a kind of travel sacrifice.

<sup>3</sup> On the other hand 祖 *tsu* could also have been formed from 示 and 且 (ancient 祖).

<sup>4</sup> Note in this connection the play of words in verse 8:—仲 山 甫 祖 齊 "Chung-shan-fu went to Ts'i."

<sup>5</sup> According to Li-ki 3, 12a, ch. Wang-chi (= SBE 27, 220), before departing on a military undertaking the king received his commission (for the expedition) from his ancestors in the temple and the complete (plan) in the college (house of the men), (after he had offered up the *lei* sacrifice to Shang Il, the *i* to *Shê*, the *tsao* to his ancestor and had also brought the military sacrifice *ma*. . . .) 受 命 於 祖 受 成 於 學. Cf. further Quistorp *l. c.* p. 28.

departing, he dreamt that Siang-kung offered up the *tsu* sacrifice. Tzū Shên said: The prince dare not decide to depart. When Siang-kung wished to go to Ts'u, he dreamt that Chou-kung offered up a *tsu* sacrifice and (upon that) he went . . . . . (Our) former princes never went to Ts'u. Therefore Chou-kung offered up the *tsu* sacrifice that he might show him the way." It appears from this passage that the so-called *tsu* road-sacrifice had to do with a sacrificial ritual in the ancestral temple before departing on a journey, according to which the ancestor of the dynasty handed on to his descendant the portable image of the tribal god that it might act as a protection on a journey<sup>1</sup>. The 祖 *tsu* ceremonial when setting out on a journey, has already been brought into relation with a certain rite which is known under the name of 𨔵 *pah*. The commentary to Chou-li 8, 17a, ch. Ta-yü (=Biot II, 249) observes among other things: 謂祖道標𨔵磔犬也. While the commentary of Shih-king to III, 3, VI, 7 (Tzū-tien, s. v. 祖) says:—祖將行犯𨔵之祭也 "When setting out on a journey the *tsu* ceremony consists of attacking and driving over."

The written character 𨔵 *pah* is made up of 車 carriage plus the character 𠂔 *pah*. According to the Tzū-tien s. v., 𨔵 is the name of the sacrifice when departing:—將出祭名 The character 𠂔 (ancient) 𠂔 is explained somewhat childishly by the Liu-shu-t'ung.<sup>2</sup> The Chuan-tzū-wei s. v. 𠂔 has the form 𠂔; the Shuoh-wên (see Tzū-tien s. v.) gives the explanation: 走犬貌. 从犬而ノ之吏其足則刺𠂔也. According to this 𠂔 *pah* should be connected with 走 *tson* (*tseu*) "to go away, to depart." The character might have been taken from the dog (run over! cf. the character<sup>3</sup>), because a dog was sacrificed before departing on a journey.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the commentary to Chou-li 5, 18b ch. Siao-tung-poh (=Biot I, 499): 遂主曰祖

<sup>2</sup> In the compilations of the Liu-shu-t'ung 𠂔 appears in the form 𠂔 and similar. Cf. 𠂔—犬

<sup>3</sup> Another possible explanation might be that the character 𠂔 is supposed to represent "a dog on a leash". Cf. *s. g.*, Li-ki 1(1) 29b, ch. K'üeh-li (=SBE 27, 85):—效犬者左牽之 "He who is presenting a dog, should lead it with (his) left hand." Couvreur gives for 𠂔 "chien qui court", "chasser", "expulser", because of the commentary to Chou-li 10, 8b, ch. 赤𠂔氏 "rat-catcher" (=Biot II, 390):—



The commentary to the passage from the *Ngü-li (ki)* 18, 24 (concerning the 祖 and 輅 ceremonies) shows that a dog was used for the 輅 *pah*. It says:—其牲犬羊可也 "Their sacrificial animals may be a dog and a sheep." The same commentary refers among other things to Chou-li 9, 27b, ch. 犬人 *ch'üan-jen* "dog-man" (= Biot II, 346) where it says:—犬人掌犬牲凡祭祀其犬牲用栓物伏瘞亦如之 "The dog-man (officer) is instructed to offer up the dog as a sacrifice. He (brings) a dog as an offering at all sacrifices. The animal which is used (for a sacrifice) must be without blemish and of one colour. He acts in a like manner at the ceremony for the 伏 *fu*, i. e., the driving over the sacrificial animal and at that of the 瘞 *i*, i. e., the burial of the sacrificial animal." The commentary to this remarks:—伏謂伏犬以王車轡之瘞謂埋祭也 "*Fu* means: to offer up a dog as a sacrifice by having it run over by the king's carriage; *i* means: to offer up by means of burying." Then follows a reference to Erh-ya 5, 25a: 祭地曰瘞埋 "To bring a sacrifice to Earth is called *i mai*, to bury in secret." The text of the Chou-li 9, 27b then continues:—凡幾珥沈辜用騊可也 "If (the dog) be used for the smearing with blood and if it be drowned or torn to pieces, then a spotted one may (also) be used<sup>1</sup>." After this little digression, let us turn once more to that

赤反猶言扶拔也主除蟲豸自埋者; this, however, rests upon an (incorrect) identification with 拔, for it is in no way related to the apparent root 黑 (two hands uprooting a tree?). Again the 反 of the Chou-li is written in the Liu-shu-t'ung 駘 *poi* = "Goddess of Drought" (Shi III, 3, IV, 5). Apart from this the Shi-wên is the only other source which compares 反 with 除 "expulser".

<sup>1</sup> The commentary gives the old form 龍 *lung* for 騊 *mau*. 幾 to be read: 𪔐 *tsi* (with which Cheng K'ang-ch'eng also identifies it) should equal 𪔐 *tsi*, and as a matter of fact he refers to Erh-ya 5, 25:—祭山曰𪔐 (text 𪔐 *tsi*) 縣 "To sacrifice to the mountain is called *tsi hien*;" but 𪔐 is the phonetic way of writing for 𪔐 (度) and is according to the Tsü-tien:—𪔐謂埋藏之 "*Tsi* means: to bury it in secret." This explanation, however, does not seem to fit, since the burying at the sacrifice to the Earth was quite common and is mentioned. The commentary makes 珥 equal 𪔐 *erh* "to smear with blood" (Cf. further the commentary to Chou-li 9, 25b = Biot, II, 333 note). According to Erh-ya 1, c. 沈 is 祭川曰浮沈 "To sacrifice to the rivers is called *fu-shen* = to cause to sink." The commentary then refers to Chou-li 5, 9a, ch. Ta-chung-poh (= Biot I, 421/422) in support of this:—(瞞曰)以𪔐 (=埋)沈祭山林川澤以𪔐率祭四方百物... "By burying, sacrifices are brought to the mountains and the woods, by causing



Ngi-li commentary to 18, 24. This continues as follows:—古文核作祓: "The Ku-wên form of 核 is 祓 *fid* "warding off a disaster" "(to sprinkle)". This, however, is not confirmed either by the Chuan-tzu-wei or by the Liu-shu-t'ung. These latter merely have forms like 核. Mao identifies 核 with 跋 *poh* "to go through the grass" (= 草行), but this is disputed by our commentator. Thus far the commentary.

From all the statements about the 核 *pah* ceremony which are found especially in the Chou-li, we are able to form the following conclusions; namely, that it consisted of a certain warding off ceremony at the beginning of a journey or before the driving over ceremony; it is therefore a matter of indifference whether the 核 *pah* is an image or a symbol which preceded the ceremony or whether the character 核 has been constructed as a result of this custom. The ceremony is described as follows in the Chou-li 8, 17 a, ch. Ta-yü "Great Driver" (= Biot II, 249):—大馭掌馭玉路以祀及祀核王自左馭馭不祝登受饗祀核遂驅之

to sink to rivers and the marshes, by opening and cutting to pieces sacrifices are brought to the four corners of the world (windy) and to the hundred Brings." Although the whole systematic division of the sacrifices in the Ta-tsung-poh chapter seems to have been manipulated a great deal, its core is very ancient, for we often hear *e. g.* of sinking something at the sacrifice to the god of the river. Another similar systematic compilation of the various ways of bringing sacrifices is also found in the Ngi-li 20, 44 b, ch. Kin-li (apparently belonging to the 記):—(天子)祭天燔柴祭山丘陵升祭川沈祭地瘞 "When bringing sacrifices to Heaven, he (the Son of Heaven) used burnt sacrifices on a pile of wood, when offering to the mountains, hills and heaps of earth, he surmounted (something), when offering to the rivers he sank (something), when offering to the Earth he buried (something)." 率 (cf. also Chou-li 9, 29 b) — 瘞 "to tear to pieces". The inscriptions on bone speak more often of dogs being buried or burnt. Cf. Hopkins, Pictographic Reconnaissances in JRAS, October 1917, p. 784.

According to the Tzu-lien 祓 means "the warding off and frightening away of all evil." 拂除災求福也又潔也除也. According to the Chou-li 6, 38 b (= Biot II, 104) the *shü-nyu* (女巫) were entrusted with the warding off and exorcising ceremonies 祓除. In the T'ao-chuan, the 25<sup>th</sup> year of Siang-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 511/515), we read:—祝祓社 "The liturgist performs the exorcising warding off ceremony at the *shé*"; and in the T'ao-chuan, 5<sup>th</sup> year of Ting-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 750/754):—君以軍行祝社豐鼓祝奉以從 "If the prince go out with the army, then the liturgist performs the warding off ceremony at the *shé*, smears the drums with blood and follows with the portable image;" T'ao-chuan, 29<sup>th</sup> year of Siang-kung (= Ch. Cl. V, 344/347):—祓殯 "to ward off the coffin". Legge translates 祓 "to sprinkle" throughout, apparently in accordance with the commentary to Chou-li 6, 38 b.



"The great driver is commissioned to bring the jade carriage to the ceremony, and when the ceremony of attack and driving over is performed, the king himself drives. The driver steps down and recites the prayers and performs the sacrifice. He seizes the bridle, performs the ceremony of 'attack and driving over' and then drives the horses farther"<sup>1</sup>. Following straight on this we are told in 8, 18a, ch. Jung-p'u "Driver of the War Chariot" (= Biot II, 251):—... 犯轅如玉路之儀凡巡守及兵車之會亦如之 "He (the Jung-p'u) performs the ceremony of 'attack and driving over' in exactly the same way as the rite with the jade carriage. He does the same at tours of inspection as well as at the gatherings of arms and chariots." Thus far the ritual at the 轅 *pah* according to the Chou-li. In the Shi-king III, 2, 1, on the other hand, there is no question of a journey or a road sacrifice<sup>2</sup> but of a warding off ceremony at the 禴 *yin* sacrifice for the coming year (嗣歲). We are told there:—取羝以轅 "We take a ram to perform the driving over ceremony." The ritual at which the warding off ceremony is performed with a dog apparently occurs at all conjuration sacrifices which took place at the gate<sup>3</sup>, but from the standpoint of the history of religion it matters very little whether the dog was driven over or cut to pieces, the main purpose being to symbolise the destruction of the hostile demon<sup>4</sup>.

In the chapter Yueh-ling of the Li-ki 3(6) 57 b, we are told that a dog was torn to pieces and buried at the nine gates in order to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the commentary on p. 651.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Legge, *Ch. Cl. IV*, 471: "We sacrifice a ram to the spirit of the path." Legge says in the note:—"轅 was the name of a sacrifice offered to the spirits of the roads on setting out on a journey; but from the mention of it here, we must conclude that it was also used in connection with the services of the ancestral temple."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the conjuration sacrifice 禴 *yung*. It is interesting to note that in the Ng-li 12, 32 (46) the dog was sacrificed at the east gate during a banquet. The passage quoted says:—其牲狗也烹于門外東方 "His sacrificial animal is the dog. It is cooked outside the gate on the east side." [Cf. Li-ki 10(45), 51a, ch. Hsiang-yin-k'ung] (= SBE 28, 443): 烹狗於東方] The commentary (cf. Legge *l. c.*) refers to the dog as the guard. For further information concerning the sacrifice of dogs cf. Ng-li 7, 20 a/b (= De Harlez p. 74, who gives a fantastic translation).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. similar phenomena in the Indo-Chinese and the circles of culture related thereto. E. G. Prachewalsky, *Reisen nach Tibet*, p. 150; Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 131; Sternberg, *Die Religion der Gilyaken in the Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft VIII*, 1905, p. 257 (p. 270/271 and 472/34: Description of the sacrifice of a dog); Kennan, *Zelt-leben in Sibirien*, p. 113.

stay epidemics of pestilence which are mentioned. It is the ceremony known as 難 *na*. There it says:—命國難九門磔攘以畢春氣 "It was fixed that the ceremony was performed within the town to stay the epidemics of pestilence. Dogs were torn to pieces at the nine gates to banish danger and to bring about the spring breezes"<sup>1</sup>. The dog may also have been regarded as a "scapegoat" for a demon of sickness<sup>2</sup>. It can, however, also be possible that the Feng-suh-t'ung-ngi 8, 7 a/b is right when it refers among other things to this statement of the Li-ki, according to which a dog was laid out on view (著) at each of the 四門 four gates because it served as a good watchman<sup>3</sup>. This would explain to a certain extent the special position of the 大司寇 Minister of Justice (literally: Great Protector against Robbery)<sup>4</sup> and his representative<sup>5</sup> at the dog-sacrifice, as we find it in the Chou-li. The Feng-suh-t'ung-ngi I c. then gives a further reference from the Shi-ki ch. V, 6, 9 (言秦德)<sup>6</sup> for the meaning of the sacrifice, which has no more been understood by him than it has been by the other commentators of the Li-ki passage. According to this 德公 Teh-kung first had a dog torn to pieces in such manner as to provide a protection against 蠱毒 "pestilence and evil". Nowadays gates and doors are smeared with the blood of a white dog "to avert misfortune (辟除不祥)". The passage in the Shi-ki V, 6, 9 reads:—秦德公二年初伏以狗禦蠱 "The Duke Teh of Ts'in instituted the sacrifice *fu* in the second year (of his reign) in order to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Legge, SBE, 27, 266 and note. Li-ki 3(6) 76a, ch. Yüeh-ling (=SBE 27, 288/289) says that the Son of Heaven performs the *na* ceremony (to avert pestilence and sickness) in the second autumn month. He also tastes hempseed with dog's flesh after having brought it as a sacrifice beforehand in the ancestral temple.

<sup>2</sup> For similar customs, cf. Bastian, *Ein Jahr auf Reisen*, I, p. 619; Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 487 (warding off the dog demon [epilepsy?]). In Babylon a black dog was attached to the demon of fever (Labartu); cf. Myhrmann in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 15, p. 157. The votive dogs which served to frighten off the demons should perhaps be considered in this connection.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. in a similar manner the symbol of a dog as a guardian on oriental talismans V. Bastian *l.c.* p. 388, note.

<sup>4</sup> Chou-li 9, 10a (=Biot II, 315): 大祭祀奉犬牲 "At the great sacrifices he offers a dog as the sacrificial animal."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the same mission at the great sacrifices for the Ts'ao-kou as we have it in the Chou-li 9, 13a (=Biot II, 324). Further in Chou-li 9, 15b, ch. Shi-ao (=Biot II, 333) it says:—凡勿珥則奉犬牲 "At all the blood-smearing ceremonies he offers the dog as the sacrificial animal."

<sup>6</sup> De Visser, *The Dog and Cat in Japanese Superstition*, p. 4.



avert the pestilence by means of a dog" and is treated in various ways, by Chavannes in *M. H.* II, 23 (also *ibid* p. 237), [cf. further ch. *Fêng-shan-shu* 4 b (= *M. H.* III, 422/423)] and by De Groot. *R. S.* V. 826. While De Groot *l. c.* takes the expression 初伏 *ch'u fu*: "the commencement of the hottest summer period" to indicate a conception of time already in 676 B. C. and which he undoubtedly maintains until the very latest period as the "dog's day"; Chavannes interprets the time given in the strictest conception of the cult, an interpretation with which I agree, and he translates: "Il institue (le sacrifice de l'époque) fou".

Taking all in all, we see what an important role was played by the dog in the sacrificial cult of ancient China, a role which has often been overlooked\* for it seems to have been inseparable from the travel sacrifice.

\* Sirius is represented as the wolf of Heaven and is shot at. The heavenly arrow (*M. H.* III, 412) lays low the dangerous star of Heat and Robbery which at the same time is the protecting star of Ts'in.

\* Cf. for example the sacrifice of a white dog (白犬) as given in the *Shan-hai-king* I, 13b: 其祠皆以白狗祀 "At their sacrifices they all offered through (the medium of) a white dog." (Rosny, *Shan-Hai-King* p. 34 translates absolute nonsense). Cf. also Ts'ien-tien s. v. 壇. Cf. Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Sacrifice of the White Dog*, in the *American Anthropologist*, vol. VII, 1885 for further information concerning the sacrifice of a white dog among other nations. In the *Muh-tien-tzu-chuan*, 4, 2a/b the Son of Heaven sacrifices a dog besides the other animals (天子之豪馬豪牛羗狗豪羊). According to the *Chou-li* 4, 39b (= *Biot* I, 396) it was the 槁人 *kao-jen* who had to feed the dogs destined for sacrifice (with grain). Further, the dog was used together with the pig and the cock for the purification by blood (at the Tahn ceremony). Cf. *Tao-chuan*, 11th year of Yin-kung (= *Ch. Cl.* V, 31/33).

## ÜBER KNOTENSCHRIFTEN UND ÄHNLICHE KNOTEN- SCHNÜRE DER RIUKIU-INSELN

Von EDMUND SIMON

Auf den Riukiu-Inseln<sup>1</sup>, jener Kette von Inseln und Inselchen, die sich im Süden des japanischen Festlandes an die Sieben-Insel-Gruppe (七島) anreihend bis zur Nordspitze der Insel Formosa hinzieht, wurde von der des Lesens und Schreibens unkundigen Landbevölkerung noch bis vor wenigen Jahren zur Fixierung von Zahlbegriffen, Rechnungsergebnissen und anderen im Leben dieser einfachen Bauern wichtigen Daten ein Knotenschriftsystem gebraucht, das mit der fortschreitenden Verbreitung der Schreibkunst durch japanische Schulen allmählich ausstirbt. Deshalb will ich dieses dem Untergang geweihte interessante System der Knotenschriften an Hand der auf den Riukiu-Inseln für die Internationale Ausstellung für Buchgewerbe und Graphik in Leipzig 1914 von mir gesammelten Modelle hier beschreiben, wobei eine von Yabukuro Kiichi (矢袋喜一) verfaßte Abhandlung<sup>2</sup> Riukiu kōrai no sūgaku = Rechenkunst in alter Zeit auf Riukiu (琉球古來の數學) mit zu Rate gezogen wurde.

Man bezeichnet das System in der japanischen Sprache mit dem Namen Musubinawa (ketsujō 結縄), das heißt ein Knüpfen von Strohseilen, während man es auf der Hauptinsel der Riukiu-Gruppe, Okinawa (沖繩), mit „san“ bezeichnet, ein Ausdruck, der wahrscheinlich von dem gleichlautenden On des Wortes kazoeru „berechnen-zählen“ (vgl. das sinico-japan. keizan 計算) genommen ist. Als Material dient auf Okinawa meist das Stroh der auch zum Flechten

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. hierzu Edmund Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, Leipzig 1914, 1. Teil: Geographische Beiträge, S. 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mir liegt nur ein Sonderdruck vor, aus dem nicht hervorgeht, wo dieselbe veröffentlicht wurde.



der berühmten Riukiumatten gebrauchten Binsen, auf der Insel Miyako dagegen werden die Luftwurzeln des Banyangbaumes, die auch als Material zur Herstellung einer Panamafaser-Imitation dienen, benutzt, weil dort das Binsenstroh seltener ist. Ferner braucht man auch den Wedel der auf einigen Inseln üppig gedeihenden Cycaspalmen.

Den einheimischen Berichten zufolge sind die zur Anwendung kommenden Verknotungsarten nicht überall gleich, sondern lokal wie auch individuell verschieden, sodaß sich allgemeine Regeln nicht aufstellen lassen. Jedoch werde ich an Hand der von mir gesammelten Muster nachweisen, daß dennoch eine gewisse Gleichförmigkeit in der Anwendung dieser Knotungen liegt. Als einfachste Rechenmaschine, auf der man ohne Mühe Additionen und Subtraktionen ausführen kann, dient der Wedel der Cycaspalme, der jedem Leser bekannt sein dürfte. Diese unpaarig gefiederten Wedel wurden vor dem Weltkrieg in großen Mengen von den Inseln getrocknet nach Deutschland exportiert, wo sie präpariert Verwendung als Trauerschmuck („Palmenwedel und Palmenkränze“) fanden. Es gehen bei diesem Wedel von der Rippe nach beiden Seiten eine Reihe von fast nadelartigen Blättern ab. Um eine Additionssumme graphisch darzustellen, zählt man von einem bestimmten — durch Ausreißen, Einknicken oder Verknoten einer Blattnadel leicht zu markierenden — Punkt so viele Blattnadeln ab, wie sie dem einen Summanden entsprechen und markiert den Punkt abermals. Nun zählt man noch so viele Blattnadeln ab, wie sie dem anderen Summanden entsprechen und markiert den Endpunkt, der die Additionssumme graphisch darstellt. Der Bauer kann sich dieses „Schriftdokument“ ebenso gut aufbewahren



Abb. 1

wie das auf Papier geschriebene Exempel. In der umgekehrten Weise, die ja wohl keiner näheren Beschreibung bedarf, vollzieht sich die Subtraktion. Diese primitive Rechenmaschine soll noch vielfach auf der Insel Okinawa in Gebrauch sein. Eine dauerhaftere, offenbar vom Cycaswedel abgeleitete Form stellt Abb. 1 dar. In ein aus zwei Strängen zusammengedrehtes, in einem Ring endendes Strohseil sind in Abständen Gruppen von fünf Strohhalmen nebeneinanderstehend eingeflochten, ganz ähnlich angeordnet wie die Nadeln des Cycaswedels. Dieses Strohseil wird im gebirgigen Norden der Insel Okinawa, der unter dem Namen Kunchan

(圖頭)<sup>1</sup> bekannt ist, von Tagelöhnern gebraucht, um die Tage ihrer Beschäftigung in einem Hause zu notieren. Für jeden Arbeitstag schneidet man einen Halm zur Hälfte durch und kann so am Ende die Summe der Arbeitstage leicht ablesen. Mit dem Ring wird das Seil an einem Balken der Decke aufgehängt. Arbeitet der Tagelöhner gleichzeitig für mehrere Herren, so fertigt er sich mehrere Seile an und „führt“ so für jeden einzelnen „Buch“.

Eine interessante und praktische Rechenmaschine brauchten die Pferdeknechte auf der Insel Okinawa noch vor etwa 30 bis 40 Jahren. Alle Lasten werden auf dieser Insel auf dem Rücken von kleinen, außerordentlich ausdauernden Pferden befördert, da es bis vor wenigen Jahren im größeren Teil der Insel keinerlei fahrbare Wege gab. Man fertigte sich aus Binsenstroh eine Troddel oder Quaste mit einer beliebigen Anzahl von Fransen (Abb. 2), die im Gürtel oder Lendenschurz wie das japanische Tabakbesteck getragen wurde. Ihre Anwendungsweise ist folgende: Die zwischen den fünf Fingern der Hand befindlichen vier Zwischenräume wollen wir vom Daumen anfangend mit A B C D bezeichnen. Man legt diesen vier Punkten zur Aus-

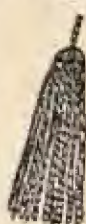


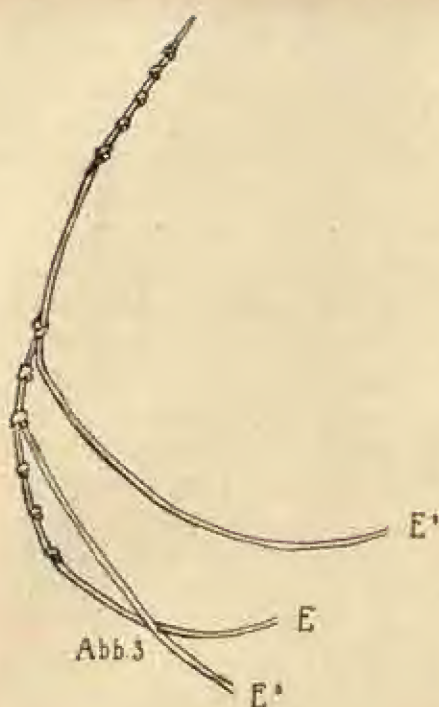
Abb 2

führung der Rechnung bestimmte Dezimalwerte zugrunde, etwa in der Art, daß A die Tausender, B die Hunderter, C die Zehner und D die Einer darstellt. Um die Zahl 1253<sup>2</sup> auszudrücken, legt der Pferdeknecht in den Zwischenraum zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger (A) eine Franse der Troddel, in den Zwischenraum zwischen Zeige- und Mittelfinger B aber zwei, in den nächsten C fünf und schließlich in D drei. Will er nun z. B. die Zahl 372 dazu addieren, so fügt er zu D zwei hinzu, zu C sieben und zu B drei. Da sich aber nun in dem Zwischenraum C mehr als zehn Fransen befinden, so muß er an Stelle von zehn Fransen der nächsthöheren Stelle, also B, eine Franse hinzufügen und das Resultat der Addition — 1625 — ist sofort abzulesen. In der umgekehrten Weise läßt sich leicht die Subtraktion vornehmen, indem man gegebenenfalls von der nächsthöheren Stelle eins borgt und dafür zehn Fransen einlegt. Einfache Multiplikationen lassen sich durch Auflösen in Additionen ebenfalls ausführen.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Beiträge S. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Diese Zahl kann z. B. dem Geldwert 1253 Kwan entsprechen, wobei 1 Kwan gleich 2 Sen war. Die ältere Landbevölkerung rechnet trotz Einführung der japanischen Währung meist noch nach Kwan.



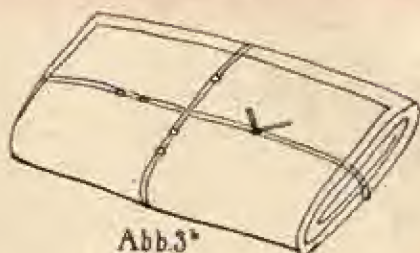


Eine Knotenschnüre nach Art von Abb. 3 wird noch heute von den Pfandleihern der alten Hauptstadt Shuri, mit kleinen Abweichungen auch in der Hafenstadt Nafa und anderen Plätzen, gebraucht. Sie besteht aus einem langen festen Bast- oder Binsenfaden, an dessen mittlerem Teil ein anderer Bastfaden angelknotet ist. Um den Monat, in dem das Verpfändungs- oder Leihgeschäft stattgefunden hat, aufzuzeichnen, knüpft man am oberen Ende des Hauptfadens so viele Knoten ein, wie der Zahl des Monats entsprechen, da ja bekanntlich im ostasiatischen Kulturkreis die Benennung der Monate durch ihre Zahl ausgedrückt wird.

Fünf Knoten bezeichnen also den fünften Monat, den Mai. Um den zehnten und die folgenden beiden Monate auszudrücken, knüpft man für die Zahl zehn eine Schlinge und fügt für den elften oder zwölften Monat dieser einen resp. zwei Knoten zu (Abb. 3<sup>a</sup>). Der untere Teil der Schnüre dient zur Aufschreibung des Betrages der Pfandsumme oder des Darlehns. In der Mitte der Schnüre knotet man einen Binsenfaden an, so daß ein Schwanz entsteht. Hierauf spaltet man etwas unterhalb die Hauptschnüre, so daß zwei weitere Schwänze entstehen. Der obere Schwanz hat den Wert einer Dezimale, der darunter befindliche Schwanz den Wert der nächst niedrigen Dezimale. Etwaige weitere Dezimalen können durch abermaliges Spalten angedeutet werden. Die Zahlen selbst werden durch die entsprechende Anzahl Knoten ausgedrückt. Es bedeuten sonach die Knoten auf Abb. 3 die Zahl 123; entweder 123 Kwan (2,46 Yen), oder auch 12 Kwan 300 momme (24,5 Sen), je nach dem Wert des Pfandstückes. Der Betrag von 1234 Kwan würde durch abermaliges Spalten des

Abb 3<sup>a</sup>

Endes (E) unterhalb des dritten Knotens und Knüpfen von vier weiteren Knoten bezeichnet werden. Die gleichsam ein Komma bedeutenden Enden (E 1, E 2) dürfen nicht geknüpft werden.

Abb. 3<sup>a</sup>

Diese Knotenschnüre dient gleichzeitig nach Art von Abb. 3<sup>b</sup> zur Bezeichnung und Verhaftung des Unterpfandes, das fast ausschließlich in gewebten Stoffen besteht.

Auf der Insel Yaeyama<sup>1</sup> ist der Gebrauch von Knotenschnüren bereits fast ganz ausgestorben. Die gesammelten Modelle wurden nach Angaben eines alten Mannes, der sich des Gebrauchs noch aus seinen Jugendtagen erinnerte, angefertigt. Aus dem Cycaswedel hervorgegangen scheint ein zur Feststellung der Anwesenheit der zur Teilnahme an den Volksversammlungen berechtigten Volksgenossen dienendes Seil. Zur Teilnahme berechtigt waren alle über 15 Jahre alten männlichen Gemeindeglieder. Deren Zahl wurde zunächst für jedes Haus und jede Straße festgestellt und dann an einem langen Seil in der Art aufnotiert, daß für jeden Berechtigten ein Strohhalme angeknüpft wurde und zwar für alle in einem Hause wohnenden an ein und demselben Punkte. Es bedeutet also auf Abb. 4 das oberste Strohende (a), daß im Hause Nr. 1 nur ein Teilnahmeberechtigter ist,

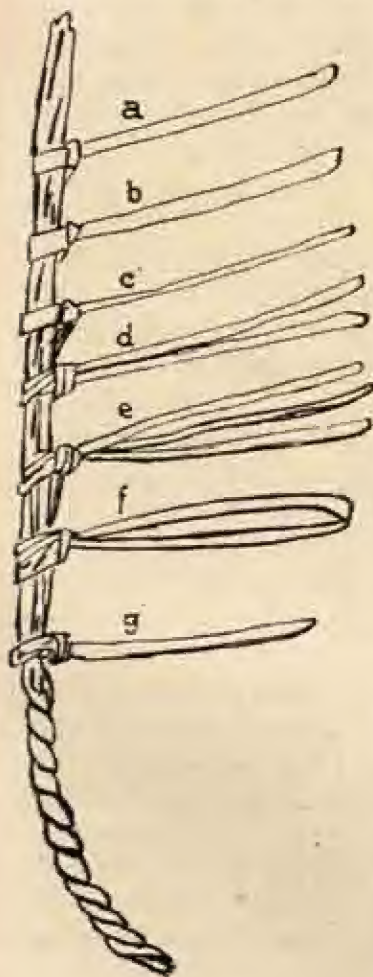


Abb. 4

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Beiträge SS. 7, 16, 71.

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eben so im Hause Nr. 2 (b) und Haus Nr. 3 (c), dagegen im Haus Nr. 4 (d) zwei und im Haus Nr. 5 (e) drei. Die Schlinge (f) bedeutet, daß die Häuserreihe hier von einer Querstraße durchbrochen ist. Im Hause Nr. 6 (g) wohnt wieder ein Teilnahmeberechtigter usw. Es ist leicht verständlich, daß diese primitiven Register bei der gewöhnlichen Anlage aller Häuser eines Dorfes zur Linken und Rechten einer

einzigsten Hauptstraße oft so lang und so schwer waren, als sie von den Beamten nach dem Versammlungsorte auf dem Rücken geschleppt werden mußten. Zum Feststellen und Aufnotieren der Fehlenden benützte man das Seil in der Art, daß man die die fehlenden Hausbewohner bezeichnenden Strohenden einknotete. Die Abzählung der nichtgeknoteten Enden ergab die Summe aller Teilnehmer, wie umgekehrt die geknoteten Enden genauen Aufschluß über die Zahl der Abwesenden gaben.

Ähnliche, aber kompliziertere Formen zeigen drei weitere Knotenschnüre, die zur Aufzeichnung von landwirtschaftlichen Erträgen dienen. Sie weichen insofern von den bisher beschriebenen ab, als man den aus mehreren Stricken bestehenden Hauptstrang an seinem oberen Ende unzusammengedreht läßt und seine einzelnen Enden mit zur Berechnung verwendet, daß man ferner zur besseren Unterscheidung der einzelnen Werte die Seitensträhne aus verschiedenen Materialien knüpft. Die in Abb. 5 dargestellte Schnüre dient zur Aufschreibung der Erträge der Getreideernte und wird gelesen 1 Koku (石) 7 tō (斗) 5 shō (升) 4 gō (合)

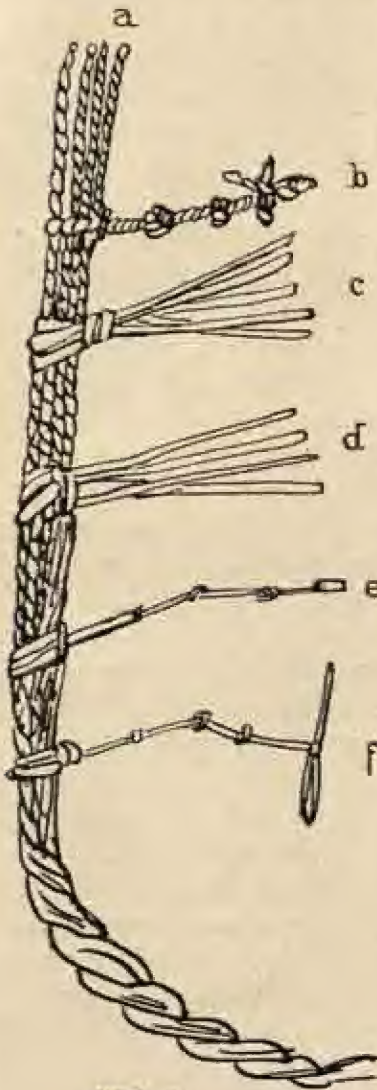


Abb. 5

2 shaku (勺) und 8 sai (才). Jedes der vier Enden der Schnüre (a) bezeichnet einen Ballen Getreide; da auf Yaeyama der Ballen 2 tō 5 shō enthält, so sind vier Ballen gleich  $4 \times 2 \text{ tō } 5 \text{ shō} = 10 \text{ tō} = 1 \text{ Koku}^1$ . Die den vier Hauptenden nächste (oberste) seitliche Schnüre (b) gibt über die Menge in tō Aufschluß, wobei zu beachten ist, daß zur Vereinfachung für fünf Knoten am äußeren Ende eine Schlinge geknüpft wird, so daß zwei Knoten nebst Endschlinge das Resultat 7 tō ergeben. Waren bisher aus Halmen gedrehte Stricke verwendet worden, so benützt man zur Bezeichnung der niederen Einheiten einfache ungedrehte Halme. Es bedeuten die fünf nächsten unterhalb der tō-Schnüre an einem Stengelpunkte zusammengeknoteten Halme (c) also 5 shō, die folgenden vier Halme (d) 4 gō. Der folgende Halm dient zur Bezeichnung der Menge in Shaku; um Mißverständnissen vorzubeugen, schält man diesen Halm zwischen zwei Halmknoten möglichst dünn ab, so daß Anfang und Ende dicker ist und knotet dieses dünne Zwischenstück. Der unterste Halm, der im Gegensatz zu dem vorherbeschriebenen von oben bis unten gleichmäßig dünn abgeschält ist, gibt die Menge in sai an; die Schlinge am Ende bedeutet wiederum fünf, mit den drei Knoten zusammen, also 8 sai.

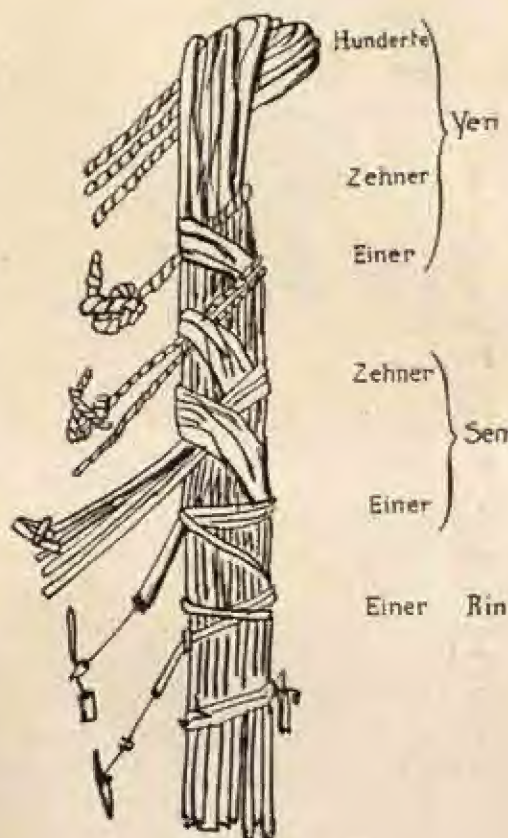


Abb. 6

Die beiden folgenden Modelle (Abb. 6 und 7) sind

<sup>1</sup> 1 Koku (180,39 l) = 10 ts = 100 shō = 1000 gō = 10000 shaku = 100000 sai.



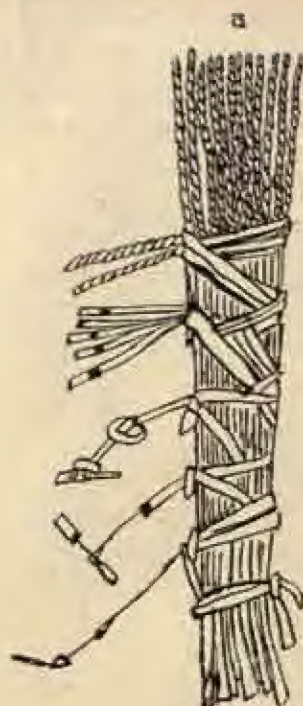


Abb. 7

fast nach den gleichen Prinzipien geknotet. Abb. 6 soll gelesen werden 356 Yen 83 Sen 6 Rin<sup>1</sup>. Hier ist nur zu beachten, daß alle auf Yen lautenden Ziffern durch aus zwei Halmen gedrehte Enden markiert sind, und daß die Vielfachen unter fünf nicht durch Knoten, sondern durch die entsprechende Zahl von Enden ausgedrückt sind, für fünf Enden aber ein Ende mit einer Schlinge eintritt. Abb. 7 repräsentiert den Erntebetrag von 6 Koku (= 24 Ballen) 2 tō 5 shō 6 gō 5 shaku und 2 sai, wobei, wie Kūchi ohne nähere Darlegung des Grundes auseinander setzt, je einem der oberen zwölf Enden (a) die Bedeutung von  $\frac{1}{12}$  Koku (also 2 Ballen) beigelegt ist.

Solche Knotenschriften wie die drei

zuletzt beschriebenen dienen auch zur Benachrichtigung eines Bauern über die Höhe des von ihm in Naturalien oder in Geld zu entrichtenden Steuerbetrages. Da die Frauen der Inseln der Sud-Riukiu-Gruppe durch Weben von Kleiderstoffen aus Hanf, Bananenfaser oder Baumwolle zum Unterhalt der Familie ebenfalls nicht wenig beitragen, wird von ihnen auf den Inseln Yaeyama und Miyako eine Websteuer erhoben, deren Höhe ebenfalls durch Übersendung eines Steuerbescheids



Abb. 8

<sup>1</sup> 1 Yen = 100 Sen = 1000 Rin.

in Knotenschrift bekannt gegeben wird. Die Steuer selbst wird in Geweben entrichtet. Auf Yaeyama schreibt man heutzutage noch gewöhnlich mit Tusche auf einem mit eingeflochtenen Palmblatte den Namen und die Wohnung der Steuerpflichtigen und auf die Rückseite des Blattes den Betrag in Zahlen und Zeichen.

Der Steuerbescheid der Abb. 8 bedeutet, daß die Steuerpflichtige an Steuern in Geweben zu entrichten hat folgende Mengen: 1 jō 7 shaku 2 sun 6 Bu<sup>2</sup>. Zur Erklärung dieser auf den ersten Blick trotz der aufgeschriebenen japanischen Lesart nicht leicht verständlichen Lösung muß erläuternd bemerkt werden, daß die Steuerschuld nicht in japanischen Maßen, sondern den auf Yaeyama früher gebräuchlichen Einheiten fu, busu und pu bezeichnet ist, 1 hiro (riuk. iru), ist die Länge von Hand zu Hand zwischen den ausgespreizten Armen und wird geteilt in 5 shaku (Fuß). 1 fu ist gleich 5 japan. sun (Zoll), 1 busu ist gleich 1 sun, 1 pu ist gleich 1 japan. bu. Das Muster auf Abb. 8 ist also in den auf Yaeyama üblichen Maßen zu lesen 3 hiro (gedrehte Halme), 4 fu (einfache Halme), 2 busu, 6 pu. (Die Schlinge bedeutet wieder 5 Einheiten.) Es sind aber 6 pu = 6 bu, 2 busu = 2 sun, 4 fu = 20 sun = 2 shaku, 3 hiro = 1 jō 5 shaku, also 1 jō 7 shaku.

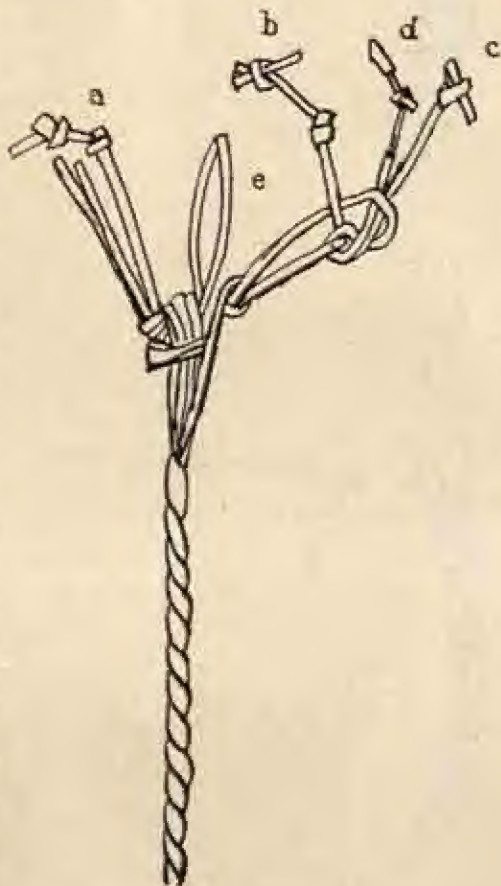


Abb. 9

1 1 jō (3,05 m) = 10 shaku (2,03 m) = 100 sun (2,03 m) = 1000 bu (2,003 m).



Abbildung 9 drückt das von einem Holzfäller zu leistende Tagespensum aus. Der Auftrag wird dem in die Berge gehenden Knecht in Knotenschrift mitgegeben, in die mittlere Schlinge (c) wird von dem Auftraggeber ein Blatt der Baumart eingeknüpft, welche der Knecht schlagen soll. Es bezeichnet a die Länge der zu schlagenden Balken, b den vertikalen Durchmesser und c den horizontalen, a ist zu lesen 2 jō 2 shaku, b 6 sun und c 5 sun, d 1 bu.

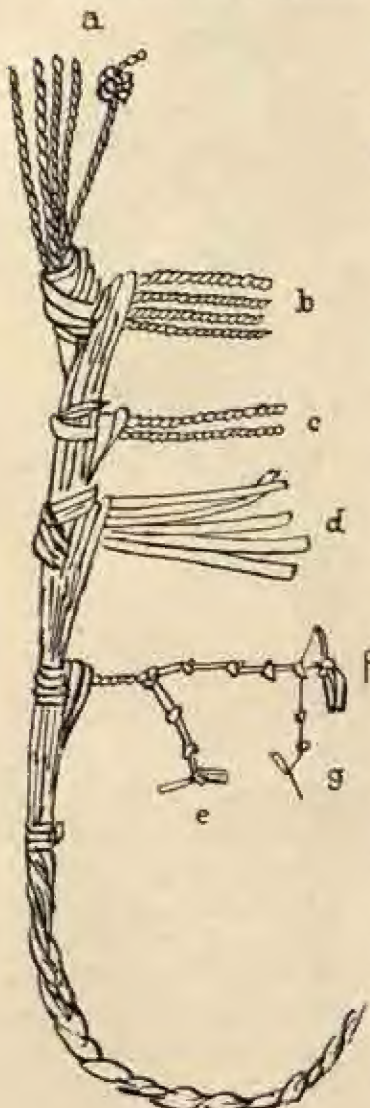


Abb. 10

Auf der Insel Miyako<sup>1</sup> werden Knotenschriften ebenfalls von den Dorfbehörden zur Benachrichtigung über die Höhe der zu entrichtenden Steuern — diese Art wird torishime-san genannt — verwendet sowie ferner bei der Eintreibung von Steuern, um einmal die Zahl der Steuerpflichtigen festzustellen und zum anderen die Entrichtung der Steuer aufzuschreiben, jene Art nennt man yakisan. Die Abbildung nach Modell 10 stellt ein torishimesan dar, einen Steuerbescheid und bedeutet den in Reis zu entrichtenden Steuerbetrag von 94 koku 2 tō 3 shō 7 gō 8 shaku, 7 sai, wobei die senkrecht aus dem Hauptstrang kommenden Enden (a) den Wert von je 10 koku haben (Schlinge hier = 50), die aus dem gleichen Punkte wagrecht abgehenden dagegen von je 1 koku, c bezeichnet die Menge in gō, f die in shaku und g die in sai, wobei zur Vermeidung von Irrtümern die Dicke der Halme e, f und g verschieden genommen sowie der die sai anzeigende Halm immer

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Beiträge SS. 6, 16, 70.

an dem die shaku bezeichnenden Halm angeknötet wird.

Abbildung 11, ein „yakisan“ ist dem bereits oben beschriebenen Modell Abb. 4 ähnlich, jedoch seinem verschiedenen Zweck entsprechend modifiziert. Es wird gebraucht um die Zahl der Kopfsteuerpflichtigen aufzuschreiben und die, welche ihrer Verpflichtung bereits nachgekommen sind, anzumerken. Die Aufzeichnung der Steuerpflichtigen geschieht wie oben nach Häusern, der längere Halm bedeutet einen männlichen, der kürzere einen weiblichen Steuerpflichtigen. Die Schlinge (e) markiert eine Querstraße, wie oben. Hat jemand seine Steuerschuld entrichtet, so wird der ihn bezeichnende Halm geknüpft, im Hause Nr. 1 (a) sind also drei Steuerpflichtige, ein Mann und zwei Frauen, von denen eine Frau bereits ihren Teil entrichtet hat usw.

Bei Volksversammlungen auf Miyako dient noch heute der Wedel der Cycaspalme dazu, um die Zahl der Erschienenen zu notieren.

Einige von Küchi mitgeteilte steuertechnische Notizen sollen nicht unerwähnt gelassen werden. Darnach wurde die Steuer auf Miyako entrichtet von den Männern in Rubsamen (nadane), Schweinefett, Reis, Sesam (goma), Matten aus den Luftwurzeln des Banyangbaumes hergestellt u. a., von den Frauen in gewebten Stoffen. Die Kopfsteuer wurde durch ein Kuramoto (蔵元) genanntes Amt festgestellt, indem man zuerst die Anzahl der in jedem Hause wohnenden Männer und Frauen bestimmte und sie dann in drei Altersklassen teilte. Leute von 15 bis 20 Jahren wurden eingereiht in die Unterklasse, Leute von 20 bis mit 47 Jahren in die obere Klasse und Leute von 48 Jahren ab in die mittlere Klasse. Die Steuer war also nach dem Leistungsprinzip auf dem Ertrag der Arbeit aufgebaut, ein zweifellos gerechtes Besteuerungssystem.

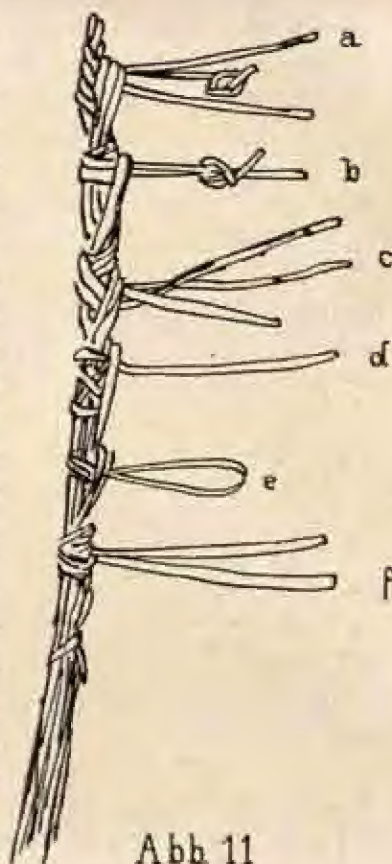


Abb 11



## BEITRÄGE ZUR KENNTNIS DER ALTMONGOLISCHEN SCHRIFTSPRACHE

Von N. POPPE

Die einzigen bisher bekanntgewordenen Denkmäler der altmongolischen Sprache sind: die Edikte in Quadratschrift, einige Paidsen und die Briefe der Ilkhane. Kein Wunder daher, wenn die altmongolische Schriftsprache bis jetzt unerforscht geblieben ist, und die Kenntnis des Mongolischen sich auf die Sprache der klassischen Periode<sup>1</sup> der mongolischen Literaturgeschichte beschränkt. Dabei bleiben wir natürlich im Dunklen darüber, wie die mongolische klassische Schriftsprache sich entwickelte und schließlich zur endgültigen Ausbildung gelangt ist. Die Lage ist aber nicht so trostlos, wie es scheinen könnte, da eine gewisse Anzahl mongolischer Handschriften aus der vorklassischen Periode (XIV.—XVII. Jh.) doch vorhanden ist und auf das Dunkel der Geschichte der mongolischen Sprache einiges Licht werfen kann. Diese Handschriften, die jedoch nur in späteren Abschriften zu uns gelangt sind, bieten viele lautliche, morphologische und syntaktische Eigentümlichkeiten, die für die mongolische Sprachwissenschaft von hohem Wert sind.

Im folgenden biete ich die Ergebnisse meines Studiums einiger altmongolischer Handschriften und zwar der ältesten, die in den Sammlungen des Asiatischen Museums der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und in der Universitätsbibliothek in Leningrad vorhanden sind.

Diese Handschriften sind: 1. *Burqan baysi jin arban qojar jokijangyni* (Universitätsbibl. Nr. Q 361), eine Lebensbeschreibung des Buddha; eine Abschrift des XVII. Jh., der Sprache nach viel älter

<sup>1</sup> Über die drei Perioden der mongolischen Sprachgeschichte bei B. Vladimirtsov, *Das Palcatumra*, Petersburg, 1921. S. 40 ff.

(aus dem XIV. Jh., übertragen ins Mōngolische von *Šes-rab sen-ge*); 2. *Subhāṣitaratnamidhi* (Asiat. Mus.), eine tibetisch-mōngolische Handschrift; ein didaktisches Werk des *Sakya Paṇḍita* aus dem XIV. Jh. in Abschrift des XVI. oder XVII. Jh. (Universitätsbibl. Q 561, Kopien im Asiat. Mus.); 3. *Pañcarakṣa*, aus den Zeiten der *Yuan-Dynastie*, der Sprache nach aus dem XIV. Jh. in zwei Abschriften (Asiat. Mus. Sub Z 130 u. Z 126); 4. die *Maudgalyāyanalegende*, der Sprache nach zu urteilen aus dem XIV. Jh. in einer Abschrift des XVI.—XVII. Jh. (Asiat. Mus. Rudn. 119)<sup>1</sup>.

## I. LAUTLICHE EIGENTÜMLICHKEITEN.

### 1. Velares *q* vor *i*.

Einem türkischen *q* vor einem ursprünglichen *i* (hinteren *i*) entspricht im Mōngolischen stets ein *k* (mediopalatales *k*), da das \**i* im Mōngolischen sich zu *i* verschoben hat; Beispiel: mong. *kilya-sun* „Haar“ = türk. *qıl* ds. „Rollhaar, Saite“ = tschuwassisch *χълъх* „Rollhaar, Saite“ usw. In vielen alten mōngolischen Handschriften wird der *k*-Laut in hintervokalischen Worten vor *i* mit dem Buchstaben für das velare *q* bezeichnet, und dies beweist, natürlich, daß der *k*-Laut dort ein velarer war und daß, folglich, der *i*-Laut auch ein hinterer (also *i*) war. Beispiele<sup>2</sup>: AQ f. 25r. *quluju* (jetzt *kuluju*) „verüchtend, ausmordend“; AQ f. 31r. *taqibai* (jetzt *takibai*) „er opferte, er erwies die Ehre“; Z 126, f. 16r. *taqırsan* „geopfert habender“, ibid. f. 12r. *taqırad* „seine Ehrerbietung erwiesen habend“; M I. Kap., f. 9r. *taqıyid* „die Opfernenden“; Z 126, f. 4r. *qıged* „gemacht, und“ (jetzt *kıged*), von *kı-* < \**qı-* „machen“, vgl. türk. *qıl-* „machen“; vom selben Stamm Z 126, f. 19v. *qıcijangyui* „Fleiß, Sorgsamkeit“, von *qıcija-* (jetzt *kıcije-*) „fleißig sein, sorgsam sein“ (eine Intensivbildung auf *-ci-* von \**qı-* „machen“); Z 126, II Kap., f. 8r. *qıcijan* „fleißig seiend, sorgsam“; vom selben Stamm, ein uigurisches Lehnwort *qilinca* „Sünde“ (jetzt *kilinca*) < uig. *qılınca* „Tat, böse Tat, Vergehen“, Z 126, f. 2r., 12v., 16r., 16v., 20r., 24v., 32r. usw.; Z 126, f. 3v. (Kap. II) *qilincaṣi* „Sünden“ (acc.); ibid., f. 3v., 6v., 9v. usw. *qilincaṣun* „der

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Vladimirtsov, op. cit., pp. 43—45; ferner im *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences de Rome* 1918, pp. 1550—1551.

<sup>2</sup> Abkürzungen: AQ — *Arhan qoṣar jocijangyui*; S — *Subhāṣitaratnamidhi*; Z 126 — *Pañcarakṣa*; Z 130 da. eine andere Abschrift; M — *Maudgalyāyanalegende*. Zahl — folium, r. — recto, v. — verso.



Sünden“ (gen.); Ž 126, f. 4v., 9v., 13r., 14v. usw. *qijayar* (jetzt *kijayar*) „Grenze“, ibid. f. 17v., 18v., 24v. usw. *qijayalal ügei* „unbegrenzt“; Ž 126, f. 9v., 30r. *joqilduju* (jetzt *jokilduju*) „sich vertragend“; vom selben Stamm ibid. f. 27r., 28v., 26r. usw. *joqijan* „gründend“; ibid. f. 28r. *joqijabasu* „wenn man gründet“, ferner *joqijayči* „der Gründende“ (19r., 24r.), *joqijaysan* „der gegründet Habende“ (23v.), *joqistu* „passend, ziemend“; Ž 126, II. Kap., f. 22v. *saqibasu*, von *saqi-* (jetzt *saki-*) „wenn man bewacht“; ibid. *saqiyad* (11v.) „bewacht habend“; ibid., f. 5r., 12v. *saqiqui* „das Wachen“, f. 28r. *saqiyči* „der Wachende“, f. 11v. *saqiysan* „der gewacht Habende“ u. a.

2. Dasselbe gilt auch für das velare *ɣ* vor *i*. Beispiele: M I. Kap., f. 3r. *angyičiraysan* „losgetrennt“ von *angyičira-* (jetzt *anggičira-*); Ž 126, f. 12v., 7r. *uɣijan* „waschend“ von *uɣija-* < \**uɣi-ja-*; < \**iɣi-ja-* „waschen“ = türk. Koib. *jaɣ-* „waschen“, Tar. Kom., Osm. *ju-* ds., Kas. *ju-*, *ju-* ds., Tschuw. *tu-* „waschen“. Infinitiv *šavas*; Ž 126, f. 12r. *uɣiyad* „gewaschen habend“ usw. (jetzt geschrieben *ugija-*, kalm. *ugā-* „waschen“) u. a.

3. Schwund eines intervokalischen *ɣ* und des Spiranten \**w*. Der urmongolische tönende Klusil \**ɣ*, ebenso wie der Spirant \**w*, sind im Mongolischen in den meisten Fällen geschwunden, und zwei Vokale, zwischen welchen die betreffenden Laute waren, sind in den jetzigen Dialekten zu einem langen Vokal zusammengeschmolzen. Dieser Schwund hat sich in vielen Fällen schon in einer vorschriftlichen Periode vollendet, und der Hiatus, der sich auf solche Weise gebildet hat, wurde später in der Schrift durch ein *ɣ* ausgefüllt<sup>1</sup>, und als Regel wird dieses *ɣ* in der Schriftsprache auch jetzt beibehalten.

In alten mongolischen Handschriften wird dieses *ɣ* oft ausgelassen, was auf einen Einfluß der Umgangssprache deutet, z. B. Ž 126, f. 7r. *dolo* (Schrift *doloyan*), Kh. *dolo* „sieben“, ibid. f. 17r. *arban dolo* „siebzehn“, ibid. II. Kap. f. 6r. *jiryoa* (Schr. *jiryuyan*) „sechs“, f. 16r. *arban jiryoa* „sechzehn“, f. 26r. *qorin jiryoa* „sechsundzwanzig“; M *uɣju* (Schr. *uɣju*) „trinkend“ = kh. *uɣi* ds.; AQ f. 33r. *uɣju* ds.; AQ f. 28v. *urad* „Lippe“ = kalm. *urɣ* ds. < \**uɣurad*, (Schriftspr. falsch geschrieben *urɣul*) „Lippe“.

Andererseits finden sich in alten Handschriften Belege für die Verbindung *-iya-*, *-ige-*, welche in der Schriftsprache sich früh zu

<sup>1</sup> Ramstedt, *Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart*. Helsingfors, 1902, § 21 ff. *Mongolica* (JSPÖu. XXIII, 4), S. 52–53.

-ija-, ije- und in den Mundarten zu -iä-, -iž- verschoben hat, z. B. Ž 126, f. 5 v. *jimis tu modun u quriy-a* (pro *qurija*) „ein Obstgarten“ (wörtl. „eine Obstbaum-Umzäunung“), *quriya* > *qurija* „Umzäunung“; Ž 130, I. Kap. f. 2 v. *küregen* (> *kurijen*) „Umzäunung“; AQ f. 7 r. *küregelégüljü* (> *kürjelegüljü*) „umzäunen lassend“ u. a.

#### 4. Vokalbezeichnungen.

Wie die Vergleichung des Mongolischen mit den Türksprachen beweist, wurde das *e* im Mongolischen oft zur Bezeichnung eines *ö* gebraucht. Alte mongolische Handschriften stehen auf einer viel älteren Stufe, indem in ihnen in gewissen Worten fast immer *ö* statt eines späteren *e* steht. Beispiele: AQ f. 5 v. *öbül* „Winter“ (später geschr. *ebül*), vgl. im Briefe des Argun *öbül*; M. *ödür* „Tag“, auch *öder* ds. (f. 13 r.). Promiscue wird natürlich auch *e* gebraucht, z. B. Ž 126, f. 10 v. *egülebesü* „als er sagte“ (pro *ögülebesü*), ferner f. 14 r. *egülegsen* „gesagt“, II. Kap. f. 1 r. *egülegülbesü* „als er dies sagen ließ“.

Altentümliche Formen ohne Assimilation der Vokale, die sich später in allen Fällen eingestellt hat, sind: S f. 39 *bodaqu* „begreifen, nachdenken“ (> *bodoqu*); Ž 126, f. 5 v. *dotar-a* (> *dotor-a*) „drinnen“; M II. Kap., f. 6 r. *domay* (> *domoy*) „Erzählung, Lebensbeschreibung“ = türk. Tob *jumaq* (< \**domay*) „Märchen“, Küär., Bar. *jomaq* ds. usw.; M V. Kap., f. 4 r. *köreg* „Bild“ (> *körüg*), AQ f. 2 r. *köreg* ds.; S f. 28 *eldüb* (> *eldeb*) „verschieden“, *ibid.*, f. 29 v. *eldüb* ds.; erhalten bleibt noch das *ü*, das in vielen Fällen später zu *i* sich verschoben hat;<sup>1</sup> AQ f. 44 r. *debüsker* (> *debisker*) „Teppich“; M II. Kap., f. 4 r. *debüsker*, Ž 126, f. 6 r. ds. Das alte mongolische \**i*, das später in der Schrift durch *u* bezeichnet wurde, ist in der Form *qamiy* (> *qamuy*) „alle“ (Ž 126, f. 6 v.) belegt; zu *qamiy* vgl. Orkhontürkisch *qamiy*, Alt., Sag., Schor. *qamiy* „alle“.

## II. MORPHOLOGISCHE EIGENTÜMLICHKEITEN.

### 1. Pronomen personale d. 3. p. s.

Wie bekannt, existiert für die Deklination des Pron. pers. der 3. Person Singularis u. Pluralis kein Paradigma und die einzigen Formen, die gebraucht werden, sind der Genitiv *inu* (sing.) u.

<sup>1</sup> B. Vladimirtsov, O častitsach otritsenija (*Bull. d. l'Acad. des Sciences de Russie*, 1916). S. 351. Vgl. sein *Fuhsentura*, S. 57. Anm. 3.



*anu* (plur.). In Jülg's Ausgabe des *Siddhikür* findet sich noch der Akkusativ zu *inu* — *ima*, und so wäre das Paradigma der Deklination analogisch der Deklin. der übrigen Personen: \**i*-, Gen. *inu*, Acc. *ima*, *imaji*, Dat. \**imadur*, Instr. \**imaber*, Komit. \**imaluça*, Abl. \**ima eče* (analogisch der 2. Pers.: *či*, *činu*, *čimaji*, *čimadur*, *čimaber*, *čimaluça*, *čima eče*)<sup>1</sup>. Der Akkusativ der 3. p. s. kommt in alten Handschriften recht oft vor, z. B. AQ f. 14v. *imaji* in *imaji sakiju jakin talbiju ilekün bide* „Wie können wir ihn freilassen, da wir ihn doch bewachen“; der Dativ *imadur* in S. f. 29v. *munggay ud ima dur adali ji tayalaju* „die Narren lieben diesem Ähnliches“; S. f. 31r. *bajasqulang ijer imadur bitüju engdeküi* „man irrt sich, indem man in Freuden auf ihn vertraut“. So hat man nun noch einige Belege für die übrigen Kasusformen des Pron. d. 3. P. s. Der Plural bleibt jedoch unbelegt.

## 2. Deklination der Nomina.

a) Der alte Dativ auf *-a*: AQ 44v. *sayuqu-a sedkiju* „an das sich Hinsetzen denkend“; AQ f. 17v. *amitan-a tusajin tulada* „um des Nutzens für die Lebewesen willen“; derselbe Dativ als Adverbialform: AQ f. 32v. *gilbelün čoytai-a sayuysan* „saß glänzend schimmernd“; AQ 43v. *ariyui-a* „rein“; S. f. 40r. *taulai-a* „dem Hasen“ usw.

b) Der Akkusativ. In den lebendigen Mundarten ist die Akkusativendung *-igi*, *-ig* mit einem *g*, aus welchem sich die Form *-ji* (nach Vokalen) in der Schriftsprache entwickelt hat. Dieses *-ji* geht natürlich auf ein *-gi* zurück, und diese ältere Form ist in vielen Handschriften belegt, z. B. Ž 130, I Kap., f. 2 *büküi-gi* „das Befindliche“; *ibid.*, f. 3r. *firtinču-gi* „die Welt“; *üre-gi* „die Frucht“; *čirai-gi* „das Antlitz“; *čönigi* „die Nacht“; f. 4v. *niyuca-gi* „das Geheime“; 5r. *oroigi* „den Scheitel“; *jula-gi* „die Lampe“; *ayula-gi* „den Berg“ (5r.), auch *ayulajigi* (2v.) ds.; *deleki-gi* „den Erdboden“ (5r.); *üge-gi* „das Wort“ usw.

## c) Der Ablativ.

Der alte Ablativ *-ča*, der später mit der Dativendung *-a* verschmolzen in der Form *-ača* > *eče* (auch in hintervokalischen Worten) auftritt, kommt in einigen Handschriften noch vor: S 39 *morinča* „vom Pferde“; M II Kap., f. 5r. *ayulača* „vom Berg“; M II Kap. f. 7 *gutuy-ča* „von der Heiligkeit“; AQ f. 32v. *qojinača* „von hinten“

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Ramstedt, *Über mongolische Pronomina* (JSPÖu. XXIII, 3), S. 9.

Oft erscheint d. Suff. *-ča* an d. Lokativsuffix *-da* angefügt: Ž 126, II. Kap., f. 23 v. *qoladača* „von weitem“; AQ f. 54 r. *qarsidačayan* „aus seinem Palast“; AQ. f. 32 v. *gerteče* „aus dem Hause“.

### 3) Nomen verbale auf *-r*.

Das mongolische „präparative Gerundium“ auf *-run*, wie schon Bobrownikoff richtig erkannt hat, ist ein Genitiv (*-un*) vom nom. verb. *-r*, ebenso wie das „Supinum“ (converbum finale) *-ra* ein Dativ (*-a*) vom selben Nomen ist<sup>1</sup>. Der ursprüngliche Genitivcharakter des Gerund. auf *-run* tritt in vielen alten Handschriften noch deutlich hervor, z. B. S 44 *jahur-un qojin-a* „nach dem Gehen, nachdem er gegangen war“; S 22 *sajin bolur-un amuyulang-un siltayan-ber* „die Ursache der Behaglichkeit des Gut-seins“; S 31 *üiledür-ün jobalang* „die Qual, die verursacht ist durch das Tun“ (wörtl. „die Qual des Tuns“); S 24 v. *bütliger-ün bujan* „die Tugend der Vollendung (des Vollendens)“; M f. 11 r. *odorun qojina* „nach dem Weggang (nachdem er gegangen war)“. Dativ (> Supinum): S f. 29 v. *ükür-e kürionui* „sie nähern sich dem Sterben“ usw.

Zum Schluß sei noch bemerkt, daß dieses Nomen auf *-r* jetzt nur noch in amorphen Bildungen vorkommt, z. B.: *ujidqar* „Langeweile“ zu *ujid-qa-* „Langeweile verursachen“; *amur* „Behaglichkeit“ zu *amur-* „ausruhen“; *belcir* „Flußarm, ein Delta“ zu *belci-* „auseinanderfließen“; *boljar* „Übereinkunft“ zu *bolja-* „übereinkommen“ usw. Diesem Suffix entspricht im Türkischen die bekannte Aoristendung mit *-r*, welche auch in amorphen Bildungen vorkommt, z. B. tschuw. *ıDar* „Kissen“, vgl. Osm. *jataq* „Bett, Kissen“ zu *jat-* „liegen“ usw.

### 4) Nomen futuri.

Das nomen futuri, welches durch d. Suff. *-qu* gebildet wird<sup>2</sup>, tritt in einigen Handschriften in einer abweichenden Form *-qan*, *-qa* auf, z. B. AQ f. 41 v. *tačijagan* „die Wollust“ (~ *tačijagun*); dieser Wechsel von *u* ~ *a* ist im Mongolischen häufig und geht auf ein *\*i* zurück.

### 5) Perfektivisches Praesens.

In der Schriftsprache *-luya* ~ *-lüge*, in älteren Handschriften *-luyai* ~ *-lügei*, oder *-laya* ~ *-lege* (Wechsel von *u* ~ *a*). In den lebendigen Mundarten ist die Endung *-lā* < *\*-layai* ~ *-luyai*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Anders Ramstedt, *Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen*, Helsingfors, 1902, S. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Ramstedt, *Über die Konj. d. Kk-M.*, S. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Ramstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 81.



Beispiele aus alten Handschriften: AQ f. 44r. *barahayai* „ging zu Ende“; *abulaya* „nahm“ (ibid. 45r.); AQ f. 49v. *toyululaya* „sie haben erreicht“; ibid. f. 4v. *barildayululaya* „er hat sie ergreifen lassen (oder annehmen, von der Religion)“; M *bilege* „er war“ usw.

#### 6) Optativ.

Neben der gewöhnlichen Endung *-suyai* (*-sügei*) kommt die kürzere *-su* vor (ohne sekundäres *-yai*). Beispiele: S f. 29v. *ögsü* „ich gebe, ich werde geben“; AQ f. 37r. *üjegülsu* „ich werde zeigen“; *öüsi* AQ 27v. „ich werde sagen“.

### III. UIGURISCHE LEHNWÖRTER.

In alten Handschriften tritt das Uigurische Wort *bilge* „weise“, welches später mit dem Worte *belge* „Zeichen“ kontaminiert wurde, häufig auf: M III. Kap., f. 9r. *bilge*, V. Kap. 10v. *bilge bilig* (später *>belge bilig*) „weiser Verstand“; AQ f. 3v. *bilge bilig* ds. Das Wort *ajay-qa tegimlig* < Uig. *ajag-qa tegimlig* „der Schale zukommend“ (Radloff, *Tisastvustik*, S. 49), „ehrwürdig“ (Müller, *Uigurica* II, S. 103), welches durch die Mongolen mißverstanden wurde so, daß die Form *ajay-qa* als Nominativ aufgefaßt wurde, und die mongolische Form *ajaya* „Schale“ entstand, kommt noch in der ursprünglichen Form vor: Z. 126, f. 2r., 4r., 5r. usw. *ajay-qa tegimlig* „Mönch“. Die uigurische Benennung des *Yama* — *erklig qan*, welche ins Mongolische aufgenommen in der Form *erlig qan* auftritt, kommt in alten Handschriften noch in der uigurischen Form vor: AQ f. 5v. *erklig qayan*. Das Wort *erdem* < Sanskr. *ratna* „Kostbarkeit“ kommt oft in der Form *erdini* (M V. Kap., f. 6v., AQ f. 13v. u. a.) vor (Uig. *erdini*, vgl. Radloff, *Tisastvustik*, S. 32, 69). Vgl. noch das uigurische Wort *ariy* „rein“ Z. 130, f. 4v. (statt des mong. *arigun* ds.), dasselbe kommt auch in dem *Altan tobči* (herausg. v. Gombojeff) S. 121 Anm. 9 vor.

### IV. SYNTAKTISCHE EIGENTÜMLICHKEITEN.

Die altmongolischen Handschriften sind durch eine ganz besondere Wortfolge gekennzeichnet. Während in den Handschriften der klassischen Periode der mongolischen Literatur das Subjekt immer auf dem ersten Platz und das Verbum finitum am Ende des Satzes steht, ist in alten Handschriften das Gegenteil der Fall. Ebenso steht auch das Objekt nach dem Verbum finitum. Beispiele: S. 7r. *suraysan*

*erdem-i* „er hat die Tugend erlernt“; AQ f. 58 v. *γarū esekü üjebei* *tidenü čerigüdi* „herausgehend hast du unsere Heere doch nicht gesehen“; AQ f. 2 v. *jobalangγud ēē tonilyasuyai kemen γujulayγa či jeke bayatur tejimü qutugi erte urida* „möge ich mich von den Qualen befreien! solch eine Heiligkeit hast du, großer Held, früh begehrt“; AQ f. 3 v. *ariγun saylabad ijen ese buliydaluyγa či tegün dür* „du hast nicht zugelassen, daß sie sich an deinen reinen Gelübden vergreifen“; AQ f. 24 r. *ügei bolγamui šimnuš-un sara-jin gerel-i* „er vernichtet den Glanz des Mondes der bösen Geister“; AQ f. 23 v. *olumui edüge ükiül ügei qutuy-i* „er findet jetzt eine unsterbliche Heiligkeit“.

Die Sprache der alten Handschriften ist durch den häufigen Gebrauch verschiedener Partikeln, die jetzt nur noch in einigen lebendigen Mundarten vorkommen, gekennzeichnet.

Partikel *ni* verleiht dem verbum finitum den Sinn der Möglichkeit der Handlung, einer Unbestimmtheit usw. Vgl. AQ f. 6 r. *teγüni qamiya ēē irejü, qamiya odvaini kemen eribesü ber qamuy jüg ēē ülü oldaju* „obgleich sie ihn suchten (denkend), von wo er gekommen und wohin er gegangen sein könnte, konnten sie ihn nirgends finden“; AQ 29 r. *gerel ügei bolbai ni* „möglicherweise ist das Licht verschwunden“; AQ f. 29 v. *ülü üjegdem ni* „möglicherweise sieht man (ihn) nicht“, AQ f. 29 v. *näkir bolbai ni* „vielleicht ist er (sein) Freund geworden“; M Kap. III f. 3 r. *bolbai ni* „vielleicht geworden“ u. a. Vgl. dazu dörbetisch von Kobdo *zur oržüni, zur oržönä* „vielleicht wird es regnen“.

Von anderen Partikeln sei noch *kü* (der Bekräftigung) erwähnt. vgl.: AQ f. 58 v. *esekü üjebei či* „nicht hast du gesehen“; AQ f. 63 r. *esekü qaribat* „nicht ist er zurückgekehrt“; Ž 130 f. 4 v. *kürdüniki* (= *kürdin i kü*) „das Rad“ (acc.); M II. Kap. 3 r. *či kü* „du gerade“ usw.

Schließlich bleibt noch zu sagen, daß alte mongolische Handschriften durch den häufigen Gebrauch des Plurals der Nomina gekennzeichnet sind. Auch läßt sich in einigen Fällen eine Art Kongruenz des Attributs und des Subjekts beobachten, vgl.: Ž 130 f. 1 r. *jekes quwarayud* „die großen Mönche“; Ž 126 II. Kap., f. 3 r. *jirtinčün* „der Welten“ (gen.); Ž 126 f. 6 r. *üjegsed* „die gesehen Habenden“; M f. 12 r. *jaγayad-tan* „die Schicksale Habenden“; M V. Kap., f. 9 r. *qarangγus* „die Dunkelheiten“ usw.



## RUSSISCHE ARBEITEN AUF DEM GEBIET DER MONGOLISTIK 1914—1924

Von N. POPPE

In den Jahren 1914—1924 ist in Rußland auf dem Gebiet der Mongolistik trotz ungünstiger Zeiten so manches geleistet worden, wovon hier in Kürze die Rede sein soll. In die folgende Übersicht russischer Arbeiten sind nur philologische Werke: geschichtliche, literaturhistorische und linguistische Arbeiten aufgenommen worden.

1. B. Vladimirtsov. Verneinungspartikel beim Imperativ im Mongolischen. *Bulletin de l'Acad. des Sciences*, 1916. S. 349—358.

Eine linguistische Untersuchung über die ursprüngliche Bedeutung und die Geschichte der mongolischen Verneinungspartikel *bu*, *bitegei* usw., welche amorphe Verbalformen sind.

2. B. Vladimirtsov und A. Ssamoilovitsch. Der türkische Volksstamm der Chotonen. *Zapiski der Oriental. Section der Russ. Archäol. Ges.* XXIII, 1916.

Bemerkungen über den türkischen Volksstamm der Chotonen der nord-westlichen Mongolei. Dieser Stamm, der schon 200 Jahre lang isoliert von den anderen Türken Zentralasiens lebt, hat mit der Zeit seine ursprüngliche Sprache teilweise schon eingebüßt, und die Leute werden allmählich zu Mongolen. Es folgt ein Glossar mongolischer Lehnwörter und im zweiten Teil ein Glossar türkischer Wörter.

3. B. Vladimirtsov. Ein anonymen georgischer Historiker des XIV. Jh. über die mongolische Sprache. *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, 1917. S. 1487—1501. Eine Liste mongolischer Wörter nach der Aufzeichnung eines georgischen Historikers des XIV. Jh. Auf

den S. 1499—1501 gibt der Verfasser eine Übersicht der lautlichen Eigentümlichkeiten dieser Mundart und charakterisiert sie als Alt-Westmongolisch.

4. B. Vladimirtsov. Mongolische Handschriften und Holzschnitte, die ins Asiatische Museum der Russ. Akad. d. Wiss. von Prof. A. Rudnev eingegangen sind. *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, 1918. S. 1549—1568.

Die Liste umfaßt 140 Nummern, die in Abteilungen geordnet sind: Religio Buddhica, Narrationes usw. Es werden in Kürze die interessantesten Handschriften beschrieben, zu denen vor allem die Legende von Maudgalyāyana gehört, eine Handschrift des XVI. oder XVII. Jh., deren archaistische lautliche Eigentümlichkeiten vom Verfasser näher besprochen werden.

5. B. Vladimirtsov. Der Buddhismus in Tibet und in der Mongolei. Öffentlicher Vortrag, gelesen d. 31. IX 1919. Abgedruckt in der Serie "Die erste buddhistische Ausstellung in Petersburg", 1919, 52 Seiten in 16°.

Kurzer Überblick der Geschichte des Buddhismus in Tibet und in der Mongolei.

6. B. Vladimirtsov. Die mongolische Literatur. In der Sammlung *Literatura Vostoka II* (Literatur des Orients II). Verlag Vsemirnaja Literatura. Petersburg, 1920. S. 90-115.

Eine Skizze der mongolischen Literatur und der Haupttypen derselben. Überblick der Geschichte der mongolischen epischen Literatur und der buddhistischen Literatur in der Mongolei. Es werden ferner näher die Gessersage, die Vikramādityasage, die Vetālapañcavimśatikā und die mongolischen Übersetzungen chinesischer Romane besprochen.

7. B. Vladimirtsov. Eine mongolische Sammlung Erzählungen aus dem Pañcatantra. Sonderabdruck aus dem V. Bd., 2. Lief. der *Publications du Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie près l'Acad. des Sciences*. 1921. II + 162 + 2 in 8°.

Dieses Werk ist der erste Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Literaturgeschichte der Mongolen auf Grund einer Untersuchung der mongolischen Originalwerke, worin besonderer Wert auf den Einfluß Indiens und Tibets gelegt wird. Als Endergebnis dieser Arbeit



erweist es sich, daß die mongolischen Versionen des Pañcatantra von einer tibetischen Version abhängig sind, daß, folglich, eine tibetische Pañcatantraversion existiert. Sehr ausführlich wird die Frage von der mündlichen Überlieferung der Literaturwerke in der Mongolei behandelt und die Rolle der Schriftkundigen aus dem Volke und der wandernden niederen Geistlichen der Mongolei hervorgehoben. In einem Exkurs werden ferner die drei Hauptperioden der Geschichte der mongolischen Sprache: 1. bis zum XIV. Jh., 2. XIV. bis XVII. Jh. 3. vom Anfang des XVII. Jh. bis zur Gegenwart behandelt. Außerdem finden sich in diesem Werk viele linguistische Angaben und Mitteilungen über die mongolische erzählende Literatur.

Angezeigt von S. v. Oldenburg im I. Buch der Zeitschrift „Vostok“ (Orient), Petersburg, 1922. S. 113-114.

8. B. Vladimirtsov. *Tschinggis-Khan*. Berlin-Petersburg-Moskau, 1922. Im Verlag von Z. Grschebin. 176 S. in 16°.

Eine Geschichte der Mongolen unter Tschinggis-Khan und Biographie desselben. *I. Kap.* — Mongolen des XII. Jh. *II. Kap.* — Geburt und Kindheit Tschinggis-Khans. *III. Kap.* — Jugendjahre Tschinggis-Khans. *IV. Kap.* — Tschinggis-Khans Emporkommen. *V. Kap.* — Vereinigung mongolischer Völkerschaften und Kampf mit dem Van-Khan. *VI. Kap.* — Kampf mit den Naimanen und Dschamuchas Ende. *VII. Kap.* — Tschinggis-Khan — Kaiser. Organisation seines Reiches. *VIII. Kap.* — Kampf mit dem Schaman Kektshu. *IX. Kap.* — Kriegszug nach Tangut und Tibet. *X. Kap.* — Tschinggis-Khan während des Zuges nach China. Jelui Tschusai. *XI. Kap.* — Vor dem Kriegszug nach Westen. *XII. Kap.* — Kriegszug nach Westen. *XIII. Kap.* — Krieg in Turkestan, Afghanistan und Persien. *XIV. Kap.* — Kriegszug nach Tangut. Tschinggis-Khans Tod. *XV. Kap.* — Tschinggis-Khans Erbschaft. *XVI. Kap.* — Tschinggis-Khans persönliches Leben.

9. B. Vladimirtsov. *Der Zaubertote*. Märchen. Übersetzung, Einleitung und Anmerkungen. Petersburg-Moskau, 1923. Verlag Vsemirnaja Literatura. 119 S. in 8°.

Übersetzung der oiratischen (kalmückischen) Version der *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* mit Einleitung. Der Verfasser hat die bis jetzt einzige vollständige mongolische *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*-version benutzt.

10. B. Vladimirtsov. *Mongolisch-Oiratisches Heldenepos*. Übersetzung. Einleitung und Anmerkungen. Petersburg-Moskau, 1923. Verlag Vsemirnaja Literatura. 255 S. in 8°.

Dieses Werk ist eine Übersetzung oiratischer Heldengesänge, die der Verfasser selbst in der nord-westlichen Mongolei gesammelt hat und somit ist dies die erste Übersetzung mongolischer noch jetzt "lebendiger" Heldengesänge.

In der meisterhaften Einleitung (S. 1—53) behandelt der Verfasser die älteste Periode der Mongolenherrschaft zu Tschinggiskhans Zeiten und läßt die epischen Gesänge der Mongolen in den Kreisen der Nomadenaristokratie Tschinggiskhans entstehen. Hier werden auch kurz die ältesten epischen Werke erwähnt. Ferner wird vom Wiederaufleben der Geisteskultur der Mongolen berichtet, nachdem in Kürze die Periode des Verfalls des Mongolenstaates beleuchtet wurde. Weiter wird von der epischen Literatur der Mongolen der Gegenwart und von den Sammlern der mongolischen Volksliteratur berichtet. Der Leser erfährt, daß die epischen Gesänge gegenwärtig sich nur noch bei den Burjaten und in der nord-westlichen Mongolei erhalten haben, wobei die Träger dieser Gesänge bei den Burjaten die niederen Schichten des Volkes und in der nord-westlichen Mongolei umgekehrt die Aristokratie und die Gebildeten sind. Den größten Teil der Einleitung widmet der Verfasser dem Heldenepos der Oiraten von Kobdo in der nord-westlichen Mongolei und den Sängern derselben. Wir erfahren, daß eine große Rolle bei der Verbreitung der Heldengesänge die buddhistischen Klöster spielen. Die Sänger sind hier in der nord-westlichen Mongolei professionelle Rhapsoden und erlernen ihre Gesänge schon in der Jugend. Gewöhnlich kennt solch ein Rhapsode nur drei bis vier Gesänge (oft erreichen sie zehn und mehr tausend Zeilen!), bald vergißt er einen, bald erlernt er einen anderen. Der Verfasser widmet mehrere Seiten der Charakteristik und der Biographie des Sängers Partschen Tuitschi, der ihm die hier übersetzten Gesänge vorgesprochen hat. Der übrige Teil der Einleitung ist der Charakteristik der oiratischen Heldengesänge gewidmet. Übersetzt sind hier sechs Heldengesänge.

11. B. Vladimirtsov. Eine Mischsprache in der nord-westlichen Mongolei. *Revue Asiatique* II, 1924.

Einige linguistische Beobachtungen über einen in der Neuzeit entstehenden mongolischen Mischdialekt in der nord-westlichen Mongolei.



12. B. Vladimirtsov. *Mongolica*. Im XXVI. Bd. der *Zapiski der orientalischen Sektion der Russ. Archaeol. Ges.*

Eine linguistische Untersuchung iranischer (hauptsächlich tocharischer und sogdischer) Lehnwörter im Mongolischen.

13. Vl. Kotwicz: *Versuch einer Grammatik der Kalmückischen Umgangssprache*. Petrograd, 1915. Lithographiert, 176 S. in 8°. Phonetik, Morphologie und Syntax.

14. Vl. Kotwicz: Mongolische Inschriften in Erdeni-Dzu. In den *Publications du Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnogr. près l'Acad. d. Sc.* V, 1, 1918.

Es werden einige mongolische Inschriftfragmente aus dem Kloster Erdeni-Dzu, welches der Verfasser im J. 1912 besucht hat, abgedruckt und übersetzt. Die herausgegebene Inschrift stammt aus der Regierungszeit Toghon Temur's (1333—1367).

Die Inschrift ist wegen der archaischen Sprache von hohem Interesse. Auch in anderen Hinsichten ist sie bemerkenswert, so, z. B., ist dies die erste mongolische Quelle, die den Namen der Mongolenresidenz Korum erwähnt, da bisher dieser Name nur aus mohammedanischen, chinesischen und europäischen Geschichtsquellen bekannt war.

15. Vl. Kotwicz. Russische Archivurkunden bezüglich der Verhandlungen mit den Oiraten im XVII. u. XVIII. Jh. In dem *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sc.* 1919. S. 791—822, 1071—1092, 1199—1214.

Ein vollständiges und wissenschaftliches Geschichtswerk über die Oiraten im Sinne der Wissenschaft der Gegenwart fehlt noch. Die Ursache liegt in der verhältnismäßig geringen Anzahl bisher bekannt gewordener Geschichtsquellen über die Oiraten.

Nun findet man in diesem Werke Kotwicz's eine vollständige Übersicht sämtlicher Schriften über die Oiraten: kalmückische historische Schriften, mohammedanische und chinesische Quellen, ferner werden die Werke der Europäer, angefangen von Renats Karte, erwähnt. Den Hauptteil des Aufsatzes bildet eine ausführliche Inhaltsangabe russischer Archivurkunden und der kalmückischen Dokumente bezüglich der Russisch-Oiratischen Verhandlungen.

16. N. Poppe. Mongolische Tiernamen im Werke des Hamd' alläh Qazwini. *Zapiski*, XXVI. Bd.

Eine Liste mongolischer Tiernamen (im ganzen 45) nach Aufzeichnung Hamd' alläh Qazwini's, der sie im kosmographischen Teil seines

*Nuzhat al Qulub* (J. 1339) wiedergibt. Die mitgeteilten Formen sind in einigen Hinsichten beachtungswert, da sie Belege der mongolischen Umgangssprache des XIV. Jh. sind. Auf Grund der angeführten Formen wird die Mundart als Alt-Westmongolisch charakterisiert. Es folgt ferner eine Liste türkischer Wörter aus demselben Werk.

17. Ts. Žamtsarano. *Proben der Volksliteratur der Burjaten*. Bd. I, Lieferung 3. *Epische Literatur der Echrüt-Bulgaten*. Petersburg, 1918. In der Serie: *Proben der Volksliteratur der mongolischen Stämme*, herausgegeben von der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Die ersten zwei Lieferungen sind in den Jahren 1913—1914 erschienen.

Die dritte Lieferung enthält eine große Einleitung des Sammlers, eines Gelehrten burjatischer Herkunft. Derselbe spricht in der Einleitung vom unermesslichen Reichtum der mongolischen Volksliteratur und von seiner Sammlerarbeit.

Alle drei Lieferungen umfassen 648 Seiten in 8°, im ganzen 5 große epische Werke in Transkription. Eine Übersetzung ist noch nicht erschienen.

Die herausgegebenen Texte bilden nur einen geringen Teil der im Asiatischen Museum der Akademie der Wissenschaften befindlichen Sammlungen von Aufzeichnungen Žamtsarano's, von Vladimirtsov u. a., deren Anzahl mehrere hundert Werke der mongolischen Volksliteratur verschiedener Stämme erreicht.



## MISZELLEN—MISCELLANIES

### NEUES ÜBER DEN TANJUR IN MONGOLISCHER SPRACHE.

Wir wissen über den Tanjur in mongolischer Sprache im ganzen sehr wenig. Das einzige, was uns bekannt ist, ist, daß die Tanjurübersetzung unter *Kien-Lung* (1736—1795) im Oktober des Jahres 1740 begonnen wurde, und daß das riesige Werk schon im Dezember 1741 zum Abschluß gebracht worden sein soll, was doch sehr unwahrscheinlich klingt, wenn man bedenkt, daß der Tanjur sich auf 225 Bände beläuft.

Diese Übersetzung des Tanjur ins Mongolische wurde einer gelehrten Übersetzerkommission überlassen, welche zuerst ein tibetisch-mongolisches terminologisches Wörterbuch schaffen sollte. Da aber das weitere Schicksal dieses Unternehmens uns unbekannt ist, und bis jetzt kein einziges Tanjurexemplar in mongolischer Sprache auf uns gekommen ist, so wurde in Zweifel gezogen, ob ein derartiges Werk überhaupt je unternommen wurde.

Nun wird aus der Mongolei durch das mongolische gelehrte Komitee mitgeteilt, daß in der südlichen Mongolei unweit von *Khalgan* im Bezirk des Fürsten *Na-Wang* ein vollständiges Tanjurexemplar in 225 Bänden gefunden ist. Es ist das ein Holzschnitt, und dies bestätigt also die Nachricht, daß der Tanjur schon zu *Kien-Lungs* Zeiten gedruckt wurde.

Der jetzige Besitzer des Tanjur ist damit einverstanden, daß sein Exemplar in die Hauptstadt der Mongolei (*Urga*) gebracht wird, unter der Bedingung, daß in *Urga* ein Tempel errichtet wird, wo dieser kostbare Schatz von zehn südmongolischen Lamas bewacht wird.

Gegenwärtig verhandelt das mongolische gelehrte Komitee mit dem Besitzer und mit der Regierung, welche wahrscheinlich auf die Bedingungen des Besitzers eingehen wird.

N. Poppe.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JAPAN FOR 1915/16

By O. NACHOD

**Introductory remark.** The increasing difficulties in procuring the new publications and still more the missing of important professional Orientalistic periodicals from abroad renders the report for 1915 and 1916 still less complete than the preceding, and certainly less than I desire it to be. Many a work of note that I should have liked to study myself and to give an own estimate of, will be found mentioned only by the title or with statements drawn from other reviews. The last part "Works in Japanese Language"—scanty enough before—must be given up entirely at present for want of material. I am certain also that not a small number of publications have escaped my attention; yet the considerably decreased extent of the present bibliography shows for the two years in question, but especially for 1916, as in other spheres of work, a pronounced decline of production in literature on Japan, which decline, however, seems to be stopped in the following years.

I feel especially indebted to Dr. H. HAAS, Professor of Religious History at the Leipsic University, not only for other valuable assistance since years, but also for his kindness in lending me his copy of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, which important, and for the present Bibliography indispensable, Journal would have been otherwise inaccessible to me.—

Signs in the foot-notes:

The  $\times$  cross at the current numbers of titles of works not treated in the text, means: "Here is to be quoted."

The following double brackets || || enclose the list of reviews.



### ABBREVIATIONS:

BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.

BJ = Bibliography of Japan, by O. Nachod, *e.g.*, BJ 14 = Bibl. of Japan for 1914 (*Asia Major* I, 1922, p. 644-705).

Ill = illustrated, illustrations.

Jb = Jahrbuch.

JBG = Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft.

LZBl = Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland.

Mitt. = Mitteilungen.

PMPGA = Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Peterbes' Geographischer Anstalt.

TASJ = Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

wY = without date of publication.

Zschr. = Zeitschrift.

## YEAR 1915

### I. HISTORY

#### 1. *General History*

A. Entire time: Some larger general descriptions<sup>1-6)</sup> published in England and America, in part only amplified reprints, have, to my regret, not been attainable to me, but for their title.—A short, yet in its compressed form ample and instructive review of the historical development of the Japanese and of their culture<sup>7)</sup> emphasizes to right the foreign influences, especially that of China. "All elements of the Japanese culture are taken from abroad, above all from China, and the history of Japanese culture might be plainly called the history of foreign cultural influences" (p. 5). "The history of Japan, therefore, begins only with her relations to China, and her history of culture remains essentially a history of Chinese influences" (p. 13). If in some, mostly irrelevant details about the 2000 years of development, I cannot or not fully agree with the author, I yet see in the whole of the

1) × F. Brinkley and Baron Dairoku Kikuchi, A history of the Japanese people from the earliest times to the end of the Meiji era. New York, Encyclopædia Britannica Co., 1915. pp. XI, 784, \$ 4.25 Illustrations and maps. — 2) × R. P. Porter, Japan, the New World-power. Being a detailed account of the progress and rise of the Japanese Empire. London, H. Milford, 1915. pp. XXIV, 790, 6 Sh., maps. — New edition of the work reviewed JBG 34, 1911, No. 250, continued until 1914. [J. A. W. A.: Geogr. Journal 47 (1916) p. 377. Korr.-Bl., Nachrichtenstelle f. d. Orient 3 (1916/17) p. 59 ["Journalisten-Arbeit, und keine flüchtige."]] — 3) × E. W. Clement, A Short History of Japan. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1915. pp. X, 190, \$ 2.50. Map., illustrations. — 4) × L. G. Redmond Howard, Japan and the Japanese People. Nations of the War Series 6. London, Simpkin, Marshall, 1915. — 5) × P. Loti, Japan. New York, Pott, 1915. \$ 2.— — 6) × W. Crewdson, Japan our ally. Preface by Sir Claude M. Macdonald. London, Macmillan, 1915. pp. 36. — 7) E. Erkes, Japan und die Japaner, Kriegsgeographische Zeithilder (Land und Leute der Kriegsschauplätze) No. 7. Leipzig, Veit & Co.,



work a tribute, not often met with, to a better knowledge of real Japan, especially adapted in its preciseness to the use of the great public<sup>8-9)</sup>.—The descriptions of travel, formerly so numerous, have—probably a consequence of the war—considerably diminished<sup>10-11)</sup>.—One of the works devoted not to Japan alone, but to the Far East in general<sup>12)</sup>, (after LZBl 1915, p. 1287) discusses—mostly in an historical summary—the political and commercial relations of the European powers to China and Japan and accomplishes its object as a handy survey, but is of no avail beyond that".—The other contributions<sup>13-19)</sup> treat in the main questions of the day's politics.

B. Single Epochs: About the beginnings of history, one only article is to be mentioned<sup>20)</sup>.—A valuable contribution to the knowledge of the intercourse with the Philippines especially in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, is contained in an essay<sup>21)</sup>, which calls its object "an attempt to give a consecutive account of the early relations of Japan with the Philippines" (p. 685). This purpose may well be regarded as reached, and beyond that, we must acknowledge in spite of several objections that the author also contributed some new or little known details to our knowledge of these relations. As his

1915, pp. 40, M. —80. 8 Illustr. — 8) × E. Erkes, Zur Geschichte und Charakteristik der Japaner. Jb. Museum f. Völkerkunde, Leipzig 6, 1915, p. 100. Brief report about a lecture corresponding with the above essay. — 9) × P. Ostwald, Die Entwicklungsperioden Japans. Lyceum 2, 1915, No. 10/11. — 10) × P. v. Mathies, Erinnerungen an Japan. Schweizer Rundschau 15, 1914/15, pp. 202—209, 373—378, 443—450. — 11) × Ambrogì, Sensaciones del Japón y de la China. San Salvador, 1915, pp. 209 — 12) A. Lessing, Aus dem fernen Osten. Von einem rheinischen Großindustriellen. Deutsche Kriegsschriften No. 19. Bonn, A. Marcus & E. Weber, 1915 pp. 42 M. —80. — 13) × G. Irmer, Völkerdämmerung im Stillen Ozean. Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1915, pp. 155 M. 2.30. [F. Föcher: LZBl 66 (1915) p. 927. Sapper: Geogr. Zechr. 21 (1915) p. 716 (much approving). C.: Osnat. Zechr. 4 (1915/16) p. 218—219. A. Zimmermann: PMPCA, 62, 1916<sup>II</sup>, p. 351.] — 14) × F. Wertheimer, Die Politik rund um den Stillen Ozean. Über Land und Meer 113, 1915, No. 38. — 15) × Frhr. E. L. v. Mackay, Die weltpolitischen Wetterbildungen im fernen Osten. Deutsche Rundschau 42, Oct. 1915. — 16) × Frhr. L. v. Mackay, Das ostasiatische Problem in weltwirtschaftlicher Bedeutung. Weltwirtschaft 3, 1915/16, pp. 105—110. — 17) × K. E. Imberg, Die amerikanische Politik und die Vorgänge im fernen Osten. Nord und Süd 39, June 1915. — 18) × J. Witte, Die Zukunft Ostasiens und wir Deutschen. Kunstwart 28, 1915, No. 19. — 19) × F. Aldridge, New menace in the Far East. North American Review, vol. 201, 1915, p. 714—718. — 20) × R. Stübe, Ursprung des japanischen Volkes und die Anfänge seiner Kultur. Natur 7, 1915, p. 23 ff. — 21) M. T. Paske-Smith, The Japanese Trade and Residence in the Philippines before and during the Spanish Occupation. TASJ.

sources he enumerates the generally appreciated Spanish writings of Colin, Concepción, Chirino, de Morga—which has been used most—and Martínez de Zúñiga, moreover manuscripts by clergymen kept at Manila. He also speaks of visits to the British Museum and to the National Library of Madrid, where “are a few manuscripts which bear upon the subject” (p. 685). The very rich and as yet mostly unexplored treasures for this matter contained in the manuscripts of the Archivo de Indias at Sevilla, seem to have escaped the author’s attention. Relations of the Japanese to Luzon are stated even before the coming there of the Spanish, but there were probably only Japanese trading vessels coming and going, without resulting in settlements. The objects of this early barter, above all the ceramic vessels for tea, then often paid fabulous sums for in Japan, are given after de Morga. After a description of the dangerous, but in the end successfully repelled attack of the Chinese pirate Limahon and his Lieutenant Sioco, a Japanese (1574–1575), the fight at Cagayan River (1582) is given as first collision between the Spaniards and the Japanese in which, in spite of heroic defence, the Japanese were defeated by the Spanish under Carrion. Since then, on account of such dangers, Chinese and Japanese in Manila were settled in separate quarters outside the city, the Japanese in the suburb of Dilao under the spiritual care of the Franciscan friars. The beginning of bad terms is reported after de Morga for the year 1590 (not 1690; p. 695) and after that the more and more threatening intercourse with Hideyoshi and the intrigues of his confidential man Harada are described, also how the impending danger was destroyed by the Japanese regent’s death (1598). Under his successor Ieyasu, more amicable relations are formed also with the Japanese in Manila, who even fight in the Spanish ranks against other nations. In 1606 and 1607, however, new Japanese riots in Manila are reported as quelled by the Spanish, who also send home some Japanese. Even the official relations to Ieyasu, friendly at the outset, were dimmed by his verdict of 1614, exiling the foreign priests. Many christian natives now are kindly received at Manila as refugees. As a protective measure against Japanese attacks, the Spanish settle in Formosa in 1626, whence they are dislodged by the Dutch in 1642. Accounts are also given of a Japanese ship being burnt by the Spanish in Siam in 1628, of their hostile intentions against the Philippines pursued under leading of the Daimyō



of Satsuma from 1630 to 1632, but remaining without consequences, and of legal cases at Manila courts in which Japanese settled there take a part from the years 1616, 1625, 1627, 1628, 1633 und 1636. Finally the essay reports of the year 1640 a Spanish interdict to carry on trade with Japan and sometimes friendly reception of shipwrecked Japanese in later years. The following details, important also from the geographical point of view, are worth special notice: "In 1569, Marcelo Ansaldo, a priest, wrote a memorial setting forth his desire to go from Manila to Japan . . . . Ansaldo visited Japan and has left us a map now in the National Library at Madrid" (p. 689) . . . "In 1587 another vessel arrived with others [*i. e.*, other Japanese] headed by one Gabriel . . . . In reference to the arrival of these Japanese Christians I would mention the existence in the National Library of Madrid of a letter signed by Bishop Salazar and also by Gabriel and his companions, containing a very interesting description of Japan together with a rough map made by the Japanese themselves, who added the names of the provinces in Japanese and in the map inserted the names of the provinces in 'Kana' [Japanese Syllabary writing]. Their own names, too, are signed in Japanese" (p. 695). It is to be regretted that this is all, the author tells of these 2 maps, hitherto apparently neither edited nor even mentioned in the respective literature, yet certainly not without importance for the history of Japanese cartography, though such charts of even earlier dates are known, of Japanese as well as of Portuguese origin. Some inaccuracies are to be regretted, *e. g.*, in the list of sources: Colin's work was not published in 1673 (p. 685), but in 1663, and of Concepción's only vols. I—V in 1788 (p. 685), but VI—XIV from 1788—1792 (cf. Bibliography by Pardo de Tavera p. 106, 111). The crucifixion of christian martyrs at Nagasaki under Hideyoshi took place not in 1596 (p. 697) but in 1597. As a strange confusion appears the title of "Viceroy of Mexico" (p. 685) for the scholar and Augustine Padre Andres de Urdaneta (not Urdanetta, 1498—1568), famous in the history of discoveries. Laufer's very valuable article, based also on Japanese documents, about the lively bartering between Japan and the Philippines until the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, especially of the treasured tea-vessels ("Boioni", cf. JBG 35, 1912, No. 360), seems to have entirely escaped Mr. Paske-Smith's attention. (Bibliography of the relations between Japan and the Philippines see No. 262).—The mariner Dirck Gerritsz,



the first Dutchman who came to Japan, to whom already 1899 A. Wichmann had devoted a biography forming a noteworthy and well versed contribution to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries' history of discoveries ("Dirck Gerritsz", Groningen), is now made again the topic of an extensive documentary research<sup>22</sup>). This was undertaken because to the sources from printed literature and from manuscripts at the Hague National Archive—used by Wichmann—new ones have been recently added: unpublished documents of the Spanish archives, important for Gerritsz' share in the fatal expedition to the Far East by Maghellan-Straits (1598—1600), and still more so for his stay in South America. This latter being the principal point, the book yet contains also many a remarkable fact concerning the relations of the occident to Japan in the 16<sup>th</sup> et. (especially chap. 2 "Verblijf in Indie", p. 5—24); it also treats of Gerritsz' whole life, *e. g.*, of his two voyages to China and Japan (the second 1584—88) and of the knowledge of the Far East—however modest—due to him. Van Linchoten's, his friend's, important and substantial letter from Goa of 1584, proving *a. o.* that this famous navigator never reached Japan himself, as Dutch books on this country formerly reported, is here published for the first time in the original and in extenso (p. 8—13).—A work on the earlier Russian strives for expansion in the Far East<sup>23</sup>) concerns Japan in the main only for the northern Isle of Yezo.—<sup>24</sup>) From papers, left behind by Vice-Admiral P. A. van Rees, who as commander of the Dutch man-of-war "Djambi" arrived 1863 at Nagasaki and stayed for nearly two years in Japan, his son compiles a narrative of the turbulent development of Japan about half a century ago, so abundant in exciting and bloody events<sup>25</sup>), in the main to the purpose to show his countrymen the then strong Dutch influence in Japan, not enough

vol. 42, 1914. pp. 683—710. — <sup>22</sup>) J. W. IJzerman, Dirck Gerritsz Pomp alias Dirck Gerritsz China. De eerste Nederlander die China en Japan bezocht (1544—1604). Zijn reis naar en verblijf in Zuid-Amerika. Grootendeels naar Spaansche bescheiden bewerkt. Linchoten-Vereeniging 9. Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1915. pp. XXII, 195, 2 maps. [[B. I. d'Ooge: Geogr. Review 1916, II, p. 166—167.]] — <sup>23</sup>) F. A. Golder, Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641—1850. Cleveland (Ohio), A. H. Clark, 1914. pp. 368, 21 Sh. [[J. F. B.: Geogr. Journal 47 (1916), pp. 468—470.]] — <sup>24</sup>) × Nachod, Ein niederländisches Kunstwerk für den Shōgun als diplomatischer Streitpunkt zwischen England und Holland im Jahre 1670. *Oriental. Zachr.*, 4, 1915/16. pp. 204—205. A standing-clock, presumably no more in existence, presented to the Shōgun, with four paintings, showing an infantry and a cavalry battle, a sea-fight and Ruyter's victory at Chatham (1667). — <sup>25</sup>) R. P. A. van Rees, Japan-Holland voor vijftig jaar. Amsterdam,



known to them. The introduction about the relations between the occident and Japan does not correspond with the present state of our knowledge and transmits a number of antiquated erroneous views. The value of the book, however, consists in a literal rendering of different official documents issued by home and foreign authorities from the fifties and sixties of last century, some perhaps even unedited, throwing some light on the great difficulties connected with the opening of the country forced on to Japan, then so weak and disunited. The Japanese text of such an ordinance decorates the cover of the book. Three scenes of the naval fight at Shimonoseki (against the Daimyō of Nagato or Chōshū, Sept. 1864) are pictured after drawings by eye-witnesses; also the first Japanese man-of-war, Kwankomaru (Soembing before), a present the Netherlands had made to Japan.—A thorough review of 2 complementary works of note about the history of Japan's political progress in the Meiji-era (J. H. Gubbins, *The Progress of Japan 1853—71*, Oxford 1911, see JBG. 34, 1911, No. 61; G. E. Uyehara, *The Political development of Japan 1867—1909*, London 1910, see JBG 33, 1910, Nr. 289) is in itself a valuable critical survey of the inner-politics of the striving empire in this important age of transition<sup>26</sup>). Especially the last two years 1911 & 12, being already beyond the scope of those two works and so full of inner-political fighting and complications, are treated at full length.—The memorable war of 1904/5 against Russia, which hitherto took so large a part in literature on Japan, is this time represented only by a second article of a treatise on the work of the Japanese General Staff<sup>27</sup>), the merits of which rest with the translation of single parts of this official work.—The memoirs of a Japanese statesman and former ambassador in London, Count Tadasu Hayashi (1850—1913), prominent in the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which were partly published already in 1913 (cf. JBG 36, 1913, No. 93), when the Japanese edition was suppressed, are now edited in an English translation by the Reuter-agent Pooley<sup>28</sup>).

P. N. van Kampen & Sa., wY (1914?) pp. VII, 155. 4. III. — 26) W. W. Mc Laren, *The Political Development of Japan*, TASJ 42, 1914, pp. 782—806. Compare BJ. 16, No. 17. — 27) × Trantz, *Das japanische Generalstabswerk über den Japanisch-Russischen Krieg 1904/5. Proben des Stiles und ein Überblick über die Bearbeitungsweise. Nach dem japanischen Original.* (2<sup>nd</sup> article.) Mitt. d. Seminars f. oriental. Sprachen, Berlin, Abt. I: Ostasiat. Studien 18, 1915, pp. 98—178. Translation of 3 chapters about the struggles at the Yalu.—1<sup>st</sup> article see BJ. 14, No. 48. — 28) *The Secret Memoirs of Count Hayashi*, edited by A. M. Pooley, London, Eyreleigh



who, in 1914, was condemned in Japan in connection with the fleet-scandals (see BJ 14, No. 223/24). The memoirs treat especially of the intervention against the treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) and of the English alliance.—Among writings about questions of the day, we note first some contributions of only passing interest to general politics<sup>22-26</sup>) and to the striving for expansion<sup>27</sup>). Numerous are the discussions of Japan's relations to foreign countries, a large share of which is taken by Japan's attitude toward Germany and her share in the World's War<sup>28-36</sup>), and by the development and description of the conquered

Nash, and New York, Putnam, 1915. Excerpta in New York Times. [M. v. Dewall: Korrespondenzblatt, Nachrichtenstelle f. d. Orient 3 (1916/17): pp. 496—497.] — **29**) × W. Schramm, Japan. Neue Rundschau. May 1915. pp. 603—626: Critical review of foreign politics and of their success since reopening of the country until present.—**30**) × Frhr. v. Willisen, Die Politik Japans. Geist des Ostens 2. 1914/15. pp. 371—378. The author designates as "political program of Japan the hegemony over the whole Eastern and Central Asia". — **31**) × C. Alberti-Sittenfeld, Japans Wege und Ziele. Die Große Zeit. No. 8. 1915. — **32**) × H. Fuder, Japan auf dem Wege zur Weltmacht. Überall 18, 1915, pp. 131 ff. — **33**) × A. Kind, Japans Zukunft. Zschr. für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 30. 1915. pp. 33—40. — **34**) × G. Ohlinger, Japan: sequel to Port Arthur. Atlantic Monthly (Boston) 115. 1915. pp. 124—136. — **35**) × H. Moore, In peace and war in Japan. A tale. Soc. of the Propag. of the Gospel. Westminster, 1915. pp. VII, 125. — **36**) × Thorstein Veblen, The Opportunity of Japan. Journal of Race Development. 1915. pp. 23—28. — **37**) × P. S. Rivetta, L'espansione coloniale giapponese. Riv. Colon. (Rome) 10. 1915. pp. 241—259. — **38**) × E. V. Zenker, Japan und der Weltkrieg. Wage 18. 1915. No. 5/7. — **39**) × K. Yoshimatsu, Japans Haltung zum europäischen Kriege. Der Weltkrieg 1914/15. St. Gallen, W. Beck & Co., 1915. pp. 32 [H. M.: Korrespondenzblatt d. Nachrichtenstelle f. d. Orient 2 (1915/6, 12/1. 16. [sharply censuring]. China-Archiv 1 (1916) pp. 126/7.] — **40**) × Witte, Japanische Stimmen zum Kriege Japans mit Deutschland. Zschr. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 30. 1915. pp. 84—94. — **41**) × P. Rohrbach, Deutschland und Ostasien. Veltagen & Klazings Monatshefte 29, 1915, No. 9. — **42**) × K. Raebiger, Deutschland und Japan. Türmer 18, 1915. No. 8. — **43**) × Die Deutschen in Japan. Christliche Freiheit 31, 1915. No. 28. — **44**) × Witte, Die Deutschen in Japan während des Krieges. Protestantenblatt 48. 1915. No. 23. — **45**) × H. Smidt, Besprechungen. Japan, China und Deutschland. Ostasiat. Zschr. 3. 1914/15 pp. 484—488. Denoted as review of the essays by v. Brandt, Florenz, Franke and Wertheimer (s. BJ 14, No. 101, 102, 105, 106), touches however slightly some of them, but really treats Japanese politics at breaking out of the war, in the main after the last numbers of the then suppressed "Deutsche Japan-Post". — **46**) × Graf Vay von Vaya and zu Luskod, Ostasiens Stellung zum Weltkrieg. I. Japans innere Lage. II. Chinas Umwandlung. Deutsche Rundschau 41, 1915, No. 9, 10. — **47**) × Wird Japan den Hilferufen der Entente-mächte Folge leisten? Deutsche Revue 40, Febr. 1915, pp. 142—147. — **48**) × F. Ostwald, Warum ward Japan unser Feind? Über Land und Meer 113. 1915. No. 17. — **49**) × P. Ostwald, Japans wirtschaftliche Lage im Weltkrieg. Umschau. 1915. pp. 803 ff.



German territory Kiao-chow<sup>57-64</sup>), as also by the heroic surrender of Tsingtau<sup>65-76</sup>). Repeatedly treated are also Japan's relations to her con-

- 50) × F. Doflein, Unser Feind Japan. Süddeutsche Monatshefte 12, 1915, pp. 239—250. — 51) × S. Bättner, Selbsterlebtes in Japan während der Kriegszeit 1914/15. Gartenlaube. 1915. No. 45. — 52) × F. Geiler, Japans Presse und öffentliche Meinung während des Weltkrieges. Grenzboten 74. 1915. pp. 367—371. — 53) × Witte, Reue über den Angriff auf Tsingtau und Bewunderung für Deutschland in Japan. Zschr. f. Missionskunde u. Religionswissenschaft 30. 1915. pp. 374—378. Rendering of utterances by Viscount Koga, an influential member of the Senate, and by the diplomatist Baronet Makino in the newspaper "Yamato" about the war and especially about the roll of Germany and England. — 54) × E. B. Mitford, Japan and the war in Europe. National Review. No. 384, 1915, pp. 851—860. — 55) × K. K. Kawakami, Japan and the European war. Atlantic Monthly (Boston) 114. 1915, pp. 708—713. — 56) × J. Orhan, Le Japon. La guerre européenne. Brussels, Kampa, 1915. 7 sheets, Fr. —.15. — 57) × W. Schramm, Kiantsehou, seine Entwicklung und Bedeutung. Ein Rückblick. Berlin, Curtius, 1915. pp. 96, M. 1.50; bound M. 2.50. 18 Ill., map. Published also as supplement to "Jahresbericht des Deutsch-Chinesischen Verbandes" for 1914. [E. Erkes: LZBl 66 (1915) p. 737 (good and clear survey)]. v. S.: Geist des Ostens 2 (1914/15) pp. 447—448 (much approving). A. Kind: Zschr. für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 30 (1915), pp. 157—158. Frhr. B. L. v. Mackay: IMPGA 62, II (1916), pp. 270—271 (approving). W. Schüler: Korrespondenzblatt Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient 3 (1916/17), pp. 555—556 (approving).] — 58) × Schramm, Kiantsehou. Geist des Ostens 2, 1914/15, pp. 329—343, 7 Ill. — Short survey on development and institutions of the German leased territory. — 59) × W. Schramm, Kiantsehou. Süddeutsche Monatshefte 12, 1915, No. 11. — 60) × Aus Kiantsehou. Kompaß 11, 1915, No. 2. — 61) × Tsingtau. Die Front. 1915. No. 1. — 62) × W. Blane, Tsingtau. Transactions & Proceedings Japan Society, London 13. 1915, pp. 1—17. — 63) × D. Bellei, Tsing-Tao et la ruine de la culture allemande en Extrême-Orient. Revue des Deux Mondes. Vol. 85, No. 5, 1915, pp. 121—150. — 64) × E. Castellani, La Germania imperiale a Kiao-Chau. Nuova Antologia. April 16th 1915. — 65) × Kurt Schultze, Der Kampf um Tsingtau. Shanghai, M. Noesler & Co. and Jena, Fischer, 1915. pp. 16, § —70. M. —.30. Lecture by an eye-witness, delivered before the Chinese Union of German Engineers at Shanghai. [LZBl 67 (1916) pp. 750—751. J. Witte: Zschr. für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 31 (1916) pp. 223—224.] — 66) × R. Wilhelm, Aus Tsingtaus schweren Tagen im Weltkrieg 1914. Tagebuch. Berlin, Hutten-Verlag, 1915. M. —.50. — 67) × A. Kind, Aus Tsingtaus schweren Tagen. Protestantenblatt 48, 1915. No. 40. — 68) × C. J. Voskamp, Aus dem belagerten Tsingtau. Tagebuchblätter. Berlin, Evangel. Missionsgesellschaft, 1915. pp. 138, M. 1.—. [Witte: Zschr. für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 30 (1915) pp. 156—157 (recommended).] — 69) × Kriegstagebuch der Belagerung von Tsingtau 23. Juli bis 29. November 1914. Shanghai, M. Noesler & Co., 1915. Doll. —.30. Map. — 70) × R. Walter, Tsingtau unterm Feuer. Eine Erzählung. Weimar, Kiepenheuer, 1915. pp. 141. M. 2.—; bound M. 5.—. [R. Dohse: Schöne Literatur 17 (1916) p. 251 (approving).] — 71) × O. Wieselager, Als Kriegsfreiwilliger in Tsingtau. Shanghai/Leipzig, M. Noesler & Co., 1915. pp. ca. 120, § 1.80, bound § 2.50. Ill. — 72) × Brief eines Mitkämpfers aus Tsingtau. Woche 17, 1915, No. 6. — 73) × O. v. Gottberg, Die Helden von Tsingtau. Berlin, Ullstein & Co., 1915. pp. 188, M. 1.—. 4 Ill., 2 maps. [LZBl 66 (1915) p. 1158.] — 74) × M. Hanschild, Kampf unserer Marineflieger über Tsingtau,



tinental neighbour China<sup>77-91</sup>) and to the United States of America.<sup>92-102</sup>  
To a Japanese propaganda pamphlet about the future war between

- Nach Originalberichten. Über Land u. Meer 114, 1915, No. 50; — **75**) × Jefferson Jones, The Fall of Tsingtan. With a Study of Japan's Ambitions in China. Boston, New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915, pp. XVIII, 216, \$ 1.75. Illustr.—By the only American war correspondent assisting the siege. [H. Müller: Der Neue Orient 2 (1917), pp. 98—100 (approving).] Sch.: China-Archiv 2 (1916), pp. 521—522. — **76**) × P. S. Rivetta, L'Azione giapponese e l'occupazione di Tsing-Tao (Kiao-Chow). Nuova Antologia 257, 1915, pp. 137—144. — **77**) × H. Smidt, Japan im Weltkrieg und das China-problem. 2 Aufsätze. Bremen, Leuwer, 1915, pp. 61. [P. Leutwein: Weltwirtschaft 5 (1915/16), p. 124. J. Witter: Zechr. für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 31 (1916), pp. 93—94 [recommended].] — **78**) × E. Simon, Japan und China. Gelet des Ostens 2, 1914/15, pp. 378—386. — **79**) × A. Goldschmidt, Japan in China. März 9, 1915, No. 11. — **80**) × F. Wertheimer, Japanisch-Chinesische Spannung und ihre Rückwirkung auf Europa. Das Größere Deutschland, 1915, pp. 317—324. — **81**) × Das japanische Ultimatum. Ostasiatischer Lloyd, 29, 1915, pp. 450—454. Contains the verbal text of the changed arrangements of the Japanese ultimatum, consented to by China on May 9<sup>th</sup>, and of the preceding negotiations. — **82**) × Die Antwort Chinas. Ostasiatischer Lloyd 29, 1915, pp. 467—471. Verbal text of the declaration by the Chinese government about acceptance of the agreement with China and of the preceding negotiations. — **83**) × The Sino-Japanese Crisis 1915. The Negotiations January-May 1915 and the Treaties and Notes signed in Peking 25<sup>th</sup> May, 1915. Shanghai, The National Review Office, 1915, pp. 49. [H. M.: Korrespondenzblatt, Nachrichtenstelle f. d. Orient 3 (1916/17), p. 39.] — **84**) × The Sino-Japanese Negotiations. Chinese Official Statement, with Documents and Treaties with Annexures. Peking 1915. — **85**) × The Japanning of China. North American Review, vol. 201, 1915, pp. 811—815. — **86**) × J. T. Bramhall, Kiao-Chow and Bushido. Open Court, vol. 29, 1915, pp. 372—381. Title leading astray. Concerns in the main only the hard conditions imposed upon China by Japan. — **87**) × Sei-tō Ton-fa, La Chine et le Japon: La thèse chinoise. Revue Politique Internationale (Lausanne), 1915, No. 17. — **88**) × A. Chéradame, Le Japon entre l'Europe et la Chine. Revue Politique & Parlementaire, vol. 22, No. 244, March 10<sup>th</sup> 1915, pp. 234—255. — **89**) × F. Farjanel, Le Japon en Chine. Revue des Deux Mondes, vol. 85, 1915, No. 11, pp. 622—646. — **90**) × Les accords sino-japonais. Young Pao, vol. 16, 1915, pp. 296—298. — **91**) × G. D. Poli, Cina e Giappone. Soc. Ital. di Esplorazioni Geografiche e Commerciali, 1915, No. 3. — **92**) × K. E. Imberg, Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und Japan. Grenzboten 74, 1915, pp. 33—49. — **93**) × J. Riegelsberger, Japan und Amerika. März, vol. 9, 1915, pp. 145—151. — **94**) × P. Ostwald, Japan und Amerika. Daheim 31, 1915, No. 31. — **95**) × Reay, Was will Japan, was Amerika? Das Freie Wort, 15, 1915, pp. 157—164. — **96**) × v. Mackay, Japan und die Vereinigten Staaten. Das Größere Deutschland, 1915, pp. 917—924. — **97**) × Frhr. v. Mackay, Amerika, Japan und das pazifische Problem. Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 32, 1915, pp. 57—59. — **98**) × E. v. Kuczyński, Amerikanisch-chinesische Beziehungen und ihre Rückwirkungen auf Japan. Deutsche Revue 40, Jan. 1915, pp. 71—89. — **99**) × Japan's Schlagkraft, China und die Vereinigten Staaten. Jbr. f. d. Deutsche Armee und Marine, 1915, I, pp. 175—186. — **100**) × N., Um die Vorherrschaft im Stillen Ozean. Export 37, 1915, pp. 119—120. Comparison of the active forces at the disposal of Japan and of the United States. — **101**) × L. Russel, America to Japan. New York, Putnam, 1915, pp. 333. \$ 1.25. Ill., maps. — **102**) × H. A. Millis, The Japanese problem in the Asia Major, Apr.-Oct. 1914



the two great Pacific powers, which was spread wholesale and deserves attention, a notice in a periodical<sup>103</sup>) refers as follows: "Its title is: Nippon—kaisen—'Japan is striking the first blows', a dream narration only, a Yumemonogatari, but edited by the Kokumin gunje kyokai, the 'National Militant Union', with Count Okuma, Japanese Presiding Minister, at the head, and Baronet Kato, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as Vice-President..." The story pretends to go on in the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> decennary of our century and shows Japan's prospects in the case of a war against America in favourable light. Attention is drawn to the same subject also by another author: "R. L. Orchelle... contributor to the 'Continental Times', has had the merit to refer in detail the public to a recently published book 'The War between America and Japan', composed by the 'Japanese Union for National Defence', spread in Japanese language in over a million copies" (Schie-mann, "Die Weltlage vor Weihnachten" in "Deutsche Politik," No. 1, Jan. 1916, p. 25/26).—We have to close by a number of articles about Japan's relations to Great Britain<sup>104-107</sup>), to Russia<sup>108</sup>), to Spain<sup>109</sup>), to Chile<sup>110</sup>) and to French Indo-China<sup>111</sup>).

## 2. Provincial and Local History

A. Yezo (Hokkaidō). The aim of an economical research<sup>112</sup>), devoted to the northern territory, to the Isle of Yezo, based upon a

United States; an investigation for the commission on relations with Japan appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. New York, Macmillan, 1915. 120, pp. XXI, 334, \$ 1.50. Ill., maps. [J. H. Oldham: Internat. Rev. of Missions 6 (1916), pp. 159—161.] — 103) L. Mott. San Francisco Examiner, Magazine-Section, 1915. [Korrespondenzblatt d. Nachrichtenstelle f. d. Orient 2 (1915), pp. 45—46.] — 104) × Ernst Schultze, England und Japan, Ein asiatischer Aushlick. Koloniale Rundschau, 1915, pp. 65—75. — 105) × J. Haushagen, England und Japan seit Schimonoseki. Kriegshofe aus dem Industrie-Bezirk, No. 6. Essen, G. D. Bädeler, 1915, pp. 115. M. — 80. [J. Witte, Zechr. für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 30 (1915) p. 384 ("much worth reading"). China-Archiv 1 (1916), p. 62.] — 106) × Japanisch-englische Brüderlichkeit. Türmer 17, 1915, No. 12. — 107) × K. E. Imberg, Englands Reue über Japan. Deutsche Revue 40, July 1915, pp. 108—114. — 108) × Ostwald, Ein Bündnis zwischen Rußland und Japan? Das Größere Deutschland, 1915, pp. 1270—1274. 109) × Spanien und Japan. Freundschafts- und allgemeiner Vertrag zwischen beiden Ländern. Vom 15. Mai 1911 (Gaceta de Madrid July 12<sup>th</sup> 1915.) Deutsches Handels-Archiv, part I, 1915, pp. 997—1000. — 110) × C. Muñoz, Memoria anual del cónsul general de Chile en el Japón correspondiente a 1914. Boletín de Relaciones Exteriores (Santiago, Chile), 1915, No. 59, pp. 1—71. — 111) × M. Hammer, Französisch-Indochina und Japan. Geographischer Anzeiger 16, 1915, pp. 138—140, 161—171. Map. Ill. — 112) Max Müller, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Insel Hokkaido oder Jesso. Zachr.

specialist's studies of the country and upon ample statistic material, is to give "a general picture of the development and actual culture of the island" (p. 601). The 1<sup>st</sup> chapter (pp. 601—615), mostly after Takaoka (see JBG 27, 1904, No. 333), offers a survey of manner and results of the Japanese governmental interior colonization during the last decades, and of the population, almost only Japanese, grown up to 1 667 593 in 1911, *i. e.*, the sevenfold of 1880 (p. 613, Ainu only 18 163). The 2<sup>nd</sup> part, of which only the beginning belongs to the year reported on here, treats first mining (pp. 615—18), of which charcoal is the most important product, then agriculture (pp. 618—24), the produce of which play the principal part in the island.

B. Formosa (Taiwan). A Spanish missionary's detailed investigation<sup>113</sup>), based upon personal knowledge of the entire region acquired in many years, is divided into 4 main parts, the first treating the geographical situation and formation (pp. 11—79), the geology, topography, climate, winds, inundations, earth-quakes and diseases (pp. 208—34). The 2<sup>nd</sup> ch. the animal kingdom belongs only in part to our year (pp. 452—473), the continuation, 3<sup>rd</sup> chapter—the vegetable kingdom and the 4<sup>th</sup>—the population—will follow in later years.—114—118) Comp. No. 257, 258.—

C. Korea (Chōsen). "Worrying sorrow for our young missionary work in Korea," says the author in the preface of his travelling-memoirs<sup>119</sup>), the Benedictine Arch-Abbot of St. Ottilia, caused his

Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde Berlin, 1915, pp. 601—624. — 113) J. M. Alvarez, Descripción geográfica de la isla de Formosa. Boletín Sociedad Geográfica, Madrid, vol. 57, 1915, pp. 7—79, 208—234, 452—473. — 114) × W. Campbell, Sketches from Formosa. London, Marshall Brothers, 1915, pp. 394, 6 sh. Map, III. [E. F. Beil: Internat. Rev. of Missions 5 (1916), pp. 514—516.] — 115) × E. L. Neville, Taiwan (Formosa) [trade in 1914]. Commerce Repts., Ann. Series (Washington), No. 55b, 1915, pp. 8 — 116) × Report for 1914 on the Trade of the Island of Formosa. Diplomatic and Consular Repts. Annual Series, No. 5487. London 1915, pp. 26. Map. — 117) × D. Ferguson, Self-Support in the Church in Formosa: A Chapter of Experience. Internat. Rev. of Missions, vol. 4, 1915, pp. 612—626. — 118) × J. Hatori, Blackwater Fever in Formosa. Annals of Tropical Medicine and Parasitology, Series T. M. (Liverpool), vol. 8, 1915, pp. 641—657. — 119) N. Weber, Im Lande der Morgenstille. Reise-Erinnerungen an Korea. München, K. Seidel, 1915. 4<sup>te</sup>. pp. XII, 457. M. 18.—, bound M. 20.—. 24 coloured plates, 25 full pictures, 279 Text-III., 1 map. [Schmidlin: Zchr. für Missionswissenschaft 6 (1916), pp. 340—343 (approving). Nachod: LZBl 67 (1916), pp. 542—543. C.: Orientalische Zchr. 6 (1917—18), p. 303 (commemoration of the ill., but "large part of the text superfluous"). K. Haushofer: PMPGA 66 (1920), pp. 177—178 (approving). Fr. Biallas: Anthropos 10/11 (1915/16) pp. 1116



visit to the peninsula of "Fresh Morning" during spring and summer 1911. His quality as a catholic priest together with the skilled guidance of his fellow-clergy, well knowing the country and the language, enable him to cope with all classes of people not only in the ports and in the capital Seoul, as usual, but also on all his often difficult walks across country, in solitary little country-towns and devious miserable places in the hills. Thus in spite of the short time, he succeeded to gather in his diary a rich material about the country and its inhabitants, and that not only with regard to the topic of greatest interest to him, the missionary affairs; but he also understands to catch, by sharp and untiring observation, the small features of the people's life, to show his rejoicing in Nature's beauties, and above all to carefully describe the crafts and workshops of old, disappearing more and more. Just these notes form a considerable contribution to the History of technics in the Far East and constitute in themselves alone a lasting value of this book. Of historic importance with regard to the political events of the last years, is the account given about the proud house of the An, an influential family in the little northern town of Tshangeton, who had turned catholic and whom the author visited. Among its members are Thomas An, the murderer from patriotism of Prince Itō, and Jacob An, then imprisoned in Seoul for having been implicated in a conspiracy against the life of the Japanese General Governor Terauchi. The urging of friends caused the author to publish his notes, which he had taken down as dear travelling-souvenirs only to himself, judging correctly that he might thus be able "to retain many interesting and valuable remains of a fast sinking, ancient culture", and we must agree with him "that much of the gathered material will hardly ever more be found again to the same extent, and much of it no more at all, for the simple reason, that the new culture of the present epoch will only too quickly and with unrelenting consequence annihilate anything ancient that is of importance as peculiarly Korean" (preface p. VIII). An exceedingly rich and various selection of pictures after the untiring author's own drawings and photographs—many of them in colours, add much to illustrate the text, though picture and text stand often far apart. The author leaves the country endeared to him with the farewell: "I feel as if returning from the funeral by which a people was buried." (p. 417.) The last of the 19 chapters however, treating

of the colonial-politic importance of the mission, of the negro-question and the Islam in Africa etc. (pp. 419—45), might have been better omitted, as it has practically nothing to do with the topic, *i. e.*, with Korea, aside from the right of quite different opinions in some points.—<sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup>) After dealing with the Korean language and script (see BJ 14, No. 159), the essay <sup>122</sup>) now closes with an account of the invention of printing. The printing with wooden blocks was known in Korea as in China already before the year 1000. A copy, printed in that manner under King Songjong (or Syöng-chöng, 982—97) of the gigantic "Tripitaka," *i. e.*, of the Chinese texts of the entire canonic Buddhist books, is found in the Tökyö Imperial Library. About 80 000 well preserved wood-blocks, of the 12<sup>th</sup> century about, are kept in a big Buddhist cloister in the southeastern part of the country (Hai-in-sa, near Kyong-tju). As documentary of the invention of printing with movable types in 1403, *i. e.*, almost half a century earlier than Gutenberg, the translation of a respective decree of King Thaijong (1400—1419) in 1403 is given literally after the text in a Korean Cyclopædia (Mun hun pi ko, chap. 242), in addition a passage from a eulogy on the art of printing of the following year, composed by Kuon-Kun (1351—1409) who is styled a "great and famous man of letters"; it contains notable details about the process of cutting the types and of their use in printing. Then follows a chronological sketch of the further progress of type-printing from 1403 unto the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> ct. with a description of the single kinds of script. The conclusive remarks sum up the results of research as follows: "This is in short the course, taken by the great Korean invention of 1403, interesting enough to admit of the statement that King Thaijong of Korea, by his inventing the art of printing with movable letters, had made his name immortal. May be that his great successor to the throne, King Setjong, just to simplify printing, found out an own Korean script, thus adding in a short space of time a second invention to the first". It seems remarkable that—contrary to

—1119 (III. excellent, but serious real objections to the text). Thiessen: Zschr. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde, Berlin 1922, No. 1/2. — <sup>120</sup>) × S. Kalff, Een schiereiland in het Verre Oosten (Korea). Eigen Haard 41. 1915, p. 189. — <sup>121</sup>) × Marie v. Bunsen, Aus der asiatischen Welt, 2. Das alte Königsschloß von Korea. Deutsche Rundschau 41, 1915, No. 5. — <sup>122</sup>) A. Eckardt, Koreas Sprache und Schrift und die Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst 1403. Geist des Ostens 2, 1914/15, pp. 364—371. —



the enormous importance the same invention had for the rise of occidental civilization—such salutary consequences are not to be observed at all for Korea, where the art of printing could not prevent the downfall of the once highly risen people which set in about the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Besides it may be added that in China, already in 1041, printing with movable types—though first of clay and only later of metal had been invented.—<sup>123</sup>) For religious matters we mention researches about indigenous pillar-deities<sup>124</sup>) and about Christianity<sup>125-127</sup>).—Other topics are afforestation<sup>128</sup>), minerals<sup>129</sup>), tobacco-taxes,<sup>130</sup>) and meteorology<sup>131, 132</sup>).

## II. RELIGION

1. *General*, cf. No. 225.

2. *Shinto*,<sup>133-134</sup>)

3. *Buddhism*. An essay on the peculiar features of the "teachings" in Japanese Buddhism<sup>135</sup>) points, after a short survey of the beginnings of the Indian Buddhist dogma in Japan, to its

<sup>123</sup>) × H. G. Underwood, Introduction to the Korean spoken language, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev. and enl. (I. Grammatical notes; II. English into Korean). New York 1915. 1<sup>st</sup> edition 1890, Yokohama, Kelly and Walsh. — <sup>124</sup>) × H. Reddihl, Einige Bemerkungen zu den im Leipziger Völkermuseum befindlichen koreanischen Pfeilergöttheiten. Jb. Museum f. Völkerkunde, Leipzig, vol. 6, 1915, pp. 34—41, 1 Ill. — Pillar-deities, stone-altars and patch trees, which are said not to be of Buddhist origin, are explained as common attribute of ural-altaic people. — <sup>125</sup>) × M. Napier Trollope, The Church in Korea. London, Mowbray, 1915, pp. 132. — <sup>126</sup>) × T. Ammann, Aus Korea. Evangel. Missionsmagazin (Basel). 1915, pp. 145—158. — <sup>127</sup>) × E. A. Gordon, Some Recent Discoveries in Korean Temples and their Relationship to Early Eastern Christianity. Transactions Korean Branch R. Asiatic Soc., vol. 5, 1915, No. 1. <sup>128</sup>) × E. W. Koons, Afforestation in Korea. Transactions Korea Branch R. Asiatic Society, vol. 6, 1915, pp. 35—42. [Geogr. Journal 46 (1915), pp. 473—474.] — <sup>129</sup>) × N. Fukuchi, The minerals of Chosen (Korea). Beiträge zur Mineralogie von Japan, Tōkyō, 1915, pp. 207—305, 1 Ill. — In Japanese language? — <sup>130</sup>) × Tabaksteuerordnung nebst Ausführungsbestimmungen in Korea. (Extrablatt des Amtsblatts des Generalgouvernements Korea vom 16. März 1914.) Deutsches Handels-Archiv. Part I, 1915, pp. 419—420. — <sup>131</sup>) × Annual Report of the Meteorological Observatory of the Government General of Korea for 1915. Chemulpo 1915, pp. 120. — <sup>132</sup>) × Annual report of the meteorological observatory of the Government General of Korea for the year 1914. Chemulpo 1915, pp. 188. —

<sup>133</sup>) × G. Kato, Two Papers on Shintōism. Tōkyō 1914, pp. 13. — <sup>134</sup>) × E. Schiller, Kriegsgebete bei den Shintōtempeln Japans. Zchr. für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 30 (1915) pp. 366—374. Translation of the prayers, composed in the style of the very ancient "Norito", with explanations. — <sup>135</sup>) H. Haas, Grundlehren des japanischen Buddhismus. Zchr. für Missionskunde und Religions-Wissenschaft 30, 1915.

metaphysical basis, *i. e.*, to "the last one thing," and discusses in detail the Japanese interpretation of the difficult problem of the 12 links of the causal chain ("Nidāna"). It then develops the Hossō-Sect theory of the "origin of things from the āraya-shiki", finally quoting Buddha's "self-found truth" from the Avatamsaka-Sūtra, his 'great inaugural sermon'. The same author refers to the knowledge of a Chinese translation spread in Japan of the Sigālovāda-Sūtra<sup>136</sup>), hitherto known to us only from Pāli scriptures and differing widely from the Palitext, designated by Winternitz as one of the most important texts of the Pāli-canon. As an example he puts together the translations of the same piece from Pāli and from the Japanese "Roku-ho-rai-kyō" (Methodical lecture about the adoration of the six cardinal points); it is an enumeration of the six relations between parents and children, teachers and disciples, husband and wife, master and servant, amongst friend, and finally between lay-people and priests.—<sup>137-140</sup>) The Buddhist deity Fudō (Sanskrit Acala), the Immovable, considered by the Shin-gon Sect as a manifestation of Vairocana Buddha, is described in word and picture<sup>141</sup>), treating first the manner of representing his exterior appearance and then his significance as saviour.—<sup>142</sup>) A Japanese popular Buddhist opuscle of the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century, originating from China, "Kokwa Jichiroku" or "Self-record of Merits and Faults", which, according to the title of the essay treating it, presents a counter-part to a calendar with sentences promoting moral manner of life,

pp. 40—53. — <sup>136</sup>) H. Haas, Eine bislang nicht gekannte Rezension des Sigālovāda-sūtra, einer kanonischen Darstellung der gesamten Pflichten der buddhistischen Laien-anhänger. *Zachr. f. Missionkunde u. Religionswissenschaft* 30, 1915, pp. 72—84. — <sup>137</sup>) × A. K. Reischauer, The Vital Forces of Japanese Buddhism in Relation to Christianity. *Internat. Rev. of Missions*, vol. 4, 1915, pp. 565—583. — <sup>138</sup>) × Witte, Zur Propaganda des japanischen Buddhismus in China und zur Propaganda der Religion überhaupt. *Christliche Welt* 29, 1915, pp. 535—541, 659—663, 679—683, 705 ff., 725—727. — <sup>139</sup>) × Masaharu Anesaki, Buddhist art in its relation to Buddhist ideals. With special reference to Buddhism in Japan. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1915, 4°, pp. XV, 73, § 7 50. 47 plates. — 4 lectures in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with bibliography. [*Petrucci: Journal Asiatique*, 1916, pp. 130—132. O. K[ämmel]; *Oriental. Zachr.* 7 (1918), pp. 252—253 [much approving]]. — <sup>140</sup>) × J. Trapp, Illustrations of Buddhism from Japanese Pictures. *Transactions a. Proceedings Japan Society*, London, vol. 12, pt. 2, 1915, pp. 178 ff. — <sup>141</sup>) Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, Fudo-Myōwa. *Open Court*, vol. 29, 1915, pp. 513—526. Ill. — <sup>142</sup>) × M. W. de Visser, The Bodhisattva T'i-tsing (Jiō) in China and Japan. Series of Special Publications of "Orientalische Zeitschrift", No. 1. Berlin, Osterheld & Co., 1915, fol. pp. IV, 181, M. 10.—, 37 Ill. — Book edition of the essays reviewed JBG. 36, 1913, No. 164 and BJ. 14.



composed by no less than Benjamin Franklin, far spread and commonly known as "Poor Richard's Almanac", is shortly discussed with regard to origine, different authors and contents, and then the whole text is given in translation (pp. 742-781)<sup>143</sup>. "Both writings alike recognize a close connection between moral living and material prosperity. Both alike have for their object the diffusion of daily moral instruction among the people. Needless to say, however, the Buddhist writer is more than a practical moralist of the type of Benjamin Franklin. Underneath his scheme lies the theory of Karma, or cause and effect in the natural sphere" (p. 729). Singular appears the valuation of good and evil deeds after a certain graded schedule and the account drawn up of both, arranged by days and months, from which a kind of annual balance is to be taken, so that everybody may state for himself his deserved share of good and ill-luck after the Buddhist principle of cause and effect!—

4. *Christianity*. Mention be first made of several articles on missionary principles and methods<sup>144-146</sup>.—A special section of the history of catholic missionary work in the Far East is the topic of an extensive, carefully documented book, based on ample literary and official evidences, especially on papal bulls<sup>147</sup>. But the real contents are characterized by the subtitle; for the course of development of the various missions is mostly supposed as known (p. XIV), while the proper subject of investigation is "the contest about the region of Jurisdiction at Goa and of Portuguese patronage" (p. XIV). The first part (pp. 1—173) deals of organizing the mission in those countries

No. 171. [[E. Erkes: LZBl. 67 (1916), pp. 386/7 [approving:]] — 143) S. H. Wainwright, *The Kokwa Jichiroku or a Buddhist Parallel to Poor Richard's Almanack*, Translated. TASJ, vol. 42, 1914, pp. 727—781. — 144) × Schmidlin, *Orientalische Missionsmethoden*. Zschr. f. Missionswissenschaft 5, 1915, pp. 9—34. Japan: pp. 26—34. — 145) × Witte, *Das Urteil eines japanischen Gelehrten über Missionsgrundsätze*. Zschr. f. Missionskunde u. Religionswissenschaft 30, 1915, pp. 54—62. German translation of the lecture by Anesaki, see BJ 14, No. 185. — 146) × Katsunji Kato, *The Psychology of Oriental Religious Experience: A Study of some Typical Experiences of Japanese Converts to Christianity*. Menasha (Wisconsin), Banta Publ. Comp., 1915, pp. 102, § 1.— [[G. Steven: Internat. Rev. of Missions 6, 1917, pp. 336—337:]] — 147) Adolph Jann, *Die katholischen Missionen in Indien, China und Japan. Ihre Organisation und das portugiesische Patronat vom 15. bis ins 18. Jahrhundert*, Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1915, pp. XXVIII, 540, M. 10.— [v. Schwartz: Theologisches Literaturblatt 37, (1915), No. 1. Bruders: Zschr. für Katholische Theologie 40, 1916, No. 1. Huonder: Stimmen der Zeit 46 (1916), No. 9. J. Schmidlin: Zschr. f. Missionswissenschaft 6 (1916),



with the aid of the Portuguese Royal Family, respectively of the spreading of the Goa Metropolitan System (p. IX). The second part "shows the organisation of missions in South and East Asia, undertaken by the Holy Congregation de Propaganda Fide, not only perfectly independent from any support by the Portuguese state, but even in direct opposition to it" (p. XII); a detailed treatment is given of the dispute about the Chinese rites and, in connection with that, of the fates of the papal legates Maillard de Tournon and Mezzabarba (pp. 394—512). Just for Japan, however, new own results of investigation are not to be expected, as may easily be understood from a horizon so narrow and almost not concerning this country. Japan is spoken of in very few places (pp. 119, 124—29, 182—92, 210), in the main only for the bishopric of Funai (now Ōita in Kyūshū). Though the author enumerates as his sources such reliable works as those of Cros, Haas and Delplace, (p. 119, note 1), his own notions about this domain—visibly alien to him—are in part rather quaint, e. g., about the real causes for the persecution of Christians (p. 126/27). A critical lapsus is caused by an unlucky comparison between Japan and—Ireland (p. 125): "As this (Ireland) lost its independence to England, so Japan got—as a consequence of the unrelenting wars for the throne between Mikado and Shogun (Major domus)—into Chinese subordination"(!).—Historic research about the effective work done by the clergy of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, till now mostly limited to the Jesuits, happily also takes hold now of the other holy orders. Thus a Franciscan, basing on thorough studies, also in mostly difficultly accessible archives, furnishes anew (compare BJ 14, No. 179, bis and ter) probably valuable contributions to work and fate of his former confratres 148-150), of which I regret not to have obtained more than the titles.—The fiftieth anniversary of the day in March 1865, when catholic missionaries of Japan were surprised by becoming acquainted with descendants of former christian congregations in the Gotō-Islands,

pp. 174—178 [much approving.]] — 148) × L. Pérez, Origen de las Misiones franciscanas en el Extremo Oriente (continuación), Archivo Ibero-Americano, vol. 2, 1915, pp. 39—67, 202—228. 149) article see BJ, 14, No. 179 bis. — 149) × L. Pérez, Relación de los santos Mártires, que por la fe de Jesucristo padecieron en los reinos del Japón desde el año 1628, por Fr. Diego de San Francisco, Archivo Ibero-Americano, vol. 2, 1915, pp. 68—98. — 150) × L. Pérez, Otras dos relaciones de Fr. Diego de San Francisco, acerca de las persecuciones en el Japón, Archivo Ibero-Americano, vol. 2, 1915, pp.



who had secretly kept their faith, is also commemorated <sup>151-152</sup>) in literature.—<sup>153</sup>) Finally I make mention of writings devoted to the present times, more specially to modern protestant mission <sup>154-160</sup>).—For Korea compare No. 117, 125—127, for Confucianism No. 220—222.—

### III. LAW AND ADMINISTRATION

1. *Constitutional Law.* In an insignificant chat about the holiness of the Emperor's constitutional position <sup>161</sup>) the author is led astray in a manner dangerous for one learned in jurisprudence; thus in his uncritical acceptance of the following statements about the ancestress of the Imperial House, which, of course, need not be earnestly refuted: "The Japanese idea of the state is not only legal, but also religious. For once upon a time, the Goddess of the Sun descended with her attendants from the heavens and founded the Japanese State, whereupon she returned again to the Gods."!—Of a presumably more remarkable study about the Emperor's legal position I could not obtain more than the title <sup>162</sup>).—An article about the "Genrō" <sup>163</sup>), the Privy Council of State of the "Older Statesmen", discusses his present importance and prospects.—Comp. No. 213.

241—255. — 151) × E. Raguet, Fünfzigjährige Erinnerungsfeier an die Auffindung der Alchiristen. Katholische Missionen 43, 1915, pp. 38—40. — 152) × S. P. Thery, Miza-No-Ura. Historia de un pueblo cristiano de las Islas de Goto. El Siglo, vol. 1, 1915, pp. 429—433. — 153) × Cascoña, La Iglesia Católica en el Japón. El Siglo, vol. 2, 1915, pp. 161 ff. — 154) × The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire, including Korea and Formosa. A Year Book for 1915, 13th Annual Issue, Yokohama, Conference of Federated Missions, 1915, pp. XXIV, 686. — 155) × G. W. Fulton, The distribution of Christian forces in Japan. Internat. Rev. of Missions, vol. 4, 1915, pp. 109—119. — 156) × Bericht des Missions-Superintendenten D. Emil Schiller zu Kyoto (abgeschlossen 15. Oktober 1914). Zechr. f. Missionskunde u. Religionswissenschaft 30, 1915, pp. 10—28. — 157) × Halbjahrsbericht des Missions-Superintendenten D. Emil Schiller zu Kyoto mit Rückblick auf das ganze abgelaufene Jahr 1914. (Abgeschlossen Ende Februar 1915.) Zechr. f. Missionskunde u. Religionswissenschaft 30, 1915, pp. 129—140, 178—190. — 158) × Nachrichten von der Missionsarbeit des Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Protestantischen Missionsvereins in China und Japan. Christliche Freiheit 31, 1915, No. 41. — 159) × Witte, Unsere Mission in China und Japan und der Krieg. Zechr. für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 30, 1915, pp. 257—263. — 160) × J. Witte, Der Krieg und das Christentum in der Presse Japans. Zechr. f. Missionskunde u. Religionswissenschaft 30, 1915, pp. 109—123, 140—148. Rendering and discussion of utterances in the Japanese press, chiefly from clergymen, as well of Christian as of native religions. —

161) C. Bornhak, Der Mikado. Gesetz und Recht 16, 1915, pp. 556—559. — 162) W. E. Griffis, The Mikado: Institution and person; a study of the internal political forces of Japan. Princeton (N. J.), Princeton Univ. Press, 1915, pp. 8, 346, \$ 1.50. [E. F. Bell: Internat. Review of Missions 5 (1916), pp. 514—516.] — 163) Der

2. *Legislation*. The legal relations to other nations in the most various respects are treated in English by a Japanese in an annual for 1913<sup>164</sup>).

3. *Statistics vacat*.

4. *State Finances*.<sup>165</sup>).—Taxes<sup>166</sup>).—Compare Nr. 130.

#### IV. ARMY AND NAVY

A chat treats (after the Dutch translation) the development of the Japanese military<sup>167, 168</sup>) not without historic blunders, often drawing from belles-lettres and colour prints).—<sup>169</sup>)

#### V. ECONOMICS

1. *General*: The essay on the development of Japan's political economy, spoken of BJ 14, No. 226, furnished the material for a lecture<sup>170</sup>) the author gave at the Kiel Institute for Nautics and World's Traffic in 1914, omitting the ample statistics.—<sup>171</sup>) The important question of Japanese emigration is treated in an essay<sup>172</sup>), founded principally on Grünfeld's thorough work (see JBG 36, 1913, No. 201). The eight parts are subdivided in: History and causes of emigration in general, then in the different colonies in special, thus in Hawaii, United States of America, Canada and Australia; follow: motives, organisation, politics and summary. As "reason of the embittered disposition against the Japanese in the Western United States" the author designates not only economical reasons, but principally "hatred between the nations, which often springs from nothing else but from a feeling of estrangement" (p. 176). The essay culminates in the

Genro. *Ostasiat. Lloyd* 29, 1915, pp. 371—372. — 164) Okamoto, Japan. *Jahrbuch des Völkerrechts*, vol. 2, 2nd part, 1915, pp. 756—762. — 165) × Kengo Mori, Government Finance and Social Life in Japan. Transactions and Proceedings Japan Society, London, vol. 12, part 2, 1915, pp. 130—145. — 166) × H. Wehberg, Grundsteuer von Ausländern in Japan. *Um Grund und Boden* (Berlin), 1915, pp. 158—165.

167) C. M. Salway, [title of essay not found]. *Asiatic Review*, Aug. 1915. — 168) De Japansche soldaat. *Indische Gids*, vol. 37, 1915, pp. 1448—1454. Translation of the preceding article. — 169) × Ellenbeck, Die militärische Ausbildung der Jugend in Japan und ihre Lehren für Deutschland. *Körper u. Geist* 24, 1915, No. 14. —

170) Masao Kame, Grundlagen und Entwicklungstendenzen der japanischen Volkswirtschaft. *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* 5, 1915, pp. 63—75. — 171) × P. Leutwein, Japans wirtschaftliche Weltstellung und ihre Zukunftsaussichten. *Weltwirtschaft* 5, 1915/16, pp. 42—45. — 172) Ernst Schultze, Die japanische Auswanderung. *FMPGA* 61 I, 1915: pp. 129—133, 175—179; 61 II, 1915: pp. 270—276, 301—308. Map.



closing sentence: "Till now she (Japan) prefers in order to satisfy her statesmen's thirst for power and expansion to carry on an emigration-politic serving only imperialistic plans, wherefore she meets with resistance on all sides, makes herself hated, and yet reaches on the whole so little, that her balance—if drawn later on, even for one generation only—will show a very moderate gain". The map shows all countries of immigration and the routes leading there.—<sup>173</sup>) Cf. No. 112 (Yezo).

2. *Commerce.* On trade in general, as well in the whole country<sup>174</sup>) as in single parts<sup>175-177</sup>) (Formosa cf. No. 115, 116), we find several Consular Reports, one official account of the Foreign Trade<sup>178</sup>), and one article on chemicals<sup>179</sup>).

3. *Industry.* A Dutch article on Japanese grand-industry<sup>180</sup>) is the extensive rendering of Heber's meritorious research (see JBG 35, 1912, Nr. 284) with occasional pointers what one may learn from Japan for Netherlandish India, for which, however, Japan could not be taken as model.—A chat<sup>181</sup>), drawing largely from the book "Unser Vaterland Japan," which in the German edition designates itself in the subtitle as a "book of authorities" (see JBG 27, 1904 Nr. 92), discusses the different Japanese industrial products in the world-market and the goods Japan imports.—The Bronze-Industry<sup>182</sup>), the Sugar-Industry<sup>183-184</sup>) and the Japanese working women's question<sup>185</sup>) are also treated.

— 173) × Ernst Schultze, Die japanische Auswanderung nach Südamerika. Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen Instituts, Sept. 1915, pp. 103—124. — 174) × Report for 1914 on the Trade of Japan. Diplomatic and Consular Repts., Annual Series No. 5503. London 1915, pp. 98. [[Geogr. Rev. 1 (1916), p. 73.]] — 175) × Report for 1915 on the Trade of Nagasaki. Diplomatic and Consular Repts., Annual Series No. 5445. London 1915, pp. 19. Map. — 176) × Report for the year 1914 on the Trade of Nagasaki. Diplomatic and Consular Repts., No. 5535. London 1915, pp. 21. Map. — 177) × W. R. Peck, Kiaochow-Tsingtau. Suppl. to Commerce Repts., Annual Series No. 524. Washington, Bur. of Foreign & Domestic Commerce, Dept. of Commerce. 1915, pp. 10. — 178) × Annual Return of the Foreign Trade of the Empire of Japan. Part 1, 2. Tokyo, Department of Finance, 1915. — 179) × Japan's Chemikalienhandel im Jahre 1914. Chemische Industrie 38, 1915, No. 19/20. — 180) J. W. Rammer, Japanische Groot-Industrie. Indische Gids, vol. 37, 1915, pp. 930—954, 1078—1098, 1260. — 181) P. Koch, Japan's Industrie und der Weltmarkt. Weltwirtschaft, Bd. 5, 1915/16, pp. 129—133. — 182) × R. J. Geare, The Bronze Industry in Japan. Arts and Decoration, July 1915, 5 ill. — 183) × W. v. Schoen, Die japanische Zuckerindustrie. Berichte über Handel u. Industrie 22, 1914/15, pp. 295—325. With 28 tables. — 184) × W. J. van de Leemkolik, Suikercultuur, Industrie en Handel van Japan. Batavia 1915. — 185) × S. L.

4. *Agriculture and Forestry*<sup>185</sup>). Compare Nr. 182, 252, 253.
5. *Mining*<sup>187</sup>).
6. *Communications*. Railways<sup>188</sup>).—Navigation<sup>189-191</sup>).

## VI. ART

1. *General*. In the new edition of the well-known, broadly based, "Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker"<sup>192</sup> the Far East is worthily represented by Book IV on the "Art of Eastern Asia" (pp. 228—364). The lucid arrangement of the well selected and manysided material from many works by specialists shows the author's successful endeavours to draw only from the most reliable works of experts and to give thus a total view in accordance with the results of modern research. The various sources used are spoken of in the introductory remarks preceding each part. The vast subject is chronologically treated, each subdivision dealing of the art of an epoch in all its branches. After the 1<sup>st</sup> part "Chinese Art" (pp. 228—388), which lies outside the compass of this bibliography, follows the somewhat short 2<sup>nd</sup> part "The Art of Korea" (pp. 288—292, plate 39, ill. 250), and as conclusion the 3<sup>rd</sup> part "The Art of Japan" (pp. 293—364, plates 40—46, ill. 251—363) richly illustrated with well selected excellent pictures. The whole 2<sup>nd</sup> volume, devoted in the main to the art-life of Middle-, South- and Eastern Asia, found a detailed and mostly appreciative critique by a qualified authority<sup>193</sup>), who sees in the work "the first history of art that adequately considers the nations of the

Guilck; Working Women of Japan. New York, Missionary Education Movement, 1915, pp. XIV, 162, § —50. Ill. [[E. F. Bell: Internat. Rev. of Missions 5 (1916), pp. 514—516.]] — 186) × J. F. Hogesteger, De agrarische Kwestie in Japan. Tijdschrift van Economisch Geographie 6., Jan. 1915, No. 1. — 187) × The Hojo Coal Mine in Japan (Meguro). Colliery Engineer, 1915. No. 12, pp. 637—642 — 188) × Toshiharu Watarai, Nationalization of railways in Japan. Columbia Univ. Stud. in Hist. Econ. and Public Law, vol. 63. No. 2, 1915, pp. 156, § 1.25. Map. — 189) × W. Müller, Entwicklung und gegenwärtiger Stand der überseeischen Dampfschiffahrt in Japan. Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv 6, 1915/16. pp. 124—146. Many numeral tables. — 190) × Dairen und Port Arthur. Schifffahrtsbericht des Kaiserl. Konsulats in Schimonoseki für das Jahr 1913. Deutsches Handels-Archiv. Part II. 1915. pp. 34—36. — 191) × J. F. de Balbian Verster, Een O.L. Compagnieschip op een Japansche prent. Elsevier's Geillust. Maandschrift, vol. 24, 1914, pp. 373 ff. 1 Ill. — 192) K. Wernemann, Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker. Vol. 2: Book 4, Die ostasiatische Kunst. 2nd edition, Leipzig, Bibliograph. Institut, 1915. — 193) W. Cohn, Die Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker. Ostasiat. Zschr. 6, 1917. pp. 100—110. —



Far East"; he praises the respective part as follows: "I know indeed of no other work from which a clearer impression of Japanese Art as a whole could be won" (p. 109).—<sup>194</sup>) The frequently advocated idea: that Chinese art may be studied best in Japan, is thoroughly refuted by an expert<sup>195</sup>). Not that the author depreciates the treasures of Chinese art found in Japan; on the contrary: he does full justice to their value. Only the Japanese stock of works does not represent the totality of Chinese art, which fact is strikingly demonstrated for different branches, above all for architecture, for sculpture in Jade and other semi-precious stones (p. 89). The instructive research concludes: There is no forcible reason to consider China as so hopelessly poor in good works of her earlier art that for a study of it we had above all to depend on the Japanese collections. It may be stated now already, and with conviction, that Chinese art can be nowhere better studied and understood than in China. It would be foolish to neglect the property of the Japanese. But while thankfully enjoying what the rich knowledge and delicate taste of the Chajin (Masters of the Tea-ceremony) had selected and preserved, one must never forget that the limits of their intellectual horizon were not the limits of Chinese art."...—<sup>196</sup>, <sup>197</sup>) For Buddhist Art cf. No. 139, 140,—

## 2. *Single Branches.*

A. Sculpture. An investigation about sculpture<sup>198</sup>), worthy of ranging with those made by Cohn (see JBG 35, 1912 No. 339; *ibid.* No. 36, 1913 No. 275. B. J. 14 No. 275) and complementing them, discusses after the critical method of style the development of plastic art in the garment, "because the function of the vestment in the plastic presentation of man is generally abundant evidence of the artistic sense in a certain epoch or people" (p. 393). Starting from the representation of the fold in the garment—a Greek invention between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 5<sup>th</sup> century B. C. (p. 394),—the author traces its use

<sup>194</sup>) = Ichisaburo Nakamura, Catalogue of the National Treasures of paintings and sculptures in Japan. Kyōto, Daikokuoya and Yokohama, Kelly & Walsh, 1915, pp. VI, 167, Yen 2.50. Ill. [[O. K[ämmel]: *Ostasiat. Zchr.* 9 (1920/21), pp. 157—160 ["useful small book", however many objections].] — <sup>195</sup>) E. Grosse, *Chinesische Kunstwerke in Japan und in China*. *Ostasiat. Zchr.* 4, 1915/16, pp. 88—108. — <sup>196</sup>) = Yone Noguchi, *The spirit of Japanese Art*. London, Murray, 1915, 160. — <sup>197</sup>) = M. R. Fenke, *Fremde Einflüsse in der japanischen Kunst*. *Christliche Kunst* 12, 1915, pp. 1—86. — <sup>198</sup>) C. Glaeser, *Die Entwicklung der Gewanddarstellung in der ostasiatischen*

in India, and its acceptance by the Buddhist art of China, Korea and Japan. He tries to demonstrate his aesthetic theories first and especially by the works of art in Japan handed down from the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> ct., then also from the Fujiwara and Kamakura epochs, frequently shown in pictures, or at least the available illustrative material is pointed out. Exact mention of sources would have been desirable also for the reports from Japanese tradition repeatedly quoted. *E.g.*, whence is the statement that the famous Buddhist priest, the Daisōjō Gyōgi (670—749), to whom is ascribed so great success in many directions, was a native of Korea? The respective biography in the contemporary official annals (*Shoku Nihongi*, book 17, p. 277) knows nothing of it. Or the blindness of the priest Kanshin (p. 418)? Kōmyō, Emperor Shōmu's wife, is in one place by mistake called "Emperor" (p. 413; in another, p. 416, however, correctly Empress).—<sup>199</sup>)

B. Painting. Compare No. 24.

C. Colour-Prints<sup>200, 201</sup>). Compare No. 205.

D. Lacquer<sup>202</sup>).

(Bronze comp. No. 182.)

3. *Exhibitions.* Some articles are again devoted to art-collections and to exhibitions of Far East-art<sup>203-205</sup>). Of two richly illustrated explanatory articles about a Buddhist Art Exhibition in the Leiden Ethnographical Museum<sup>206</sup>), in which Japan and Korea were also well

*Plastik. Ostasiat. Zachr.* 3, 1914/15, pp. 393—423; 4, 1915/16, pp. 67—87. 32 Ill. — **199**) × *Buddhistische Plastik in Ostasien. Kunstchronik, New Series* vol. 26, 1915, No. 22. — **200**) × A. D. Fricke, *Chats on Japanese Prints*. London 1915, pp. 456. Ill. [[*Kurth: Ostasiat. Zachr.* 7 (1918), p. 148: "most excellent history of wood-cut".]] — **201**) × Yone Noguchi, Yoshitoshi, the last Master of the Ukiyo School. *Transactions & Proceedings Japan Society*, London, vol. 12, pt. 2, 1915, pp. 146—157. — **202**) × A. H. Brenet, *The Influence of China on Lacquer in Japan. Transactions & Proceedings Japan Society*, London, vol. 12, pt. 2, 1915, pp. 158—177. — **203**) × A. Salmony, *Das Museum für ostasiatische Kunst der Stadt Köln. II: Die Plastik. Ostasiat. Zachr.* 4, 1915/16, pp. 189—196. 7 Ill. — Preceding article see BJ. 14, No. 269. — **204**) × W. v. Bode, *Branno Pauls Pläne zum Asiatischen Museum in Dahlen. Jh. Kgl. Preuß. Kunstsammlungen* vol. 36, 1915, No. 1. 3 plates, 1 Ill. — **205**) × M. W. de Visser, *Japanische Kleuren-drukken in het Rijks Ethnographisch Museum te Leiden. XV: Hokusai's Leetlingen en Sharaku. — XVI: Hiroshige I en II. — Reprint from Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 1915. XV: pp. 12, 10 Ill. XVI: pp. 14, 10 Ill. Compare JEG 34, 1911, No. 344; 35, 1912, No. 385; 36, 1913, No. 324; BJ 14, No. 306. — **206**) *Tentoonstelling van Buddhistische Kunst in het Rijks Ethnographisch Museum. — Algemeene Inleiding over deze kunst* by T. B. Roorda; *De beteekenis der tentoongestelde beelden en schilderijen in 't kort geschetst* by M. W. de Visser. — I. *De Beelden. II. De Schilderijen.* Reprint



represented, the first—devoted chiefly to sculpture and very instructive, offers a brief introduction into the nature of Buddhism with regard to its rendering by works of art; moreover a commentary to the single objects, making clear the often intricate meaning of the beings represented, of their significant gestures and attributes—both proving a profound penetration of the difficult matter. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> article which treats of painting, the author emphasizes in the discussion of the nature of this art, which also comprises the calligraphic characters of script, that painting is preeminently an art of the line, not of the colour. From the 2<sup>nd</sup> part, the thorough description and the often difficult interpretation of the paintings exhibited, special mention be made of the instructive details about the famous "Taima mandara", a presentation of the "western Eden", shown in a large copy; the original is said to have been created under mythical circumstances in the year 763 in the temple of Taimadera (Zenrinji), Yamato Province, by a nun of the then powerful Fujiwara family.—An exquisitely got up publication is devoted to a collection exhibited at Stockholm in 1911 (207); it has the following divisions: lacquer, sculpture, metalwork, ceramics, ivory, textiles, embroidered pictures, Makimono, Kakemono, Gaku paintings and sketches (? "snabb målingar").

#### 4. *Sale Catalogues* (208-210).

### VII CIVILIZATION

#### 1. *National Character* (211, 212).

2. *Customs and Habits.* The change of sovereign gives rise to a description of the coronation-festivities (Nov. 1915) and of the

from "Oude Kunst". 1915. I: pp. 16, 16 Ill. II: pp. 10, 7 Ill. — 207) D. Bildt, Japonica, Bilder af Japanska föremål och upplysningar därom samlade. Stockholm, C. E. Fritzé, 1915. 4<sup>o</sup>. pp. IX, 502, Kr. 115. — Private print. — 92 plates. — 208) × Kunsthandel, Ostasiat. Zechr. 3, 1914/15 p. 504. — 209) × Kataloge, Ostasiat. Zechr. 4, 1915/16 p. 146. — 210) × Katalog einer Sammlung China- und Ostasiatischer Kunstwerke u. a. enthaltend die Sammlung von K. Lißmann-Biebrich. Frankfurt a. M. 1915. 4<sup>o</sup>. pp. 40, 16 plates. — 211) × W. Prenzel, Charakter und Politik des Japaners, Deutsche Kriegsschriften, No. 7. Bonn, Marx & Weber, 1915. pp. 36, M. — 80. [[Zechr. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde, Berlin 1915, p. 411.]] — 212) × W. L. Hildburgh, Notes on Some Japanese Coins and Coin-like Objects used as Amulets and in Charms.—Some Japanese Household Charms against Insect and Other Vermin.—Notes on Some Japanese Magical Methods for Injuring Persons.—Notes on Some Japanese Majinai connected with Love. Man, vol. 15, 1915. Preceding articles by the same author on charms and magics, see Bf. 14,



ancient ceremonies belonging to it<sup>213</sup>).—Peculiar difficulties are often connected with indigenous names. A remarkable argument for this assertion is to be found in Hara's reply<sup>214</sup>) to objections, raised against his mode of spelling and reading the names of Japanese masters of the sword in his publication about this topic, because here we have at last stated also by a Japanese authority that with proper names not the foreigner alone, but often even a Japanese is unable to say which reading is the correct one. "The reading of Japanese proper names is exceedingly difficult, as there is no definite rule about it", truly runs the introductory sentence.—Mention be made of articles on marriage and love<sup>215, 216</sup>), about sports<sup>217</sup>) and about wrestlers<sup>218</sup>).

3. *Woman's Question*<sup>219</sup>). Compare No. 185.

4. *Intellectual Life*. Confucianism is the topic of several investigations known to me only by their titles, one of which<sup>220</sup>) is praised in the review by Petrucci as "a picture of the history of Confucian philosophy in Japan".<sup>221</sup>) About another article<sup>222</sup>) the reviewer (Franke) remarks: it "lays open the fundamental thought of the Confucian system, on which in China and in Japan the construction of state and society rests". But he judges that "a broader knowledge of Chinese and Japanese history and a live picture of the nature and activity of both nations are wanting".—<sup>223-225</sup>) There are also contributions to Japanese

No. 318. — <sup>213</sup>) Die Kaiserkrönung in Japan. *Ostasiat. Lloyd* 29, 1915. pp. 574—576, 602—604. — <sup>214</sup>) Shinkichi Hara, Erwiderung an Herrn Yūjiro Kawahara. *Ostasiat. Zchr.* 4, 1915/16, pp. 202—204. — <sup>215</sup>) × R. Jaekel, Heiratsalter im modernen Japan. *Zchr. f. Sozialwissenschaft* 1915. pp. 698—713. — <sup>216</sup>) × F. v. Reitzenstein, Aus dem Liebes- und Geschlechtsleben Japans. *Die Neue Generation*, 1915, pp. 275—286. — <sup>217</sup>) × F. de Teissan, Les sports au Japon. *La Revue*, vol. 109, 1915. pp. 309—318. — <sup>218</sup>) × P. Doertenbach, Beim stärksten Mann von Japan. *Bibliothek der Unterhaltung u. des Wissens*, vol. 6—7, 1915. — <sup>219</sup>) × W. E. Griffis, Woman's Progress in Japan. *Missionary Review of the World*, 1915, pp. 497—505. — <sup>220</sup>) R. Cornell Armstrong, Light from the East. *Studies in Japanese Confucianism*. Toronto, Forward Movement Department of the Miss. Soc. of the Methodist Church, 1914, pp. XV, 326, \$ 1.50. [Anesaki: *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 1915, pp. 563—571. Kawaguchi: *Americ. Journ. of Theology* 1916, pp. 141—143. G. M. Moule: *Internat. Rev. of Missions* 4 (1915), pp. 678—680. R. Petrucci: *Journal Asiatique* 8 (1916), pp. 533—535.] — <sup>221</sup>) × M. Weber, Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen. *Der Konfuzianismus*. *Archiv f. Sozialwissenschaft* 1915, pp. 335—421. — <sup>222</sup>) E. V. Zenker, Soziale Moral in China und Japan. *Schriften des Sozialwissenschaftl. Akad. Vereins in Czernowitz*. No. 4. München, Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1915. pp. 42, M. 1.— [O. Franke: *LZf.* 67 (1916), p. 524.] — <sup>223</sup>) × P. Claudel, Aus der Erkenntnis des Ostens. Translated by J. Hegner. Inselbücherei No. 146. Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1915, pp. 45. — <sup>224</sup>) × A. Salmony, Der schöpferische Geist Ostasiens. *Frankfurter*



education<sup>228</sup>) (comp. No. 169), to the Press<sup>229</sup>), to Astronomy<sup>230-232</sup>), to Mathematics<sup>233</sup>) and a brief survey of the history of the meritorious scientific work done since 1872 by the Asiatic Society of Japan<sup>234</sup>).

5. *Anatomy and Hygienics*. Compare No. 118 (Formosa).

## VIII. GEOGRAPHY

1. *Maps*. A detailed description of the oldest occidental chart of Japan<sup>235</sup>) gives—by way of investigating the sources used—a picture of development of cartography in China and Japan until the landing of the Portuguese in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, illustrated by some such charts.—Compare also No. 21.—We notice also several official maps published by the Imperial Geological Survey of Japan in 1913 and 1914<sup>236-240</sup>) (for previous ones comp. JBG 35, 1912, No. 465, 466).

Zeitung, Febr. 6<sup>th</sup> 1915. — 225) × F. Freudenberg, Streiflichter auf japanischen Kultus und japanische Kultur. Psychische Studien. 1915. pp. 112—119, 165—171, 217—223, 325—331, 379, 427—433, 477—482, 528—534. — 226) × F. Fehlinger, Deutsche Kultur in Japan vor und nach dem Ultimatum. Deutsche Kultur in der Welt, vol. 1, 1915, pp. 77—80. Survey of Japan in the special exhibition „Deutsche Geisteskultur und Deutschland im Auslande“ of the „Bugra“ at Leipzig 1914 with political prospect. — 227) × O. Nachod, Lamprechts Bedeutung für die Wissenschaft vom Fernen Osten. Ostasiat. Zechr. 4, 1915/16, pp. 109—112. — 228) × B. Schneider, Mission Schools and State Education in Japan. Chinese Recorder. 1915, pp. 164—169. — 229) × Die Parteizeitungen der japanischen Zeitungen. Ostasiat. Lloyd 29, 1915, pp. 680—682. Critical review of the newspapers: Asahi, Jiji, Nichi Nichi, Mainichi, Yomuri, Chuo, Kokumin, Hochi, Yorozu, Yamato and Sekai. — 230) × Y. Mikami, On an astronomical treatise composed by the Portuguese in Japan. Nieuw Archief voor Wetkunde (Amsterdam), vol. 10, 1913, pp. 61 ff. — 231) × Y. Mikami, On a Japanese manuscript of the 17<sup>th</sup> century concerning the European astronomy. Nieuw Archief voor Wetkunde (Amsterdam), vol. 10, 1913, pp. 71 ff. — 232) × Y. Mikami, On Shiraki's translation of Keill's astronomical treatise. Nieuw Archief voor Wetkunde (Amsterdam), vol. 11, 1915, pp. 1 ff. — 233) × Y. Mikami, On Mayeno's description of the parallelogram of forces. Nieuw Archief voor Wetkunde (Amsterdam), vol. 11, 1915, pp. 76 ff. — 234) × C. MacCauley, Historical Retrospect of Asiatic Society of Japan. TASJ, vol. 43, 1915, pp. 285—294. Congratulatory speech at the meeting of the meritorious learned society, founded in 1872, followed by a congratulatory letter by W. E. Griffin, one of the first members. —

235) O. Nachod, Die älteste abendländische Manuskript-Spezialkarte von Japan von Fernão Vaz Dourado, 1568. Atti X. Congresso Internazionale di Geografia, Roma 1913, 1915, pp. 1359—1384. Maps. [E. Erkes: Lit. Zbl. 72 (1921), p. 438. K. Haushofer: FMFGA. 69 (1923), p. 88.] — 236) × Topographical map, Division III, Imp. Geological Survey of Japan. Tōkyō, Imp. Geological Survey, 1914. 1:400,000. — 237) × Imperial Geological Survey of Japan. Topographic sheets: Zone 9, Col. XII, Yokohama; Zone 10, Col. XII, Tōkyō; Zone 15, Col. XII, Murekami; Zone 18, Col. XIV, Morioka; Zone 21, Col. XIII, Mimmaya.—Geologic sheet: Zone 15, Col. XII,



2. *Economic Geography*<sup>241)</sup>.

3. *Geology*. Beside contributions to the general geology of Japan<sup>242, 243)</sup> there are to be mentioned some about glacial phenomena<sup>244, 245)</sup>, geo-technics<sup>246)</sup> and vulcanism<sup>247-250)</sup>.—For Korea comp. No. 129.

4. *Hydrography*<sup>251)</sup>.

5. *Botanical Geography*. The author of a former short article (see JBG 36, 1913, No. 428) on the migration of the batata or sweet potato from Spanish South America to the Far East, presumably by way of the Philippines, devotes to the same topic a scrutinizing, documented research<sup>252)</sup> which he often bases on T. Ichiji's Japanese history of

Marakami. Tōkyō, Imp. Geological Survey, 1914. 1:200,000. — 238) × Geological map, Division III, Imp. Geological Survey of Japan. Tōkyō, Imp. Geological Survey of Japan, 1914. 1:400,000. — 239) × Mineral map, Division III, Imp. Geological Survey of Japan. Tōkyō, Imp. Geological Survey, 1914. 1:400,000. — 240) × [Geological map of] Johon coal field. Tōkyō, Imp. Geological Survey of Japan, 1913. — 241) × K. Oseki, The Economic Geography of Japan. Scottish Geogr. Magazine, vol. 31, 1915, pp. 449—465, 519—531. — 242) × Imperial Geological Survey of Japan, With a catalogue of articles exhibited at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition held at San Francisco, U. S. of America, in 1915. Tōkyō 1915, pp. 65. Maps. — 243) × Beiträge zur Geologie Ost-Asiens und Australiens. Sammlungen des Geologischen Reichsmuseums in Leiden 10, No. 1. Leiden 1915. Preceding article see Bf. 14, Nr. 355. — 44) × K. Oseki, Some Notes on Glacial Phenomena in the North-Japanese Alps. Scottish Geogr. Magazine, vol. 31, 1915, pp. 113—120. Map, Diagr. — German original see Bf. 14, No. 358. [Bull. American Geogr. Society 47 (1915), p. 367.] — 245) × W. Weston, Exploration in the Northern Alps. Geographical Journal, vol. 45, 1915, pp. 188—200. Ill., Map. — Ibid., p. 239, Postscript: "Suggested Glacial Phenomena in the Northern Japanese Alps." [A. Schultze: PMPGA. 69 (1923), p. 90.] — 246) × H. Vase, The "Ichinokawa Conglomerate" and its geological meaning; a contribution to the geo-technics of South-Western Japan. Science Reports, Tohoku Imp. Univ. 2. Sér. (Geology), vol. 4, No. 1, 1915, pp. 34. 13 plates. — 247) × H. Simotomai, Zschr. f. Vulkanologie 1, 1914/15. pp. 275—286. After PMPGA. 62 (1916), p. 348, report on the volcanic events in Japan in spring 1914 and on the volcanologic literature of Japan in 1913. Title of the article not mentioned. — 248) × Hiderō Simotomai, Die Tätigkeit des Vulkans Usu in Japan in den Jahren 1910—1912. Atti X. Congresso Internazionale di Geografia Roma 1913. 1915, pp. 906—911. Ill. — 249) × T. Wakimizu, Recent eruption of Sakurajima volcano in Japan. Geologische Mitteilungen (Ungarische Geologische Gesellschaft) 44. 1915, pp. 134 ff. — 250) × J. Deprat, Mode de formation de deux centres volcaniques japonais, l'Aso-San et l'Asama-Yama, comparés à des centres volcaniques d'âges géologiques anciens. Compte Rendu Académie Sciences, vol. 161, 1915, pp. 30—32. — 251) × R. Ishizu, The mineral springs of Japan. Tōkyō, Imp. Hygienic Laboratory, 1915, pp. 385. Map, Ill. — 252) E. Simon, The Introduction of the Sweet Potato into the Far East. TASJ., vol. 42, 1914, pp. 711—724. 2 Ill.—Addendum by J. Struthers, ibid.



the Ryūkyū Islands "Okinawa-shi" of the year 1878. According to this, the introduction of the plant from Luzon to South China happened by means of a fraud in 1594. How the nutritious plant, which proved to be an efficient protection against frequent famines, was brought from Fu-kién to Okinawa, the main isle of the Ryūkyū, by an official, Nūgun (Japanese Nōguni) returning from China in 1603, is related in partly literal translation of passages from chronicles of the island. The author's visit to Nūgun's tomb resulted in the pictures of the tomb and of the tombstone, with its inscription celebrating the merit as introducer of the batata; to both illustrations is added the translation of the inscription. About 60 or 70 years later, *i. e.*, between 1665 and 1675, a Japanese peasant from Satsuma brought the fruit, according to "Okinawa-shi", from Okinawa to his home. But only the learned scholar Konjō Aoki reached about 1735 the due appreciation and spreading of the plant in the rest of Japan, which merit a modern potato-dealer honoured by a memorial stone in the village of Meguro near Tōkyō: the inscription is likewise given in translation. The author mentions still, that after Richard Cock's Diary this chief of the English factory at Hirado was the first to plant the sweet potato there in his garden (already 1615), which event, however, apparently was of no consequence for the spreading of the plant in Japan. An appendix by Struthers contains statistics about the present area and production of sweet potatoes in Japan and in Formosa.—255) For Korea comp. No. 128.

6. *Zoogeography* 224-228).

Meteorology compare No. 131, 132.

pp. 725-726. — 253) × N. B. Eekho, Forests of Japan. American Forestry, vol. 21, 1915, pp. 695-711. — 254) × R. Engelhardt, Monographie der Selachier der Münchener zoologischen Staatssammlung mit bes. Berücksichtigung der Haifenne Japans. I. Teil: Tiergeographie der Selachier. Beiträge z. Naturgeschichte Ost-Asiens, hrsg. v. Doflein. Diss. Freiburg. Abhandlungen d. Akademie der Wissenschaft, München. München, G. Franz, 1915. pp. 110, 1 map, 1 plate. — 255) × J. A. Cushman, A monograph of the Foraminifera of the North Pacific Ocean pt. 5: Rotaliidae. U. S. National Museum Bulletin, vol. 71, 1915. — 256) × D. St. Jordan, Notes on a collection of fishes from the Island of Shikoku in Japan. Washington 1914. Ill. — 257) × B. Poppo, H. Santer's Formosa-Ausbeute: Nabidae Anthrocoridae, Termatophyllidae, Miridae, Isometopidae und Ceratocombidae. Archiv f. Naturgeschichte 80 part A, No. 8, 1915. pp. 1-80. — 258) × D. L. Uytenboogaart, Description d'une nouvelle espèce de Dinentes (Fam. Gyrinidae Col.) de l'Île de Formosa. Zoologische Mededeelingen, part 1, fascicle 2. 1915. —

## IX. LITERATURE

Of the belletrist literature, though represented presumably also in the year on report again by several items, nearly nothing came to my knowledge<sup>259, 260</sup>.—In philology a diligent work about a Japanese dialect appeared<sup>261</sup>. "The Satsuma dialect is dying, and the present survey is a belated attempt to preserve a knowledge of its linguistic peculiarities for posterity." The preparatory works in this line are enumerated. "Every dialect word and phrase has been written down from the lips of these Kagoshima people, a fact which explains some of the divergencies of phonetic notation in my paper" (Preface). The contents are arranged in three main parts: "Characteristics of the dialect" (pp. 171—212), "Lexical comparison of the Satsuma dialect" (pp. 213—218), "Vocabulary" (pp. 219—283).

## X. BIBLIOGRAPHY, HANDBOOKS AND REFERENCE BOOKS

1. *Bibliography*. One of the two meritorious editors of the fundamental American collection of documents about the Philippines (E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493—1898*, 55 vols. Cleveland 1903—1909), after the rich treasures of the Philippine Library at Manila in manuscripts and printed books, puts together the literature, mostly not easily accessible, but very large and important, referring to the relations between those islands and Japan, so abundant in serious incidents<sup>262</sup> (comp. to this also No. 21). An introductory short survey of the Spanish-Portuguese relations to Japan in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century (pp. I—IV) precedes a chronological list of bibliographies, containing material for this matter (pp. 1—5), which may facilitate further investigations. Though "the list is not to be regarded in any sense as exhaustive" (p. 1), there is to be regretted the missing of such an indispensable work as F. de Huerta, *Estado . . .* (Binondo 1865), being quoted so often in da Civezza's

259) × Asatori Miyamori, *Tales from old Japanese Dramas*. Revised by St. Hughes. New York/London 1915. 44 Ill. — 260) × N. Peri, *Un conte hindou au Japon*. REFEO, vol. 15, No. 3, 1915. — 261) W. L. Schwartz, *A survey of the Satsuma dialect*. TASJ, vol. 43, 1915, pp. I—IV, 171—283. —

262) J. A. Robertson, *Bibliography of early Spanish-Japanese relations*, compiled from manuscripts and books in the Philippine Library, Manila. TASJ, vol. 43, pt. 1, 1915, pp. IV, 170. Ill. || Geogr. Rev. 1 (1916), pp. 461—462: "Early Hispano-Japanese



Franciscan Bibliography which, however, with good reason is named, and containing amongst others such chapters as "Biblioteca de autores hijos de esta provincia de San Gregorio" (pp. 491—550) and "Catálogo de los Santos y Venerables mártires terceros de la Seráfica orden de penitencia en Japon" (pp. 615—672). Among the different works of the prominent investigator of the Philippines, W. E. Retana, his edition of Martínez de Zúñiga's "Estadismo" (Madrid 1893, 2 vols) had deserved a mention, as the appendices by Retana also include an explicit and serviceable bibliography (vol. II, pp. 93—352). The chronological list of manuscripts (pp. 6—36), comprising 157 numbers, for the largest part of the time from about 1570 to 1630, most of them copies of the Sevilla Archivo General de Indias, mentions "as a rule, those documents in which reference is made to Japan or to the Japanese in the title" (p. 6). To several titles of documents, quoted all in the Spanish original with the signature in the Archive at Sevilla, useful English notes on the contents are added. However worthy of thanks the compilation may be, its value is at the time sadly restrained, as under the present circumstances it will fall to the lot of very few investigators to examine the originals even at Sevilla, still less in far Manila. Some, however, are made easier accessible by the English translations contained in the above mentioned work by Blair and Robertson. It calls forth our surprise that in such a thorough piece of work the strange title of No. 156 (p. 36) should be given without further comment nor correction but the little word "sic: 1902, April. Documentos copiados en Abril de 1902, por orden del Dr. Aleman, Herr Philip Oscar Maschod [sic] referentes a Relaciones entre España y Japon". It is evident, however, that the corrupt part of the Spanish sentence about the copies of documents for me must run: "por orden del Dr. phil. Herr Oscar Nachod, aleman." The chief value of the work lies in the last and most extensive part "Printed Books" (pp. 37—170), containing not only a great many very rare works hard of access, but also proving very useful by explicit bibliographic notes and frequent summaries of the contents. "Some of the smaller and more important are reproduced entire, while the chapter-heading of others are copied" (p. 37). The photographs illustrating the peculiar character of the books, show title-pages and samples of the text from the "Vocabulario de Japon", Manila 1630, and from three linguistic works by Collado 1632, also pictures of martyrs from

the Chronicle by San Antonio (Sampaloc 1744) and from Torrubia's work (Madrid 1742) about San Martin de la Ascension, the Franciscan proto-martyr of Japan (p. 163). The "Relatione" about the ceremonious entrance of the Sendai Daimyō's embassy in Rome (Rome 1615) got by mistake in the wrong place (p. 40) and is dated there 1595 (but quoted in the text itself correctly "MDCXV").—263)

2. *Periodicals*. The creation of a new English monthly for commerce and industry "Commercial Japan" is reported.—264)

3. *Reference Books* 265, 266).

Relationa," — 263) × Zeitschriftenschau — Bücherschau — Kataloge. *Oriental. Zschr.* 3, 1914/15. pp. 498—501; 4, 1915/16. pp. 220—224. — 264) × Die deutsche Presse in Ostasien. *Ostasiatischer Lloyd* 29, 1915. pp. 330—331. Consequences of the World's War: Suppression of the German press in Japan; establishing of new German newspapers in China, Manila, Java and Siam. — 265) × V. Takenob and K. Kawakami, The Japan Year Book. Complete Cyclopaedia of General Information and Statistics on Japan for the year 1915. Tenth annual Publication. Tokyo, Japan Year Book Office. 1915. — 266) × F. X. Sequeira, The Far Eastern Exchange Tables. Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1915. More than 750 pp. — Comparative counting tables of the different kinds of money.



## YEAR 1916

### I. HISTORY

#### 1. General History

A. Entire Time: To the single work of 1916 devoted to Japan as a whole<sup>1)</sup> be added travelling reports<sup>2-4)</sup> and the essays about the entire Far East<sup>5-13)</sup>, hardly any of them going beyond the compass of the day's politics.—Comp. 134.

B. Single Epochs. A valuable contribution to the history of ancient Japanese civilization is a sagacious, well documented research made by an expert sinologue on the Misasagi, the ancient Japanese Imperial Tombs usually styled 'Dolmen'<sup>14)</sup>, which term "at least as

1) × F. Hadland Davis, Japan from the age of the gods to the fall of Taikōtau. Edinburgh, T. C. Jack, 1916. 2 Sh. 6 d. — 2) × P. v. Mathies, Erinnerungen an Japan. Schweizer Rundschau 16, 1915/16. pp. 67-72, 127-132. Preceding articles see BJ. 15, No. 10. — 3) × Ch. Willimiek, Meine Reise durch Japan. Jahresbericht Frankfurter Verein f. Geographie u. Statistik, vol. 79/80. 1916. pp. 179 ff. — 4) × J. Barell, Sibirien und Japan. Reisebriefe. Basel, G. Böhle, 1916. pp. 345, M. 4.50. — 5) × Erzabt Welser, Die Aufgaben der Zentralmächte in Ostasien. Die Kultur (Wien) 16, 1916. pp. 23. — 6) × O. Franke, Ostasien im Weltkrieg. Der Krieg 1914/16, herausgeg. v. D. Schäfer. Part I. Berlin, W. Weber, 1916. — 7) × Vossberg-Rekow, Ostasien und der Weltkrieg. Asien 14, 1916/17. pp. 44-49. 59-64. — 8) × Frhr. v. Mackay, Das Wesen des ostasiatischen Problems. Export 38, 1916. pp. 237-239. — 9) × Frhr. v. Mackay, Ostasiatische Krisenbildungen. Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 33. 1916. pp. 123-125. — 10) × Frhr. B. L. v. Mackay, Das asiatische Weltbild der Gegenwart und Zukunft. Deutsche Rundschau 43, Oct. 1916, No. 1. — 11) × S. K. Hornbeck, Contemporary Politics in the Far East. New York-London, Appleton & Co., 1916. pp. XII, 466. \$ 3.50; 15 Sh. [H. M. Neuer Orient 4 (1919). p. 498 [approving]]. — 12) × J. A. P. Bland, Far-Eastern problem. III. Century Monthly Magazine, vol. 91, 1916. pp. 410-418. — 13) × P. S. Rivetta, Verso un nuovo equilibrio dell' Asia: Cause e importanza del trattato russo-giapponese nell' estremo e prossimo Oriente. Rivista Coloniale, vol. 11, 1916. pp. 569-579. 641-653. — 14) A. Conrady, Zu der Frage nach Alter und Herkunft der sog. japanischen Dolmen. Ostasiatische

it is used in our modern German Terminology does not quite fit the case" (p. 230), as they are "downright typical passage-graves" ("Ganggräber", p. 230). As to their origin, Gowland, the meritorious investigator of numerous tombs of this kind ("The Dolmens and burial mounds in Japan", 1897, see JBG 23 No. 28), "is—in a way—right in considering them as a speciality of Japan" (p. 231). Yet the author proves by many passages quoted from Chinese literature, "that the same kind of grave—as in a somewhat changed form still to the present day—has been used since ancient times in China, and—more than that—has been for about two and a half, perhaps even for four milleniums *the* form of grave of the nobles", (p. 232), styled as a "kuoh", which term though, is often differently interpreted (pp. 232—33). While Gowland dates the Japanese passage-grave as originating in the pre-christian era, the essay in question declares that a later date must be inferred from two hitherto neglected passages of the Chinese dynastic Annals. The San kuoh chi (Annals of the Three Empires, chap. Wei-chi, 30, 7a) dealing of the time between 220 and 280 A. D., write of the Japanese: "At death they have a coffin, but no kuoh, and earth is piled up to a mound". But the Sui-shu (81, 11a), the Annals of the Sui dynasty, treating of the time from 581 till 617, writes: "Their dead are buried with coffin and kuoh" (p. 245). Therefore this form of grave "must have been introduced in Japan after 265 or 280 and before 581 A. D." (p. 246). Those passages, it is true,—though convincing in themselves—sound as referring to the mode of burial customary with the Japanese population at large, not to the so-called Dolmen often of gigantic measures, erected only for the Japanese Imperial Family, or at the highest for a few especially grand nobles of the Empire, but not for common mortals: and just these powerful constructions, for which until now—including even the latest discoveries and descriptions of Korean Dolmens (Baelz, Chavannes)—a continental model has been sought in vain, are the topic.—Comp. Nr. 93. We further mention—regretting to know them mostly only by their titles—writings about the Mongol Invasion of Japan in the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15)</sup>, about a Log-Book of William Adams, the frequently mentioned first Englishman in Japan<sup>16)</sup>, about politics in

Zeitschrift 4, 1915/16. pp. 229—247. — 15) × Nakaba Yamada, Ghenko: The Mongol Invasion of Japan. Introduction by Lord Armstrong. London, J. Murray, 1916. 7 1/2 Sh. — 16) × C. J. Farnell, The Log-Book of William Adams 1614—1619. Transactions



the Meiji-Era<sup>17</sup>), about a modern politician styled as hero of Japanese Imperialism<sup>18</sup>) and about the Russian-Japanese War 1904—5<sup>19-21</sup>).— A thorough and skilfully arranged survey of the essential features in Japanese foreign politics of the last 15 years<sup>22</sup>) discusses first the alliance with England (of 1902, renewed in 1905 and in 1911), and the victorious fight against Russia (1904—5), made possible by that league. This ends the first era, as the aim, striven for in vain in the Chinese war of 1895, *i. e.*, the position as a Great Power, was reached now. After 1905 begins the 2<sup>nd</sup> era with the task "to so enlarge the position won, that Japan should pass for the Power ruling the Pacific" (p. 18). How this politic implied an opposition to China and the United States of America, afterwards also to Germany and finally also to England, is demonstrated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of the essay. In the preface it claims to be "an attempt at awakening the understanding of the difficult Far East problem, grown so especially difficult by the rising power of Japan". The task was "not to picture the gradual growth of the East Asiatic Island Empire from political, cultural, economic points of view, but to give an idea of the elements of Japan's position as a dominant power and of its consequences". This aim may

and Proceedings Japan Society, London, vol. 13, 1916, pp. 155—302. II. — After Geogr. Journal chiefly concerning Adams' voyages from Hirado and also documents of Saris and others. ||Geogr. Journal 48 (1916), pp. 427—428 (approving).|| — 17) × W. W. McLaren, A political history of Japan during the Meiji Era, 1867—1912. New York, Scribner, London, Allen and Unwin, 1916, pp. 379, § 3.75; Sh. 12. 6 d. Compare BJ. 15, No. 26. — 18) × Benson Hirai, Mitsuura Toyama, ein Heldes des japanischen Imperialismus. Korrespondenzblatt, Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient 3. 1916/17. pp. 123—124. Translated after an essay of Japan Magazine, Sept. 1916, reprinted in Far Eastern Review (Shanghai and Manila) Sept. 1916. — Career of the politician Toyama, a Samurai born 1855, who, though without official function, became very influential. — 19) × Trautz, Das japanische Generalstabswerk über den Japanisch-Russischen Krieg 1904/5. Proben des Stiles und ein Überblick über die Bearbeitungsweise. Nach dem japanischen Original. (3<sup>rd</sup> article.) Genaue Inhaltsangabe (Inhaltsverzeichnis) des I. Bandes der Geschichte des Japanisch-Russischen Krieges (1904/05). Mitt. d. Seminars f. oriental. Sprachen, Berlin, Abt. I; Ostasiat. Studien 19, 1916. pp. 183—216. 1<sup>st</sup> article see BJ. 14, No. 48, 2<sup>nd</sup> article BJ. 15, No. 27. — 20) × L. Barsini, Il Giappone in armi (Guerra russo-giapponese 1904/5, vol. 1). Mailand, Treves, 1916. — 21) × C. G. Axelsson, Tskitsaka studier ur det rysk-japanska kriget 1904—1905. 4. Fynnaolin (Bergskriget maj-juli 1904). Stockholm, Norstedt & Söner, 1916, pp. 2, 196, Kr. 4.75. 6 maps. — 22) P. Ostwald, Japan's Expansionspolitik 1900—1914. Gegenwartsfragen 1913/15, No. 8. Berlin, „Politik“, 1916, pp. 44, M. 1.—. ||Nachod: Mitteilungen aus der Historischen Literatur, N. F. 4 (1916), p. 232. E. Erkes: LZBL 67 (1916), pp. 494/5 (approving). Sch.: China-Archiv 1 (1916), pp. 255—258. Witte: Zachr. f. Missionskunde u. Religionswissenschaft



be considered as reached. Yet in details of secondary importance one may well differ from the author's opinion, also desire a less sweeping statement here and there. Thus one can scarcely admit, for instance with regard to Siam, still less to China, that Japan alone "of all the Asiatic and Mongolian tribes had proved as the only people capable of withstanding the assault of the white race" (p. 18). The author was right in using repeatedly noteworthy utterings of the Japanese press, as are contained in great numbers just in the last issues of the "Deutsche Japan Post", suppressed by the Japanese Government on the 16<sup>th</sup> of Sept. 1914. In keeping with the aim of the opusculum, there are generally no sources given. But in one case at least the mentioning of the source seems indispensable—already to enable the reader to judge the degree of trustworthiness—, *i. e.*, in the "secret stipulations", made at the renewal of the alliance with England in 1905 and 11, "between Kato and Grey with an outspoken tendency against Germany; in the new shape Japan was expressly promised the German possession in Shan-tung and the South Sea" (p. 11).—There are several more articles on the home<sup>23-24</sup>) and foreign politics of the present time<sup>25-28</sup>), and on Japan's striving for expansion<sup>29-30</sup>).—Concerning Japan's relations to other countries, there are essays on her share in the World's War, her conquest of Kiao-chow and her attitude towards the Germans<sup>31-40</sup>). A rather broad space is again

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36 (1921), p. 159 ["strongly recommended"].] — 23) × W. E. Griffin, Okuma and the New Era. North American Review, vol. 204, 1916, pp. 681—690. — 24) × F. Wertheimer, Ministerwechsel in Japan. Deutsche Politik. 1916, pp. 1980—1991. — 25) × E. Engelhardt, Japans Weltpolitik und den Stillen Ozean. Bibliothek für Volkswirtschaft, herausgeg. v. F. v. Mammen. No. 11—13. Dresden, Globus, 1916, pp. 38, M. 1.— — 26) × C. Riedt, Japans auswärtige Politik. Süddeutsche Monatshefte 14, Dez. 1916, No. 4. — 27) × H. Smidt, Japan und der Westen. Berlin, Hatten-Verlag, wY (1916) pp. 41, M. — 50. — 28) × B. Fenigstein, Die japanische Gefahr. Märk vol. 10-1916, No. 24. — 29) × Japans Expansionsbestrebungen im fernen Osten und in der Südsee. Jahrbuch Norddeutscher Lloyd, Bremen 1915/16, 1916, pp. 109—128. — 30) × H. M. Kläster, Die Japaner als Kolonisatoren. Das Größere Deutschland. Sonderheft über Ostasien 5/3, 1916—1916, pp. 1009—1019. — 31) × G. Plüschow, Die Abenteuer des Fliegers von Tsingtau. Meine Erlebnisse in drei Erdteilen. Ullstein's Kriegsbücher 23. Berlin, Ullstein & Co., wY (1916), 120, pp. 247, M. 1.—, 9 Ill. — Contains among others description of the life at Tsingtau and of the siege by the only assisting German officer of the aero-troops. [LZBl. 68 (1917), p. 1185.] — 32) × K. Kuchler, Die letzten Tage von Tsingtau. Über Land u. Meer 115, 1916, No. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33. — 33) × Martha Müller, Im Rachen des Löwen. Erinnerungen an die Helmsreise aus dem fernen Osten



occupied by the just then bad terms between Japan and the United States. A book, entitled "Japanese Crisis" <sup>41)</sup>, is designated (in "Neuer Orient") as "one of the numerous attempts of philo-japanese journalists, to represent the Japanese danger to the American public as not extant"; but for the rest it is praised for its sober judgement. But another pamphlet <sup>42)</sup>, called "Next World's War," tries (after H. Müller in "Neuer Orient" 1917, p. 505) to prove the historic necessity of a Japanese-American shock and to give "directions" for it; this pamphlet, translated by Masataro Sawayanagi, President of Kyōto University, is said to have caused a sensation in the Japanese press. <sup>43-56)</sup> Of

während des Weltkriegs: *Illustrierte Zeitung* 146, 1916, No. 3811. — 34) × J. Witte, *Weltkrieg und Europa im Urteil der Ostasiaten*. Deutscher Wille 30, 1916, No. 10. — 35) × E. A. Zelenka, *Anzer und Kiantschou*. *Deutscher Merkur* 47, 1916, No. 3, 4. — 36) × Frhr. v. Mackay, *Japanische Weltkriegspolitik*. *Asien* 14, 1916/17, pp. 41-44, 64-67. — 37) × *Die Deutschen in Tsingtan unter der japanischen Herrschaft*. *Christliche Freiheit* 32, 1916, No. 12. — 38) × Japan's part in war. *The Times History of the War*, vol. 2, 1916, pp. 397-436. — 39) × W. Biane, *Tsingtan*. *Transactions and Proceedings Japan Society*, London, vol. 13, pt. 1, 1916, pp. 1-18. — 40) × A. Gérard, *L'effort japonais (L'hommage français)*. "L'effort de la France et de ses alliés". Publication du Comité. Paris/Barcelona, Blond & Gay, 1916. Fr. — 50. — 41) J. A. B. Scherer, *The Japanese Crisis*. New York, F. A. Stokes Comp., 1916. [H. M.: *Der Neue Orient* 1 (1917), p. 163.] — 42) *Der nächste Weltkrieg*. *Prophesierung eines neutralen Diplomaten*. Berlin, W. Borngräber, 1916. — 43) × A. Hartwig, *Japan und Nordamerika*. *Deutsche Rundschau* 42, March 1916, pp. 321-345. — 44) × A. Teutenberg, *Japan und Amerika*. *März*, vol. 10, 1916, No. 18. — 45) × *Die Möglichkeit eines Waffenganges zwischen Japan und Amerika*. *Deutsche Revue* 41, March 1916. — 46) × *Der Weltkrieg, Japan und die amerikanische Union*. *Deutsche Revue* 41, June 1916. — 47) × Scholtze, *Amerikaner und Japaner auf Hawaii*. *Koloniale Rundschau*, 1916, No. 6-7. — 48) × H. Sandkuhl, *Die Amerikaner in den Philippinen und Japan*. *Das Größere Deutschland*, 1916, pp. 1326-1335. — 49) × J. F. Abbott, *Japanese expansion and American policies*. New York, Macmillan, 1916, 120, pp. VIII, 267, \$ 1.50. [H. M.: *Korrespondenzblatt, Nachrichtenstelle f. d. Orient* 3 (1916/17), pp. 107/8 [mostly approving].] — 50) × T. F. Millard, *Our Eastern Question; America's Contact with the Orient and the Trend of Relations with China and Japan*. New York, The Century Co., 1916, pp. 343. \$ 3.— 32 Ill. [W. v. Dewall: *Weltwirtschafts-Archiv* 1/4 1918, pp. 373 ff.] — 51) × Th. F. Millard, *Japanese menace*. *Ill. Century Monthly Magazine*, vol. 91, 1916, pp. 673-682. — 52) × C. W. Bishop, *The expedition to the far east*. *The Museum Journal Philadelphia*, vol. 7, 1916, pp. 97-118. Ill. — 53) × K. K. Kawakami, *Shall America prepare against Japan?* *North American Review*, vol. 203, 1916, pp. 675-689. — 54) × Kinnosuke Adachi, *China's Vast Resources: How Japan and America Can Co-operate to Aid in Chinese Development*. *Amer. Review of Reviews*, vol. 53, 1916, pp. 210-213. — 55) × A. F. Griffiths, *The Japanese race question in Hawaii*. *Journal of Race Development*, vol. 6, 1916, pp. 422-440. — 56) × S. K. Hornbeck, *La politique des États-Unis en Extrême-Orient*. *Revue Politique Internationale* (Lausanne),



Russian relations<sup>57-61</sup>) it is above all the treaty of July 3<sup>rd</sup> 1916 which finds much attention (comp. No. 101). Finally we mention some articles on relations to England<sup>62, 63</sup>) to the Dutch Indies<sup>64</sup>), to China<sup>65</sup>) and Indo-China<sup>66</sup>).

## 2. Provincial and Local History

A. Main Island: The new capital Tōkyō<sup>67</sup>) and the old capital and coronation city Kyōto<sup>68</sup>) have both been treated.

B. Yezo (Hokkaidō): A continuation of the painstaking economic research concerning the northern border-region Yezo<sup>69</sup>) speaks first of the raising of live stock, principally confined to cattle, horses, pigs and chicken, also of the until now vain attempts at sheep breeding. Then follows an appreciation of the forest and winning of timber which constitutes a considerable part of the export. Finally the strongly diminishing yield of furs and skins, the fisheries, counting beside farming to the main branches of support, also industry and foreign trade—both still in the beginnings—are discussed.—After

No. 19, 1916. — 57) × Herbert Müller, Der russisch-japanische Vertrag vom 3. Juli 1916. Seine Entstehung und sein Inhalt. *Zachr. f. Politik* 10, 1916, No. 1. "Statement of the preparatory publishing work for the important treaty, which is examined as to its contents, as well published as to be presumed, and for the reception of which in the press of the whole world examples are given" (from *Korrespondenzblatt, Nachrichtenstelle f. d. Orient* 3, 8. 1. 1917, p. 302). — 58) × Russisch-japanischer Allianzvertrag. *Historisch-Politische Blätter f. d. katholische Deutschland* 157/158, 1916, pp. 261—268. — 59) × F. Wertheimer, Rußland und Japan. *Deutsche Politik* 1, 1916, pp. 1472—1482. — 60) × H. A., Japanische Besuche in Rußland nach Abschluß des russisch-japanischen Vertrages. *Korrespondenzblatt, Nachrichtenstelle f. d. Orient* 3, 1916/17, pp. 180—181. — 61) × Großfürst Georg Michailowitsch in Japan. (Nach der russischen Presse.) *Grenzboten* 75, 1916, No. 7. — 62) × O. Corbach, Japan und England. März, Sept. 9<sup>th</sup> 1916, pp. 81—86. — 63) × J. W. Robertson Scott, Japan, England and the World. pp. 88. Text in English and in Japanese, in order to influence the Japanese in favour of the English policy. [*Korrespondenzblatt, Nachrichtenstelle f. d. Orient* II (1916), p. 286.] — 64) × J. V. Jensen, Japan und Holländisch-Indien. Eine Studie zur Ausbreitung der panmalaischen Bewegung. Über Land u. Meer 116, 1916, No. 45. — 65) × F. Farjanel, *Conflit sino-japonais. Revue Politique & Parlementaire*, 1916, No. 249, pp. 234—244. — 66) × A. de Fouvaurville, Indochine et Japon. *Dépêche Coloniale*, Juli 7<sup>th</sup> 1916. Against concession of the preference tariff to Indo-China to Japan. [*Korrespondenzblatt d. Nachrichtenstelle f. d. Orient* 2 (1916), pp. 255—256.] — 67) × P. Gjellerup, *Dagligt liv i Tokio i vor tid* (Daily life in Tokyo in our time). *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 23, No. 6, 1916, pp. 237—243. — 68) × N. V. Hagström, *Bilder från Kiooto, där Japans Kejsare krönas*. *Bonniers Månadshäften* 10, No. 33. Stockholm 1916. 14 Ill. — 69) Max Müller, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Insel Hokkaido oder Jesso. *Zachr. der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, Berlin.



S. Koño's communications in the Japanese Journal of the Anthropological Society, Tōkyō (Febr. 1914; comp. BJ. 14, No. 438), a catholic missionary of Yezo gives a brief report on the burial attributes customary with the Ainu, among them stone instruments, and about several objects excavated in 1907 near Apashiri at the northern coast of Yezo, presumably coming from a burial place<sup>70</sup>).

C. Sachalin (Karafuto). An essay on the regained northern external possession Sachalin is the result of a journey undertaken for researches in 1913<sup>71</sup>) and treats mainly of the population, climate, coal, farming, cattle, raising, forestry and fisheries, summing up the results as follows: "All in all one must say, that Japan has in Karafuto one more woe-begotten child, causing much trouble to its mother-country, depriving it of many forces of labour and entailing many and high expenditures, which all could be more profitably employed for cultivating Old Japan herself".—

D. Formosa (Taiwan)<sup>72</sup>).

E. Bonin Islands (Ogasawara Shima)<sup>73</sup>).

F. Korea (Chōsen). An article on foreigners<sup>74</sup>) presents a precise serviceable survey of the political relation of the peninsula since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with special regard to Japan, to the United States and to Russia, but without reference to the sources used and without new results.—<sup>75</sup>) An "Album de planches concernant les antiquités de la Corée", edited by the General Government, perhaps in Japanese, a publication by Sekino and his collaborators<sup>76</sup>), received (after T'oung Pao 17, 1916, p. 560, which does not give the real title) the prize Stanislas Julien by the Paris Académie des Inscriptions on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1917.—

1916, pp. 34—50, 95—111. 1<sup>st</sup> article see BJ. 15, No. 104. — 70) Th. Gabriel, Gegenstände, die bei den Ainu den Verstorbenen ins Grab gelegt werden. Anthropos 10/11, 1915/1916, pp. 659—660. — 71) Max Müller, Die japanische Kolonie Karafuto (Sachalin). PMPGA., 62 I, 1916, pp. 175—178, 215—220, 1 map, 4 ill. — 72) × J. M. Alvarez, Descripción geográfica de la isla de Formosa. Boletín Sociedad Geográfica, Madrid, vol. 58, 1916, pp. 65 ff., 319—337. Continuation of the chapter on fauna (birds). 1<sup>st</sup> article see BJ. 15, No. 105. — 73) × L. B. Cholmondeley, The history of the Bonin Islands from the year 1827—1876. London, Constable, 1916, pp. 190, 6 Sh. — 74) E. Gräufeld, Eine kurze Geschichte der Fremden in Korea. China-Archiv 2, 1916, pp. 651—656. — 75) × Midori Komatsu, Religious Liberty in Korea. Missionary Review of the World. 1916, pp. 891—901. — 76) Sekino, 1916. General Government of Korea. —

## II. RELIGION

1. *General*. Compare No. 75 (Korea).

2. *Shinto*. Vacat.

3. *Buddhism* 77-80).

4. *Christianity*. The interesting detailed report about the crucifixion of the first Christian Martyrs in 1597, written down 3 weeks after the event took place by the Portuguese Jesuit Froes, then since decades working in Japan and known by his numerous missives, has been made known ever since 1599 by many editions in various languages (see Pagès, Bibliography No. 80-82). It constitutes also the basis of the Latin version in the "Acta Sanctorum", of which an English translation<sup>81)</sup> is now offered. New views are, of course, not opened, as these excerpts are no more than a mere rendering of the text without commentary, either explanatory or critical.—The important work done by the various clerical orders in former centuries is more and more disclosed by serious investigation<sup>82)</sup>. To the fates of the Dominican mission, until now but seldom treated, a "true edition-de-luxe in contents and get-up" has been devoted<sup>83)</sup>, about which O. Maas writes as follows in a substantial article "New Spanish Missionary Literature" (Zeitschr. für Missionswissenschaft 10, 1920, p. 35, Note 4): "It briefly outlines the grand activity of the Spanish Dominicans in the Far East and treats in several chapters of the prominent characters of the mission, of the different stations in the Philippines, in China,

77) × I. Dautremet, Le bouddhisme au Japon II. Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 1916. — 78) × M. Anesaki, Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, London, Milford, 1916, pp. XI, 160. \$ 1.50; 6 Sh. 6 d. III.—1<sup>st</sup> edition in Italian see JBG 36, 1913, No. 168. [M. II. B.: Journal E. Asiatic Soc. 1916, pp. 621-624.] — 79) × W. Huchel, Interessantes aus Japan. I. Buddhistische Propaganda der Japaner. Deutsche Hilfe für die Welt, 1916, pp. 62 ff. — 80) × H. L. Ifeld, Deutsche Bibliographie des Buddhismus. Eine Übersicht über deutschsprachliche buddhistische und buddhologische Werke, Abhandlungen, Vorträge, Aufsätze, Erwähnungen, Hinweise und Rezensionen mit anschließlicher Berücksichtigung des Buddhismus als Religionswissenschaft. München, Leipzig, Haas-Sachs-Verlag, 1916, pp. VIII, 190. M. 12.—; bound M. 14.— [H. Haas: Zeits. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 31 (1916), pp. 141-145 (mostly approving). — B. Geiger, Anthropos 10-11 (1915/16), pp. 1123-24 (serious objections).] — 81) C. F. Sweet, The Crucifixion of the Twenty-six in 1597. Excerpts translated from the Hollandist Acta Sanctorum for February Fifth. TASJ., vol. 44, pt. 1, 1916, pp. 20-43. — 82) × L. Pérez, Cartas y relaciones del Japon. I: Cartas de San Pedro Bautista (1542-1597). Archivo Ibero-Americano, vol. 3, 1916. — 83) Los Dominicos en el Extremo Oriente. Provincia del Santísimo Rosario. Relaciones publicadas con motivo del séptimo centenario de la



Tongking, Formosa and Japan; also the seats and Colleges in Spain, Italy, and America. It ends in a rich bibliography, in detailed lists of the Bishops, Provincials, writers etc. of the order, with abundant, excellent illustrations".—<sup>84</sup>) Here be added the works on modern mission<sup>85-92</sup>),

### III. LAW AND ADMINISTRATION

1. *Constitutional Law*. A sociological research<sup>93</sup>), based in the main on the Nihongi editions by Florenz and Aston, but without reference to the pages of the quoted passages, tries at first to show the matriarchal features in the institutions of the primitive Japanese time of the clans, then the political importance of the single social layers (bondsmen, Kunitsuko, Tomonotsuko, Muraji, Omi, and Imperial family). The essay, though valuable in itself, does not bring forth new items beyond what has been reached by Florenz; a sad blunder is calling the well known Chinese Cyclopedia of the 13<sup>th</sup> century "Matuanlin, a Korean work of History" (pp. 398—99).—<sup>94</sup>)

2. *Legislation*. An expert, who has been working for years in Japan and whose name was repeatedly mentioned for his publishing

confirmación de la sagrada Orden de Predicadores. 1916. Not in commerce. — <sup>84</sup>) × G. L. Bertolini, Antichi monumenti della diffusione del cristianesimo nell' estremo Oriente. Bollettino Società Geografica Italiana, vol. 5, 1916, pp. 908—921. Ill. — <sup>85</sup>) × J. Schmidtlin, Missions- und Kulturverhältnisse im fernen Osten. Milmster i. W., Borgmeyer & Co., 1916, pp. 375. M. 6.50. — <sup>86</sup>) × Halbjahresbericht des Missions-Superintendenten D. Emil Schüller zu Kyōto. (Abgeschlossen am 15. Oktober 1915.) Zeits. f. Missionskunde u. Religionswissenschaft 31, 1916, pp. 43—57, 67—73, 150 to 155, 190—192. — <sup>87</sup>) × F. Ammann, Japan im Jahre 1915. Evangel. Missionsmagazin (Basel). 1916. S. 155—162. — <sup>88</sup>) × Frohnmeyer, Die deutsche Mission Ostasiens im Kriege. Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift 43, 1916, pp. 81—93. — <sup>89</sup>) × Deutsche evangelische Arbeit in Japan im Kriegsjahr 1914/15. Deutsch-Evangelisch im Auslande 14, 1916, No. 11/12. — <sup>90</sup>) × J. M. Planchet, Les Missions de Chine et du Japon, 1916. Première Année. Peking, Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1916, pp. 492. [Schmidtlin: Zeits. f. Missionswissenschaft 7 (1917), pp. 333—336.] — <sup>91</sup>) × The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire. A Year Book for 1916. Tokyo, Kyo Bun Kwan, 1916, pp. XI, 271. CL. Annual for 1915 see BJ. 15, No. 154. — <sup>92</sup>) × J. Merle Davis, Davis: Soldier Missionary. A Biography of Jerome D. Davis, D. D., for Thirty-nine Years a Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Japan. Boston, Pilgrim Press, 1916, pp. VI, 347. \$ 1.50. Ill. [E. F. Bell: Internat. Revue of Missions 6 (1917), pp. 611—613.] —

<sup>93</sup>) A. Heber, Familie und Clan, Stände und Regierung in der japanischen Vorkaiserkzeit (Von der Urzeit bis 645 n. Chr.). I. Allgemeines. II. Familie und Clan. III. Clan, Stände und Regierung. Zeits. f. Sozialwissenschaft. Neue Folge, vol. 7, 1916, pp. 394—408. [Anthropos 10/11 (1915/16), pp. 1094—1095.] — <sup>94</sup>) × E. W. Clement, Constitutional imperialism in

commented editions of several modern Japanese codes (comp. JBG 27, 1904, No. 269—70;—32, 1909, No. 238;—33, 1910, No. 293), presents now an extensive work on the Japanese system of law in general<sup>93</sup>): "The object of this book, which is compiled on the Encyclopaedic Method, is to furnish European and American readers with an outline description of the system of law regulative in Japan, and an explanation of the fundamental legal principles which are accepted by Japanese jurists and which permeate the judgements of the Imperial Courts" (p. III). The first part "General Discussion on Japanese Jurisprudence" (pp. 1—122) is a sort of introduction with special regard to Japanese law. The more voluminous 2<sup>nd</sup> part (without special heading, pp. 123—453) discusses in detail the single branches, as State and Administrative law, Criminal, Civil and Commercial Codes, "Registration", the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, winding up with International Public and Private law. An extensive Index (pp. 455—73) facilitates the use of the serviceable volume.—

3. *Statistics*<sup>96-99</sup>).

4. *States Finances*. Vacat.

#### IV. ARMY AND NAVY. VACAT

#### V. ECONOMICS

1. *General*<sup>100, 101</sup>).

2. *Commerce*<sup>102, 103</sup>).

Japan. New York, Academy of Political Science, pp. 104, § 1.50. — 95) J. E. de Becker, Elements of Japanese Law. TASJ., vol. 44, pt. 2, 1916, pp. XI, 473. — 96) × Résumé Statistique de l'Empire du Japon. 30. année. Tôkyô 1916. — 97) × Naosaburo Hanabusa, Etat de la population de l'Empire du Japon au 31 Décembre 1913. Tôkyô, Bureau de la Statistique Générale, Cabinet Imp., 1916, pp. IX, 335, XXXVIII. — 98) × Exposé général des résultats du recensement de la population de l'Empire du Japon à la fin de 1913. Tôkyô, Bureau de la Statistique Générale, Cabinet Imp., 1916, pp. V, 179. In Japanese language — 99) × M. Jefferson, The distribution of people in Japan in 1913. Geographical Review. 1916. II. Sem., pp. 368—372. 3 map sketches. Statistical investigation, resulting in: "the belt of maximum population that lies along the shores of the Inland Sea and continues, with a little northing, toward Tôkyô" (p. 368). —

100) × A. Heber, Einfluß des Weltkrieges auf Volkswirtschaft und Staatshaushalt Japans. Weltwirtschaftl. Archiv 3, 1916. Anhang, pp. 451—466. — 101) × Le Japon et la Russie. Leurs rapports économiques. La Nature, No. 2117, 1916, pp. 106—108. — 102) × De Hallu, De porcelainhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie. Oud Holland (Amsterdam), vol. 34, 1916, pp. 49 ff. — 103) × Report for the year 1914 on the Trade of the Consular District of Yokohama. Diplomatic and Consular Repns, No. 3545. London 1916, pp. 25. Map. — 104) H. H. van Kol, De Ontwikkeling der Groot-

Asia Major, Apr.-Oct. 1914



3. *Industry.* The Dutch Government, recognising the need of creating an industry on a large scale in the Indian colonies, caused an investigation to be made into whether and in how far a model can be found, especially in Java, which would warrant a prominent success, similar to that reached by Japan in the short space of time of the last half century, *i. e.*, since roused from the sleep of a Feudal State. The task was entrusted to a member of the First Chamber, whose attention had been for some time already given to the affairs in the Country of the Rising Sun (comp. BJ 14, No. 38). The official report on the results of his new journey for industrial research is the subject of an elaborate work<sup>104</sup>). The studious, closely observing author succeeded in furnishing a considerable amount of instructive materials about everything in connection with the remarkable rise of the industrial importance of modern Japan; with a full recognition of the stupendous progress of State power and national wealth the author combines an impartial, unprejudiced judgement. He does not conceal the great draw-backs connected with the amassing of capital and with big concerns here as anywhere, not the greed and venality, sensationally laid open again and again by scandalous law-suits, nor the inconsiderate sweating—nearly unrestricted yet by law—of the working, more especially the downright indignant abuse of women and children. "There can hardly another country be named, where the development of capitalism was as triumphant as in Japan. This country—hardly one generation ago the most perfect model of a state of closed commerce, industry, trade and traffic playing an insignificant part only—has become now a modern industrial country. The almost ignored Feudal State has conquered an important place among the nations, disposes of a mighty army, a strong navy and a quick commercial fleet as of a dense net of railroads beside a number of factories, and sends out goods to foreign markets for millions every year. Enormous wealth is amassed, millionaires are created there, but in all those treasures the working classes have an extremely modest share . . . An unbridled Imperialism was paid for by the natives, an unbridled Capitalism imposed serious sacrifices on the labouring people" (I, pp. 204—205). Beside several short chapters on

Industrie in Japan. Rapport samengesteld ingevolge opdracht van den Minister van Koloniën. 2 vol. Haag, J. Bootzma, 1916, pp. 298, 164. 25 statistic tables; 25 graphic tables. [H. Müller: Korrespondenzblatt, Nachrichtenstelle f. d. Orient 3.



Java's possibilities of a similar course and about economics of Japan under the Tokugawa Shōguns (17<sup>th</sup>—19<sup>th</sup> century) the 1<sup>st</sup> volume contains mainly two detailed chapters, subdivided in many special investigations, on the measures taken by the Japanese Gouvernement for furthering the grand-industry (pp. 57—140) and about the results reached thereby (pp. 141—244). The 2<sup>nd</sup> volume starts from special descriptions of the various branches of industry (pp. 9—154), then gives 25 statistic and 25 graphic tables of the entire material. Occasional interspersions of a historic character prove—from several offhand-tests—not free from objection. Thus the first coins are said to originate in the 7<sup>th</sup> century under an Emperor "Tenno" (I p. 93); now there was no such Emperor, "Tennō" being the common noun for "Emperor", and the first coins, after the nearly contemporary official annals (Shoku Nihongi, book 4) originated in the year 708 under Empress Gemmyō. Not as late as to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (II p. 37), but to the 7<sup>th</sup> belongs Emperor Tenji's († 672) water-clock. Japan's seclusion was not enacted in 1624 (I p. 14), but only in 1639 with the final exilation of the Portuguese, up to that time still carrying on a brisk trade in Japan. Insufficient knowledge of the historic literature on Japan is also shown by wrong and contradicting statements about Dutch metal export under the Tokugawa (I p. 94, II p. 11), though the exact numbers were published from the manuscripts in the National Archive in the Hague. *E. g.* not in 1641, but in 1668 was the export of silver prohibited which metal just in the between time constituted the principal item of the entire export. Somewhat better care might have been bestowed on the list of literature (II pp. 157—62) and on the bibliographic references in general. Thus the name of Rathgen, author of a number of excellent works on Japanese economics, duly much used here, is disfigured generally in Rāthgen, now and then also in Raethgen and Rātghen (I p. 68, 95); his fundamental work is mentioned in the bibliography (No. 139) as "Japan Volkswirtschaft and Haushaltung" instead of "Staatshaushalt". Not Mauer (No. 101, without date), but Manes is the author of "Ins Land der Sozialen Wunder" (Berlin 1910).—<sup>104-108</sup> (Weaving, comp. No. 124).

#### 4 Communications. Navigation <sup>109</sup>).

(1916/17), pp. 58/59 [approving]. Nachod: PMFGA 61, 1917 I, pp. 97/98.] — <sup>105</sup>) × H. Doeff, De ontwikkeling der groot-industrie van Japan. Kolonial Tijdschrift, Hague, vol. 5, 1916, pp. 1358—1369. — <sup>106</sup>) × A. Heber, Japans Industrie-arbeid, ein Faktor



## VI. ART

About this subject, generally dealt with in numerous contributions, many a publication may have escaped my notice; for I was not able to state more than just a few works for 1916, and of these mostly the title only.

1. *General*<sup>110-113</sup>).

2. *Single Branches*.

A. Sculpture. Vacat.

B. Painting<sup>114</sup>).

C. Colour-prints<sup>115-117</sup>).

D. Ceramics. An attractive article is devoted to porcelain by the director of the prominent Dresden Collection<sup>118</sup>). A precise survey of the development of Japanese ceramics—less appreciated than those of China—since the 16<sup>th</sup> century and of the export to the occident (pp. 81—88) is followed by a discussion of the about 2000 pieces contained in the Dresden Collection started by August the Strong in

in der politischen Entwicklung des fernen Ostens. Deutsche Politik. 1916. pp. 1388—1395. 107) × A. Heber, Was verdankt Japans Privatindustrie dem Weltkriege? Asien 14, 1916/17. pp. 25—28. Numeral statements for the different branches of industry. — 108) × Ch. F. Engel, Bergwerks- und Hüttenindustrie Japans. Weltwirtschaft 6, 1916. pp. 157—160. — 109) × Die Verdrängung der englischen Schifffahrt aus Ostasien. Militär-Wochenblatt 101, 1916, No. 75—77. —

110) × L. Joly and K. Tomita, Japanese Art and Handicraft. 1916. — 111) × J. Strzygowski, Die bildende Kunst des Ostens. Ein Überblick über die für Europa bedeutungsvollsten Hauptströmungen. Bibliothek des Ostens III. Leipzig, W. Kluckhohn, 1916. pp. VII, 86, 28 Ill. — 112) × E. A. Voretzsch, Altes und Neues aus chinesischen Kunstgebieten. Shanghai, Nöbler, 1916. [[O. Kammeli: Ostasiat. Zschr. 6 (1917/18), pp. 289—292. „Chinesische Gemälde in China u. Japan.“ Result: „Until now it is practically in vain to talk to and fro about the relative worth of Japanese and of Chinese collections. . . Let us await, until the Chinese collections have spoken!“ (p. 291.)]] — 113) Niebour, Chinesische und japanische Bilder aus der deutschen Zeichenrolle. Markenschutz u. Wettbewerb, Mai 1916. 79 Ill. — 114) × Catalogue of the extensive and important collection of Japanese Pictorial Art, the property of John Hilditch. London 1916. — 115) × Jessen, Japanische Farbendrucke in der Bibliothek des Kunstgewerbemuseums. Amtliche Berichte der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 57/38, 1916. pp. 216—225. — 116) × L. Binyon, A Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts, preserved in the Sub-Department of oriental prints and drawings in the British Museum. London, British Museum, 1916, pp. LIII, 605, Sh. 20.— 32 Ill. — 117) × J. E. Lu, A special Exhibition of Japanese Prints by Kiyonaga, Bancho and Utamaro. Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston, Dec. 1916. 3 Ill. — 118) E. Zimmermann, Die alten Bestände von japanischem Porzellan in der Dresdener Porzellansammlung. Mitteilungen aus den Sächsischen Kunstsammlungen 7, 1916.

the beginning 18<sup>th</sup> century; their "scientific and artistic value" is investigated (p. 88). Several statements about the relations between Japan and the occident in the 17<sup>th</sup> century are somewhat distorted, *e. g.*, in 1624 "all foreigners, with the exception only of Chinese and Dutchmen, were banished from the country" (p. 86), while (as said just before) in reality the Portuguese entertained very brisk commercial relations to Japan until 1639, nor was the Deshima islet near Nagasaki erected expressly for the Dutch, but for their predecessors, the Portuguese. — 119, 120) Comp. No. 102. —

E. Lacquer<sup>121)</sup>.

F. Metal-Work<sup>122, 123)</sup>.

G. Textiles. A scholar of Far East Art, already mentioned for his noteworthy monography on the fold of the garment (see BJ 15 No. 198), tries to lay down, based on O. v. Falke's "Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei" (1913) and on own abundant material, "at least the main types and to give an analysis of the importance which silkweaving has for the history of art in the Far East" (p. 249)<sup>124)</sup>. A style-critique of the circle, the vine, the pointed oval and other geometrical forms as designs, also the tissues with transversal vines is illustrated by pictures or references made to such. Subject of the article are principally weavings of the flourishing art from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, as preserved in remnants above all in the Shōsōin at Nara or reproduced in the garments on paintings etc.

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pp. 81—111. 1 plate, 12 Ill. — 119) × O. Embden, *Ostasiatische Keramik im Hamburger Kunstgewerbe-Museum. Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, March 22<sup>nd</sup> 1916. — 120) × J. Orange, *Bizen-warr*. With a catalogue of the Chater collection. Yokohama 1916. Ill. — 121) × Tentoonstelling van Japansch lakwerk in het Rijks Ethnographisch Museum te Leiden, vanaf 15. December 1916. Ingeleid en verklaard door T. R. Roorda en M. W. de Visser. Leiden 1916. fol., pp. 16. 16 Ill. Introduction by Roorda with survey of the historical development of the Japanese art of lacquer and with description of the objects exhibited and of their techniques. — Historical explanations on culture by de Visser concerning the meaning of the objects with interpretation of the ornaments. — 122) × W. Gowland, *Metals and Metal Working in Japan*. Transactions and Proceedings Japan Society, London, vol. 13 pt. 1, 1916, pp. 19—100. — 123) × Japanische Seichblätter und Schwertzieraten. Sammlung Georg Oeder, Düsseldorf. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis von P. Vautier, herausgeg. von O. KümmeI. Berlin, Osterheld & Co. wV (1916). 48, pp. XX, 217. M. 35.—. 333 Ill. [S. Hara: *Ostasiat. Zchr.* V (1916/17), pp. 195/196 (mostly approving).] — 124) C. Glaser, *Zur Geschichte der Seidenweberei in Ostasien*. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 4, 1915/16. pp. 248—265.



H. Stage<sup>125</sup>).

3. *Sale Catalogues*<sup>126</sup>).

## VII. CIVILIZATION

1. *National Character*<sup>127-127</sup>).

2. *Customs and Habits*. A specialist of the history of technics devotes a thorough, detailed and well founded study to the crossbow in Eastern Asia, more especially in China<sup>128</sup>). Elaborately got up, with attractive pictures from Chinese books, this essay draws largely from the Great Cyclopedia of 1725 (T'u shu chi ch'eng), as also from several other special compilations of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Wu-pei-chi or Cyclopedia of Strategy by Mao Yüan 1621; San ts'ai t'u hui or The Universe in Pictures by Wang Ch'i 1609; Ko chih ching yüan or Cyclopedia of Technical Arts and Sciences by Ch'en Yüan-lung 1735). The regions over which the crossbow in general is spread are first mentioned and as characteristics distinguishing it from the bow are given: the coerced trajectory of the arrow, and the trigger ("Abzugseinrichtung"). Then the author discusses the gun-trap or crossbow-trap with automatic discharge, reported among others already from the tomb of Emperor Shi Hoang ti (3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C.), the legends about the invention of the crossbow and the interpretation of the respective ideograph in Chinese script. After a brief mention of the weapon under the Chou dynasty, the often found crossbow locks of the Han dynasty are described and pictures of them shown, especially a bronze of the Berlin Ethnographical Museum (plate with

15 Ill. — 125) × E. Fenollasa and Ezra Pound, "Noh," or accomplishment. A study of the classical stage of Japan. London 1916. Sh. 7½. — 126) × Verstegerungen. *Ostasiatische Zachr.* 4, 1915/16. pp. 350—351. —

127) × W. Haas, Die Seele des Orients. Grundzüge einer Psychologie des orientalischen Menschen. Das Ausland. Jena, Diederichs, 1916. pp. 46 M. 1.—; bound 1.50. [J. Witter: *Zachr. f. Missionskunde u. Religionswissenschaft* 31 (1916), pp. 381—382 [very strongly recommended].] — 128) × Editha de Lalande, Die Japaner, wie ich sie kennen lernte. *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* 14, Dec. 1916, No. 3, pp. 348—355. — 129) × Katharina Zitelmann, Ein Adoptivkind. Die Geschichte eines Japaners. Stuttgart, Engelhorn Nachf., 1916. pp. 143. M. — 90. — 130) × S. Honaga, The National Spirit of Japan. *Brinsf* 1916. — 131) × Naoshi Kato, Eastern Ideas and the Japanese Spirit. *Transactions and Proceedings Japan Society, London*, vol. 13 pt. 1, 1916, pp. 115—154. — 132) × B. Balbi, La pulehe e la virtù bellica del popolo giapponese. Naples, Casa editrice italo-sino-giapponese, 1916, pp. 129. — 133) H. T. Horwitz, Die Armbrust in Ostasien. *Zachr. f. Historische Waffenkunde* 7, 1916. pp. 155—183. 1 plate, 56 Ill. —

diagrams): a weapon the author made with this lock worked faultlessly. Then follow the Chinese way to designate the crossbows by the number of "stones", with which weight is meant "the strength needed for bending the bow" (p. 169), the 4 ways of bending (= hip-, foot-, knee-, hand-bending), the arrows and quivers. Among special varieties of the crossbow are described: the repeating crossbow, said to have been invented by a famous general of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A. D. (Chu-ko Liang, 181—234), a crossbow for balls instead of arrows, and some larger constructions with several bows (stationary crossbow) not only for arrows, but also for stones and balls. Only very few remarks are made, mostly from the Nihongi Chronicle of 720, about the crossbow in Japan (p. 179—80), to which are added single notes on other regions where this weapon was in use.—134. 135)

### 3. *Woman's Question* <sup>136</sup>).

4. *Intellectual Life*. Several essays treat of different branches of education <sup>137-141</sup>) (comp. No. 150) and of philosophy, especially Confucianism <sup>142-147</sup>).

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- 134) × W. M. Ihler, *Kulturbilder aus Ostasien*. Österreich. Monatschrift f. d. Orient 42, 1916, No. 7—12. — 135) × Hojo Takuji, *Die Kunst der Selbstverteidigung bei japanischen Angriffen nach dem japanischen Dschin-Dschitsu*. Eine ausführliche Beschreibung. 7. verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig, Glöckner, 1916. pp. 91. 40 Ill. — 136) × Lillian Hall, *Avocations of Japanese Women*. Transactions and Proceedings Japan Society, London, vol. 13, pt. 1, 1916, pp. 101—114. — 137) × S. Büttner, *Hochschulen Japans*. Koloniale Rundschau. 1916. pp. 493—511. — 138) × O. H. Michel, *Die deutsche Schule in Yokohama*. Woche 18, 1916, No. 36. — 139) × K. Sakamoto, *Japanese education of today*. Educational Review (New York) vol. 51/52, 1916, pp. 1—9. — 140) × T. H. P. Sailer, *Some Impressions of education in the Far East*. Internat. Rev. of Missions, vol. 5, 1916, pp. 541—551. — 141) × F. L. Brown, *The Sunday School Situation in China, Korea and Japan*. Internat. Rev. of Missions, vol. 5, 1916, pp. 614—627. — 142) × T. Kishinami, *The development of philosophy in Japan*. London, Milford, 1916. Sh. 2 1/2. — 143) × Ukiichi Kawaguchi, *Studies in Japanese Confucianism*. American Journal of Theology, 1916, pp. 141—143. — 144) × F. Goodrich Henke, *The Philosophy of Wang Yang-Ming*. Translated from the Chinese. Chicago, Open Court Publ. Co., 1916, pp. XVII, 312. \$ 2.50. Ill. [P. J. MacLagan: Internat. Rev. of Missions 8, 1919, pp. 549—551. Revue Philosophique 1921 March/April.] — 145) × A. Gérard, *Un essai de philosophie de l'histoire et de l'art du Japon*. Revue des Deux Mondes, 1916, pp. 599—630. — 146) × F. Freudenberg, *Streiflichter auf japanischen Kultus und japanische Kultur*. Psychische Studien 6, 1916, pp. 53—61. Preceding article see Bf. 15, Nr. 225. — 147) × W. Schulte, *Die Gedankenwelt des Orients*. Lebensweisheit und Weltanschauung der Dichter und Denker des nahen und fernen Ostens. Berlin, Haude & Spener, 1916, pp. XII, 279. Selected sentences from the literature of the different nations. —



## VIII. GEOGRAPHY

1. *General*. An attractive biography<sup>148</sup> of a singular many-sided modern geographer, noted in Japan, but almost unknown abroad, Takeshiro Matsuura (1818—1888), shows him as wandering open-eyed through his country in all directions yet at the time of seclusion, when such undertaking was by no means quite without danger. He especially disclosed, also by valuable maps, the knowledge of the northern border-region Hokkaidō.—Japan as an isothermal empire<sup>149</sup> is explained as follows: "By 'isothermal' is meant lying in the same climatic zone, the thesis being that empires which encompassed regions strongly contrasting in climate, were ephemeral" (*Geographical Review* 2, 1916 p. 480).—<sup>150</sup>

2. *Geology*. Trias formation<sup>151</sup>. Vulcanism and earthquakes<sup>152-154</sup>.

3. *Meteorology*<sup>155, 157</sup>.

## IX. LITERATURE: VACAT

148) F. Starr, The old geographer;—Matsuura Takeshiro. *TASJ.*, vol. 44, 1916, pp. 1—19. 3 Ill. — 149) H. B. Hulbert, Japan an isothermal empire. *Journal of Race Development*, vol. 6, 1916, pp. 441—453. — 150) × *Geographisches Lehrbuch für die niederen Volksschulen Japans* (herausgegeben vom Ministerium des Unterrichts). Ein Beitrag zur pädagogischen Literatur Japans, Übersetzt von H. Thomsen. Mitteil. d. Seminars f. oriental. Sprachen, Berlin, Abt. I: Ostrasiat. Studien, vol. 19, 1916, pp. 139—182. — 151) × C. Dietert, Japanische Triasfauna. *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaft, Wien, Mathemat. Klasse*, vol. 92, 1916, pp. 1—30. — 152) × F. Omori, The Sakura-jima eruptions and earthquakes II. (On the sound and ash-precipitation areas of, and on the level changes caused by, the eruptions of 1914, with historical sketches of earlier Sakura-jima outbursts.)—III. Bull. Imp. Earthquake Investigation Committee, II: vol. 8, No. 2, 1916, pp. 35—179. III: vol. 8, No. 3, 1916, pp. 181—321. Maps, Diagramms, Ill.—1st article see Bf 14, No. 373. — [II: *Geogr. Rev.* 2 (1916), p. 480. Ch. Davidson: *Geogr. Journ.* 48 (1916), pp. 427/428. *Zschr. Ges. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1917, pp. 139/31. II and III: E. Tams: *PMPGA* 69 (1923), p. 89.] — 153) × The Sakura-jima Eruption of 1914. *Geogr. Journal*, vol. 47, 1916, pp. 382—383. — 154) × H. Simotamari, Vergleichende Übersicht der vulkanischen Tätigkeit der Feji- und Kirishima-Vulkanzonen in Japan. *Zschr. f. Vulkanologie* 2, 1916, pp. 129—137. Ill. — 155) × S. Powers, The eruption of Yake-dake, Japan, in 1915. *Geogr. Review*, vol. 1, 1916, pp. 359—362, Ill. — 156) × T. Okada, Some researches in the Far Eastern seasonal correlations (1st note). *Monthly Weather Review*, vol. 44, No. 1, 1916, pp. 17—21. Reprinted from *Journ. Meteorol. Soc. of Japan* vol. 34, No. 12, Dec. 1915. — 157) × Torahiko Terada, On the distribution of Cyclonic Precipitations. *Journal College of Science, Tokyo Univ.*, vol. 37, 1916, pp. 32, map. Abstracted in *Monthly Weather Review* vol. 44 (1916). — [R. dec. Ward: *Geograph. Rev.* 2 (1916), p. 156.] —

## X. BIBLIOGRAPHY, HANDBOOKS AND REFERENCE BOOKS

1. *Bibliography*<sup>158-159</sup>. Comp. No. 80 (Buddhism).

2. *Periodicals*. A new monthly<sup>160</sup>, in the main devoted to China, offers in the 2<sup>nd</sup> part "From the Press" also a number of articles about Japan's World Politics and about her relations abroad, especially to China, most of them reprinted from political papers of all countries.—About new Japanese publications H. Müller reports in the "Neuer Orient" (I No. 9, Aug. 1917, p. 434): "... Thus the Russians have been publishing in Tōkyō since the end of 1916 a Russian-Japanese periodical 'Westnik Japonij', the English since short time an English-Japanese Review on a large scale, entitled 'the New East'. The French, too, do not wish to stand back, so they have been publishing since October 1916 the 'Information d'Extrême Orient', twice a month 36 pages in Japanese, and 12 pages in French, once 32 pages only in French. In its contents it strongly resembles the magazines edited by the Japanese Government for the 'enlightening' of tourists, such as 'Mushimo', later on entitled 'Japan' . . . Among the economic contributions are several interesting notes. The political articles—even though signed by Count Okuma, are mere trash".—

3. *Reference Books*. Vacat.

158) × E. Deshayes, A travers les livres japonais illustrés de la bibliothèque du musée Guimet. Bibliographie Moderne (Paris), vol. 18, 1916/17. — 159) × Zeitschriftenschaу — Bücherschaу — Kataloge. Ostasiatische Zechr. 4, 1915/16, pp. 344—347. — 160) × China-Archiv. Herausgegeben vom Deutsch-Chinesischen Verbands, durch Geh.-Rat. W. Schramm. Berlin, K. Curtius, 1916. Year M. 15.—

Translated from the German unpublished original by Adele Luxenberg.



## SUPPLEMENT

to the Bibliography of Japan for 1913/16.

Year 1915.

I, 1, A. p. 686. The „Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens“ at Tōkyō, working, since several decades, also scientifically very meritoriously, had begun in the year 1914, besides its former valuable publications, a year-chronicle, the first for 1913<sup>1)</sup>. It is destined to give “a survey on the development of Japan in different fields” (in 1913; p. VIII), a grateful task, which this time could be fulfilled for a few single departments only. The continuation of the chronicle, it is to be regretted, was interrupted by the World's War. The contents, bringing among other items rich material for statistics and for bibliography of works in Japanese language, can here only be touched at by quoting the title of the single essays in the footnote.

I, 2, Ryūkyū. p. 695. The Ryūkyū Islands in the South West are designated as a mirror of Old Japan<sup>2)</sup>, because the character of the common ancestors („das Wesen der gemeinsamen Stammeseltern“)

1) Japanische Jahrschrikt 1913. Mitt. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens 16, 1914. pp. VIII, 174. — Contents: A. Menge, Japanische Politik im Jahre 1913 pp. 1—6. — A. Menge, Der japanische Aussenhandel im Jahre 1913 pp. 7—14. — Entwicklung und gegenwärtiger Stand der überseeischen Dampfschiffahrt in Japan pp. 15—44. — F. Hack, Die Kolonien 1913 pp. 45—64. — A. Menge, Die japanischen Staatsvermögen pp. 65—73. — Internationales und nationales Rechnungswesen pp. 74—91. — K. Vogt, Aus der Rechtsprechung des japanischen Reichsgerichts in Civilsachen während des Jahres 1913 pp. 92—98. — E. Hallier, Unterricht und Erziehung pp. 99—111. — Elissejew, Das Theater in Japan im Jahre 1913 pp. 112—125. — O. Rosenberg, Religion, Philosophie, Buddhistische Forschungen pp. 126—145. — Jahresbericht der Gesellschaft für 1913 pp. 146—165. — Behrend, Die Zukunft der Gesellschaft pp. 166—174.

2) E. Simon, Rinkiu, ein Spiegel für Altjapan. Mitt. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens 15 part B, 1914. pp. 31, map. 15 ill.

is said to be reflected frequently in matters of the Japanese and of the Ryūkyū people. This opinion is demonstrated by discussing and comparing with Japan the settlement of the Ryūkyū group (pp. 8—13), its peculiarities of language, especially tone-changes (pp. 13—16, „Lautverschiebungen“ p-f-h), its places and forms of worshipping the gods (pp. 16—20), its forms of granaries (pp. 20—22) and its burial of the dead (pp. 22—31).

I, 2, B. p. 695. A peculiar and sociologically important contribution to the knowledge of the culture of the “savage” is presented by the detailed description of one of the tribes of Formosa, the Atayal<sup>3)</sup>; the author, who spent there five weeks as “adviser of the Japanese government” (p. 5), got nearer acquainted with two of their frontier-tribes (p. 7). As the impulse of the author to his appreciable work he designates to find out even in such a “savage tribe” the fundamental facts and forms („Grundtatsachen und Grundformen“), “which exist as fundamental parts of all cultures” (p. 55). He first describes life and work of the Atayal (pp. 7—33), viz. as their wants food and clothes besides ornaments and dwellings; as their activity the different working of man and woman; as their family life marriage, children, illness and death; as their tribal and clan life the institutions of both these kinds of society. The 2<sup>nd</sup> part, the “fundamental forms and facts”, discusses economics, law and social organization of the Atayal. The author sees the success of his investigation, which is based in many cases on the sociologic work „Waffen, Kapital und Arbeit“ by E. Dühring (2<sup>nd</sup> edition Leipzig 1906), in proving that these savages have property, marriage and money, thus “human fundamental institutions” („menschliche Grundinstitute“), which, after Dühring, “in their chief kernel are raised above arbitrary power of society and state, at a stage of culture, for which a desolate communism of sex and property is mostly presupposed” (p. 58).

II, 4, p. 700.<sup>4)</sup>

#### Year 1916.

II, 4, p. 723.<sup>5)</sup>

3) O. Wiedfeldt, Wirtschaftliche, rechtliche und soziale Grundtatsachen und Grundformen der Atayalen auf Formosa. Mitt. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens 15, part C, 1915, pp. 55.

4) A. Vogt, Le Catholicisme au Japon. Paris 1915.

5) N. Weber, Heldenzeiten der japanischen Kirche. St. Ottilien 1916.



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Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami.

*Sri Venkatesa Vilas Nadu Street,  
Mylapore, Madras.*

1. A History of South India.
2. Development of the Bhakti school both on the Vaishnava and the Śaiva side in various of its more obscure sections.

Biallas, Franz.

*Cath. Mission, Tsingtau, Shantung,  
China.*

Yüan-yü des K'üih Yüan, Text,  
Übersetzung und Kommentar.

Conrady, A.

*Leipzig, Färberstr. 15<sup>II</sup>.*

1. Shi-king Exegese.
2. Über einige altchinesische Hilfs-  
wörter. 1. 卷.

Erkes, E.

*Leipzig, Kaiserstr. 3.*

1. Gedichte v. Sung Yüeh mit Ein-  
leitung über Zeit, Dichtkunst  
und Sprache Sung Yüehs, Glossar  
und Index.
2. Kuan-yin, eine religions- und  
kunstgeschichtliche Studie.

Farquhar, J. N.

*22 Heaton Road, Withington, Man-  
chester.*  
Hinduismus.

Francke, A. H.

*Berlin SW. 48, Wilhelmstr. 7.*

1. La-divags-rgyal-rabs.
2. a) Hochzeitslieder, Teil II,  
deutsch.  
b) Teil I und II tibetischer  
Text und englische Über-  
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3. gZer-myig, tibetischer Text und  
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4. Tibetisches Lesebuch mit Gram-  
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5. Késarsage, deutsche Übersetzung  
nach den Texten der Bibliotheca  
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Geiger, W.

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Giles, L.

*British Museum, London W. C. 1.*  
Taoism of the Middle Period.

v. Glasenapp, H.

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Gesamtdarstellung des Jainismus.

Goetz, H.

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1. Eine kleine indische Kultur-  
geschichte.

Goetz, H.

2. Geschichte der indischen Miniaturmalerei.
3. Übersetzung einer Reihe von Liedern des Kṛṣṇakultes aus dem 13.—16. Jahrhundert.
4. Indische historische Porträts, die Miniaturen-Alben des Berliner Völkerkunde-Museums.

Grierson, George A., Sir.

*Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey.*

1. Schlußband des Linguistic Survey of India.
2. A Kāshmiri-English Dictionary, published by the As. Soc. of Bengal.
3. Bearbeitung und Übersetzung verschiedener Kāshmiri-Texte.
4. Ausgabe von Mārkaṇḍeyas Prakṛta-sarvasva und Rāmātarkavāgiśas Prakṛtakalpādruma in Text und Übersetzung.
5. Vorbereitung des Bandes über Indo-arische Volkssprachen für den Grundriß der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.

Haloun, G.

*Ostasiatisches Seminar, Universitätsstraße 13<sup>1</sup>, Leipzig.*

1. Contributions to the history of clan settlements in ancient China.
2. Ta-hia-Frage.

Hanisch, E.

*Sinologisches Seminar an der Universität Berlin. Privatadresse: Berlin SW. 19, Friedrichsgracht 57.*

1. Die Eroberung des Goldstromlandes.
2. Ethnographie des Goldstromlandes.

Heimann, B.

*Halle a. S., Große Steinstr. 58<sup>II</sup>.*

1. Die Entwicklung des Gottesbegriffs der Upaniṣaden.
2. Über den denkmethologischen Ausgangspunkt der einzelnen Disziplinen der indischen Philosophie.

Herrmann, A.

*Charlottenburg, Wielandstr. 7.*

1. Das Ruinengebiet von Turfan (für Petermanns Geogr. Mitt.).
2. China, Arabia Felix und Byzanz.

Hertel, Johs.

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1. Weltanschauung der Indoiranier.
2. Zeit und Ort des Rgveda.

Hillebrandt, A.

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1. The Inscriptions of Asoka. New Edition. With 55 Plates. Printed for the Government of India by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. Pages VIII, CCCL, 260.
2. Māgha's Śiṣupālavadha nach den Kommentaren des Vallabhadeva und des Mallināthasūri ins Deutsche übertragen.

Iwanow, W.

*c/o Asiatic Society of Bengal; 1, Park Street Calcutta.*

1. Persian Shi'ite Sectarianism
2. The Creed of the Ali-ilahi.
3. Indian Sūfism as it developed in the Dekkan and Central Indian provinces before the Timurides.



Iwanow, W.

4. [Has collection of Persian poetry, tales etc. The dialects which he has studied were those of Sabzarwar and Nishapur, Birjand and Qain as well as of some villages in the Central Persian Desert (near Tabbas, Anarak, etc.) The Kurdish Material has been collected in Juwayn and Bajnurd.] Always too glad to be useful for references, etc., to his colleagues in research.

Karlgren, B.

*Göteborg, Universität.*

Fortsetzung der Studien zur chinesischen Laut- und Schriftgeschichte.

Kirfel, W.

*Godesberg b. Bonn, Marktstr. 4.*

1. Darstellung der indischen Ideen über Weltentstehung, Weltuntergang sowie der Lehren vom Weltjahr.
2. Untersuchungen über die inneren Zusammenhänge der Purāṇa.
3. Übersetzung der Upamitūbhava-prapañcakathā (in Auswahl).

Krause, Ch.

*Leipzig, Windscheidstr. 34.*

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Lange, R.

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Lin, Yü-tang.

*The National University, Peking.*

Fortführung der Studien zur Altchinesischen Phonetik.

München-Helfen, O.

*Wien V, Zentagasse 47<sup>1</sup>.*

1. Kultur des vorbuddhistischen China.
2. Chinesische Mythologie.
3. Kultur der stammverwandten, barbarischen Stämme.

Poppe, N.

*Asiatisches Museum, Russische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leningrad, Universitetskaja nab. 5.*

1. Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen.
2. Sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten des mongol. Gesserkhanepos.

Salmony, A.

*Köln, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst der Stadt Köln.*

1. Figürliche Grabkeramik des Kölner Museums.
2. Hinterindische Plastik.
3. Chinesische Plastik.
4. Plastik in Siam (im Druck).

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Die Deutsche Kultur der Gegenwart mit besonderer Berücksichtigung auf die Industrie und Welt-politik.

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*Köln, Moltkestr. 127.*

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Schindler, B.

*Leipzig, Inselstr. 5.*

1. Das Priestertum im Alten China (Fortsetzung).
2. Translation of Ch. 128 of Sze-ma Ts'ien's Shi-ki: "The Divination by the tortoise-shell, and the milfoil".

Schindler, B.

3. Chinese Divination. A Study of its Methods and Principles.
4. Zum Ch'un-ts'in-Problem.

Schmidt, Richard.

*Münster, W., Wilhelmstr. 5<sup>II</sup>.*

1. Nachtrag zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, auf Grund eigener Sammlungen unter Verarbeitung der bisher veröffentlichten Wörterverzeichnisse von Thomas, Gray, Jolly usw. sowie Böhrlings eigener Nachträge.

v. Takács, Zoltán.

*Budapest, Andrássy út 103.*

Chinesisch-hunnische Kunstformen.

Waley, A.

*Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London.*

English Translation of Genji Monogatari.

Wedemeyer, A.

*Orientalisches Seminar an der Universität Leipzig, Universitätsstraße 13.*

1. Schauplätze und Vorgänge der chinesischen Geschichte gegen Ausgang des 3. und im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Kap. I: Yao, Shun und Yü. Kap. II: Das Reich zur Zeit von Yao, Shun und Yü (Yü-kung). Kap. III: Zeit der Hia- und Shang-Dynastie. Kap. IV: Anfänge der Chou-Dynastie bis zur Zeit des Cheng-wang.
2. Die Verfassung der Chou-Dynastie (Chou-li).
3. Die Entwicklung der chinesischen Behördenorganisation von der Ts'in-Dynastie bis zur Tang-Dynastie.

Wedemeyer, A.

4. Chronologie der frühjapanischen Geschichte.
5. Das Kuni-no-miyatsuko-hongi u. das frühjapanische Königtum.
6. Übersetzung der Yōrō-ryō (718) mit Kommentaren.

Weller, F.

*Leipzig, Arndtstr. 59<sup>III</sup>.*

1. Āśvaghōṣas Buddhacarita (tibetischer Text und deutsche Übersetzung).
2. Übersetzung der Paralleltexte des Majjhimanikāya aus dem chinesischen Tripitaka.
3. Pāṭikasuttanta, chines. Text.

Weller, Hermann.

*Erlangen (Württemberg).*

1. Frage der Echtheit der 13 dem Bhāsa zugeschriebenen Dramen.
2. Textausgabe dieser Dramen, in Bearbeitung: Avimāraka und Svapnavāsavadatta.
3. Übersetzung dieser Dramen, in Bearbeitung: Svapnavāsavadatta.
4. Herausgabe der Sammlung „Indische Dichter“.

Wilhelm, R.

*Peking.*

1. Die Vollendung der Sammlung: Religion u. Philosophie Chinas (bei E. Diederichs, Jena). Im Druck ist Band I\*, I King. In Arbeit ist außerdem Band III, Ta Hsiao, Chung Yung, Hsiao King.
2. Für Frommanns Klassiker der Philosophie ist in Arbeit: ein Band über Konfuzius.



Wilhelm, R.

3. Sammlung Göschen: Abteilung Religionswissenschaft: China und Tibet. Abteilung Denkmäler: Tao Teh King und Konfuzius.
4. Für das Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft: Chinesische Literaturgeschichte.
5. Im Ms. fertig ferner die Übersetzung von Lǎ Shǐ Ch'un Tsiu, K'ung ts'i Kia Yü, Shu King.
6. Begonnen sind: Han Fe Tsi und Sün Tsi.

Winternitz, M.

*Prag, Opotavická 8.*

1. Revision der Geschichte der indischen Literatur für die englische Ausgabe der Calcutta University Press.
2. Die Frau in den indischen Religionen, Teil II: Frau im Hinduismus, Teil III: Frau im Jinnismus und Buddhismus.

Woitsch, L.

*Wien XVIII, Geyergasse 14<sup>III</sup>.*

1. Lexikographische Beiträge (Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zu Giles, Chinese-English Dictionary).
2. Mandschurisches Lesebuch mit Grammatik und Glossar.
3. Ausgabe der mandschurischen Version des Liao-chai-chih-i mit Spezialwörterbuch.

v. Zach, E.

*Weltereden, Gang Kadji 39.*

1. Li'taipo's Gedichte 4. u. 5. Buch deutsche Übersetzung.
2. Einige Verbesserungen zu Giles' Chinese Biographical Dictionary.
3. Weitere Ergänzungen zu Sacharow's Mandžursko-Russki Slovarj.

Zimmermann, E.

*Dresden-A., Winckelmannstr. 13p.*  
Chinesische Porzellanfiguren.

## SYSTEMATISCHER ÜBERBLICK—SYSTEMATIC SURVEY

## 1. China

Phonetik und Grammatik: Conrady, A., Nr. 2; Karlgren, B., Lin, Yü-t'ang.

Lexikographie: Woitsch, L., Nr. 1.

Geographie: Herrmann, A., Nr. 2.

Ethnographie: Hänisch, E., Nr. 2; München-Helfen, Nr. 1, 3.

Geschichte und Historiker: Haloun, G., Nr. 1, 2; Hänisch, E., Nr. 1; München-Helfen, Nr. 1, 3; Schindler, B., Nr. 2, 4; Wedemeyer, A., Nr. 1, 2, 3.

Biographien: v. Zach, E., Nr. 2.

Literaturgeschichte.

*Allgemein*: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 4.

*Vorklassisch und klassisch*: Yih-king: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 1; Shu-king: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 5; Shi-king: Conrady, A., Nr. 1; Ch'un-ts'iu: Schindler, B., Nr. 4; Konfuzius und Lao-tse: s. Philosophie; Ta-hioh: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 1; Chung-yang: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 1; Lü-shih-ch'un-ts'iu: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 5; Hiao-king: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 1; Kia-yü: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 5; K'üeh Yuan: Biallas, F.; Sung Yü: Erkes, E., Nr. 1; Li T'ai-poh: v. Zach, E., Nr. 1.

Religionsgeschichte.

*Allgemein*: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 3, 1.

*Einzelgebiete*: München-Helfen, Nr. 2; Schindler, B., Nr. 1, 2, 3.

*Buddhismus*: Erkes, E., Nr. 2; Weller, F., Nr. 2.

Philosophie.

*Einzelgebiete*: Konfuzius: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 2, 5; Sun-tse: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 6; Taoismus: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 3, 6; (Han-Fei-tse, Lao-tse); d. mittleren Periode: Giles, L.

Kunst.

*Grabkeramik*: Salmony, A., Nr. 1.

*Plastik*: Salmony, A., Nr. 3.

*Porzellan*: Zimmermann, E.

*Chin.-hunnische Kunstformen*: v. Takács, Z.

Kunst

## 2. Hinterindien.

*Plastik*: Salmony, A., Nr. 2.

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## Sprachen.

*Pali*: Geiger, W.

*Prakrit*: Grierson, Nr. 4.

*Altgujerati*: Krause, Ch.

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*Lexikographie* (Sanskrit): Schmidt, R.

*Epigraphik* (Asoka): Hultsch, E., Nr. 1.

## Geschichte.

*Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte*: Götz, H., Nr. 1.

*Einzelgebiete*: Rgveda: Hertel, J., Nr. 2; Asoka: Hultsch, E., Nr. 1;

Dekkan: Aiyangar, Nr. 1; Iwanow, W., Nr. 3; Ceylon: Geiger, W.; Frau in Hinduismus, Buddhismus, Jnismus: Winternitz, M., Nr. 2.

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*Allgemein*: Winternitz, M., Nr. 1.

*Veda*: Hertel, J., Nr. 2.

*Purana*: Kirfel, W., Nr. 2.

*Drama*: Weller, H., Nr. 1, 2, 3.

*Kavya*: Hultsch, E., Nr. 2; Weller, F., Nr. 1.

*Pañcatantra*: Krause, Ch.

*Upamitibhavaprapaṇcakaṭha*: Kirfel, W., Nr. 3.

## Religionsgeschichte.

*Vedische Mythologie*: Hillebrandt, A.

*Buddhismus*: Winternitz, M., Nr. 2; Weller, F., Nr. 2.

*Jnismus*: v. Glasenapp, H.; Winternitz, M., Nr. 2.

*Hinduismus*: Farquhar.

*Bhakti* (Stenismus und Vignismus): Aiyangar.

*Kṛpākult*: Götz, H., Nr. 3.

*Sufismus*: Iwanow, W., Nr. 3.

## Philosophie.

*Kosmogonie*: Kirfel, W., Nr. 1.

*Weltanschauung der Indo-Iranier*: Hertel, J., Nr. 1.

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*Systeme*: Heimann, B., Nr. 2.

## Kunst.

*Miniaturmalerei*: Götz, H., Nr. 2.

*Hist. Porträts*: Götz, H., Nr. 4.

## 5. Iran.

*Weltanschauung der Indo-Iranier*: Hertel, J., Nr. 1.

*Iran. Lehnwörter im Talmud*: Schettelowitz, I.

## 6. Japan.

Lexikographie: Lange, R.

Geschichte: Wedemeyer, A., Nr. 4, 5, 6.

Literatur: Waley, A.

## 7. Kurdistan.

Sprachliche Materialsammlungen: Iwanow, W., Nr. 4.

## 8. Mandschu.

Handbuch: Woitsch, L., Nr. 2.

Lexikographie: v. Zach, E., Nr. 3.

Texte: Woitsch, L., Nr. 3.

## 9. Pali.

Texte: Geiger, W.

## 10. Persien.

Dialektstudien: Iwanow, W., Nr. 4.

Dichtung: Iwanow, W., Nr. 4.

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*Schillen*: Iwanow, W., Nr. 1.

*Ali-ilahi*: Iwanow, W., Nr. 2.

## 11. Prakrit.

Grammatiken: Grierson, Nr. 3.

## 12. Siam.

Kunst (Plastik): Salmony, A., Nr. 4.

## 13. Talmud.

Scheffelowitz, L.

## 14. Tibet.

Sprache (Handbuch): Francke, A. H., Nr. 4.

Ethnographie: Francke, A. H., Nr. 2.

Sage: Francke, A. H., Nr. 5.

Geschichte: Francke, A. H., Nr. 1.

Religionsgeschichte.

*Allgemein*: Wilhelm, R., Nr. 2.

*Bonpo*: Francke, A. H., Nr. 3.

## 15. Zentralasien.

Turfan: Herrmann, A., Nr. 1.



## BÜCHERBESPRECHUNGEN — REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ORBIS PICTUS. Weltkunstbücherei, herausgegeben von Paul Westheim (Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, A. G. Berlin) Band 16: Der primitive japanische Holzschnitt von Carl Einstein.

Der Herausgeber „ediert diese Holzschnitte als Laie, der seit langem ihrer sich ergötzte und darüber las, was Klügere ihm empfahlen“. Er schreibt „über diese Dinge mit dem Bewußtsein, die letzten abendländischen Reflexe eines vorläufig erloschenen Gestirns in reizvoll fälschender Spiegelung einzufangen; der fliehende Rand hüpfenden Spiegelbildes zeichnet am bequemsten sich heraus“. So gibt er in gestelzter Sprache ein farbenüberladenes Bild der gegenständlichen und gesellschaftlichen Welt des Ukiyoe, eine journalistisch effektvolle, fälschende Darstellung. Wer daran Freude hat, mag sich daran ergötzen, Einsicht in das Wesen wird er schwerlich erlangen. Die Vorlagen der Bilder stammen sämtlich aus der wunderbaren Sammlung der Frau Tony Straus-Negbauer, zwischen Unwichtigem ist eine Reihe sehr schöner Blätter abgebildet, nur geht auch hier leider die feinste Wirkung, die farbige, in Schwarz und Weiß gänzlich verloren, und es entsteht der Eindruck einer geistvollen und virtuosen, doch innerlich völlig leeren Plakatkunst. Ein Eindruck, der um so mehr irreführt, als gerade unter diesen frühen Blättern eine Reihe großartiger und in den Grenzen des Holzschnittes wahrhaft monumentaler Werke sich findet. Leider läßt die anscheinend rein gegenständlich bestimmte Anordnung der Bilder gerade diese Werke auch nicht zu ihrem Recht kommen. Kurz: dieser Band verspricht viel und hält wenig, doch wird der Kenner für einzelne Abbildungen dankbar sein.

Otto Fischer.

J. B. M. McGOVERN, Unter den Kopfsägern auf Formosa. Strecker und Schröder, Stuttgart 1923. 122 S.

Der Drahtverhau, den die Japaner um die Bergstämme Formosas gezogen haben, ist mit 2000 Volt geladen und wird Jahr für Jahr enger, die Zeit, da die letzten Tayal, Bunum, Tsarisen verschwunden sein werden, ist

nicht mehr fern. Jeder Bericht über das unberührte Volkstum dieser Stämme ist willkommen, um so mehr, als bisher über sie nur sehr, sehr wenig bekannt ist. Das Beste sind die japanischen Berichte, die Davidson in seinem *Formosa, Past and Present* bringt, und die von O. Scheerer in den Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens übersetzten. Wenn man das streicht, was Mrs. McGovern aus Davidson entnommen hat, bleibt nicht sehr viel übrig. Das eilige Tempo, in dem sie ihre „trips“ zu den verschiedenen Stämmen gemacht hat, — aus ihrer feuilletonistischen Reiseschilderung ist kaum zu entnehmen, wo sie war —, ließ sie vieles übersehen oder falsch sehen. So ist es falsch, daß den formosanischen Pfeilen die Befiederung fehlt, — Tayal, Tsarisen, Ami, Paiwan, Bunum und Arisan haben radial befiederte Pfeile und sekundäre Spannung, wo die Befiederung fehlt, ist primäre Spannung, was für die Aufstellung von Kulturschichten auf der Insel wichtig ist. Natürlich sind die Eingeborenen Formosas nicht Kannibalen, aber es ist doch nicht ohne Bedeutung, daß die Ami das Fleisch der geschneitten Köpfe essen. Die Beispiele ließen sich leicht vermehren. Immerhin findet sich doch auch manches bisher nicht Bekannte in dem Buch, dessen wertvollster Teil jedoch zweifellos seine guten Abbildungen sind.

Was der Ethnologe aber jetzt vor allem braucht, ist eine genaue Aufnahme der geistigen und materiellen Kultur der Primitivstämme Formosas und die endliche Erschließung der chinesischen Quellen, vor allem des *Tai-wan-fu-chi*.

Otto München-Helfen.

ERNST DIEZ. Einführung in die Kunst des Ostens, mit 73 Abbildungen, 160 Seiten Oktav, Avalun-Verlag, Wien-Hellerau, 1922.

Das Buch will eine knappe, für weitere Kreise lesbare Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse der bedeutendsten Sonderforscher auf dem Gebiete der ost-asiatischen Kunst geben und ist deshalb als ein neuer Versuch, die gewaltige Kunst Ostasiens weiteren Kreisen zugänglich zu machen, warm zu begrüßen.

Wenn der Raum so beschränkt ist, wie in dem vorliegenden Buch, so ist es nicht ganz leicht, eine Einführung in die Kunst des Ostens, selbst wenn damit nur China und Japan gemeint sind, zu schreiben: die Gebiete sind zu groß und zu tief, um sich auf wenigen Seiten abtun zu lassen. Immerhin wird Diez durch die Fülle schöner Gedanken, die in seinem Buche zerstreut sind, manchem Befriedigung geben und den Wunsch bei vielen erwecken, sich intensiver mit der Kunst Ostasiens zu beschäftigen. Vielleicht ist es ein Vorteil, daß der Leser das Buch nicht mit voller Befriedigung aus der Hand legt, weil er nunmehr wünscht, sich nach den



anregenden Worten von Diez tiefer über die mannigfachen Gebiete zu unterrichten, unter denen vor allem die chinesische Malerei, diese menschlichste Kunst der Erde, wie sie Diez nennt, unser Herz erfreut.

Nach einer geschichtlichen Einleitung, in der sich China leider mit nur 7, Japan gar mit 3 kleinen Oktavseiten begnügen muß, führt uns Diez auf 15 Seiten durch die chinesische Baukunst, auf  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Seiten durch die japanische, wobei ihm die Arbeiten Boerschmanns als Grundlage dienen. Wir können dabei nicht unwidersprochen lassen, wenn Diez mit Boerschmann wiederholt — p. 32 —, daß im Süden Chinas, in Kuangsi und Kuantung, sich indischer Einfluß in der Überwucherung mit ornamentalem Beiwerk bemerkbar macht.

Das, was den Süden von dem Norden unterscheidet, ist nicht indischer Einfluß, sondern die infolge der größeren Lebhaftigkeit der Phantasie und durch die Üppigkeit tropischer Vegetation befruchtete Vielseitigkeit der Darstellung, welche dem ruhigeren und weniger gesegneten Norden ferner liegt. Es kommt hinzu, daß im Süden, wo infolge des halbtropischen Klimas der Verfall der Bauten ein schnellerer ist als im Norden, hauptsächlich die mittelalterliche und neuere Architektur sich unseren Blicken darbietet, die, ebenso wie die Kunst auf allen anderen Gebieten, sich von der klassischen Schlichtheit der früheren Perioden um ein Wesentliches entfernt.

Mit schnellen Schritten eilt Diez dann durch Malerei und Plastik (wobei er dann auf p. 38 bei der Aufführung des Materials der Statuen die aus Eisen gefertigten übergeht), um uns nunmehr die „Darstellungskreise“ zu vergegenwärtigen, den konfuzianischen Kreis, den buddhistischen und schließlich den taoistischen Kreis. Bei dem letzteren kommt er auf den Drachen zu sprechen, den er als ein „Phantasiegebilde aus dem Stöhr und dem Sternbilde des Drachen-Skorpion, geboren aus der Idee der Verwandlung des Wanderfisches Stöhr in das Sternbild des Skorpion“ erklärt. Das Taoté ist ihm „nichts anderes als die aus Stöhr und Sternbild kombinierte Drachenmaske“. Es wäre interessant und wohl auch notwendig gewesen zu hören, worauf Diez diese Behauptungen stützt, die mehr nach mittelalterlichen Deutungen phantasiefroher Litteraten klingen, als die simplen Gedankengänge berücksichtigen, welche im 3. oder 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr. den Erstlingskünstlern in Holz, Bronze und Ton die Anregung zur Darstellung jener Fabelwesen gaben. Wenig glücklich ist er, wenn er auf p. 60 den Noami-Drachen mit der Halskrause und den Ochsenhörnern (Abb. 64) zu den „grandiosesten Schöpfungen malerischer Gestaltung überhaupt“ rechnet und wenn er als typische Beispiele altchinesischer Sakralgefäße „die als älteste Kunstdenkmäler Chinas durch das Po-ku-tu-lu überliefert sind“ — p. 123. — zwei Bronzen aus der Sammlung Sumitomo's aufführt — Abb. 2 u. 3 —, die mit dem Po-ku-t'u-lu nichts zu tun haben und einen

von dem klassischen Stil des orthodoxen China abweichenden Fremdstil wiedergeben.

In der Absicht, uns weiter einzuführen in das Wesen ostasiatischer Kunst, führt er uns zu den vier Kategorien der chinesischen Malerei, zur japanischen Historienmalerei, naturfernen Landschaft, den Gestalten des Reliefs, wobei er irrtümlicherweise die Bronzetroddeln die ältesten Denkmäler nennt, den Gestalten der naturnahen Landschaft, den kanonischen Regeln und den chinesischen sowie japanischen Formen und schließlich zum seelischen Gehalt der Malerei, in seiner gerechten Verehrung für diese große Kunst gelegentlich allzuviel, wie bei dem Taubenpaar der Abb. 40 oder dem Reiherhals von Abb. 43, in das Bild hineingeheimissend. Nicht folgen können wir Diez in der Auswahl seiner Abbildungen, besonders der farbigen.

Für Druckfehler möchten wir es halten, wenn er — p. 14 — den Buddhismus „67 n. Chr.“ und — p. 53 — sechsundsiebzig nach Christus „offiziell nach China gebracht“ werden läßt, oder wenn er von der in der kosmischen Weltanschauung verwebten Taolehre und der philosophisch vertieften Lehre des Laotse, dem „Laoismus“, spricht.

E. A. Voretzsch.

LUDWIG BACHHOFER: Chinesische Kunst (Ferdinand Hirt, Breslau 1923).

Das vorliegende kleine Buch ist ein Bändchen aus „Jedermanns Bücherei“, deren Abteilung Bildende Kunst Wilhelm Waetzoldt herausgibt. Es entwickelt auf knappstem Raum eine Übersicht über Art und Geschichte der großen chinesischen Kunst mit Ausschluß des Kunstgewerbes. Nach der ganzen Anlage dieser Bändchen war es nicht möglich, eine umfassende Geschichte zu schreiben oder irgendwo im Einzelnen sehr in die Tiefe zu dringen, dafür hat es der Verfasser verstanden, die wesentlichen Epochen und Merkmale deutlich herauszuheben, mit einfachen Worten und rechter Klarheit überall das Bezeichnende wenigstens anzudeuten. So ist das Werkchen zur ersten Einführung des Laien sehr gut geeignet. Die Ausstattung ist gediegen. Die 30 Abbildungen hätten zum Teil noch sorgsamer und kennzeichnender ausgewählt werden können.

Otto Fischer.

CHINESISCHE KERAMIK. Ausstellung im Frankfurter Kunstgewerbemuseum, Juni-September 1923 (Verlag Englert & Schlosser).

Dieser reich illustrierte und sehr sorgfältig gearbeitete Katalog hält das Gedächtnis und die Ergebnisse einer Ausstellung fest, die Robert Schmidt, der Direktor des Frankfurter Kunstgewerbemuseums, diesen Sommer



größtenteils aus Frankfurter und benachbartem Privatbesitz zusammengebracht hat. Es war eine Freude, hier zu sehen, welche Fülle guter Qualität selbst in den letzten Jahren noch einige Sammler unserem Land zu gewinnen und zu erhalten verstanden. Die Liebe zur ostasiatischen Kunst hat auch in Frankfurt Wurzeln gefaßt, und wenn früher die farbig so reichen und jeden Raum schmückenden Porzellane aus der Zeit seit dem Ende der Ming besonders gesucht waren, so wendet sich heute die Vorliebe der Kenner mehr den anspruchloseren, aber oft mächtigeren und feineren keramischen Schöpfungen zu, die man der Han-, der Tang- und der Sung-Dynastie zuschreibt. Die Ausstellung gab einen vorzüglichen Überblick über die Entwicklung chinesischer Keramik von den Anfängen bis zu ihrem letzten, technisch differenziertesten Ausklang. Wenn einige Typen, wie die großen weißen Sungvasen, wie das flüßfarbige Wan-li-Porzellan, ja selbst K'ang-hsi mangelhaft vertreten waren, so war vieles ganz Herrliche, besonders von ganz früher und ganz später Keramik zu sehen. Mit Befriedigung bemerkte man, daß von den frühen Stücken überall das Beste Eigentum der Berliner Museen war, nur leider nicht der große Lohan von I-chou, das bereits bekannte Hauptstück der Ausstellung, das die Keramikforscher der Tang-, die Kunsthistoriker viel eher der Sung-Dynastie oder selbst noch etwas später zuweisen möchten. Der Katalog ist besonders wertvoll durch die vorzügliche Einleitung von Robert Schmidt, die auf 16 Seiten eine klare und alles Wesentliche erschöpfende Übersicht über unser Wissen von chinesischer Keramik und ihrer Geschichte gibt. Von den Abbildungen sind leider weder die Clichés noch die technisch nicht ganz gelungenen Farbtafeln geeignet, eine ausreichende Vorstellung von dem künstlerischen Charakter der Objekte zu geben.

Otto Fischer.

ORBIS PICTUS. Weltkunstbücherei, herausgegeben von Paul Westheim (Verlag Ernst Wasmuth A. G. Berlin). Band 5: Asiatische Monumentalplastik. Mit einem Vorwort von Karl With.

Jeder Band aus der sehr hübschen Bilderbuch-Serie dieses neuen Orbis pictus bringt in Großoktav 48 Bildtafeln mit ziemlich guten Clichés, nach der Auswahl und mit der Einführung eines mit dem besonderen Gebiet vertrauten Herausgebers. Karl With, dessen Arbeiten zur ostasiatischen Kunst bekannt sind, stellt hier eine Auswahl größtenteils buddhistischer Skulpturen aus Vorder- und Hinterindien, China und Japan zusammen. Das Prinzip der Auswahl ist nicht recht verständlich, da auch Kleinskulpturen und künstlerisch sehr mäßige Werke aufgenommen sind. Eine Übersicht über den ganzen Umkreis plastischer Schöpfung scheint ebenso wenig für

irgendeinen der genannten Kunstkreise angestrebt. So bleibt als Prinzip nur die Absicht des Verfassers einige zum Teil weniger bekannte Monumente asiatischer Plastik vorzuführen und an ihnen die innere Ausdruckskraft dieser Kunst deutlich zu machen. Die Auswahl ist in der zweiten Auflage der ersten gegenüber schon erheblich verbessert. Der einführende Text gibt nicht eine sachliche Orientierung, sondern eine dithyrambische Einfühlung in Art und Tiefe des asiatischen Welterlebens und der buddhistischen Einstellung zu Leben und Kunst. Ich fürchte, sie ist allzu persönlich und allzusehr vom Europäer aus empfunden, sie kann die Leser bezaubern, aber kaum zu einem wahren Begreifen führen.

Otto Fischer.

CHINESISCHES PORZELLAN UND DIE ÜBRIGEN KERAMISCHEN ERZEUGNISSE CHINAS. Von Prof. Dr. Ernst Zimmermann, Zweite Auflage, Leipzig, Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1923: 2 Bände.

The new edition of Prof. Zimmermann's important work on Chinese porcelain is revised and enlarged. Not only have the actual pages expanded in area but in the text volume they have nearly doubled in number and there are twenty additional plates and several replacements.

The author's long study of the subject and his daily contact with a notable collection are guarantees of first-class work; but like so many of our European students of Chinese ceramics, especially those of us who are tied to their work at home, he has not had the opportunity of making original researches in the East and he is dependent on other people's translations for his study of Chinese texts. The result is that the book adds little new material to the stock of knowledge which we are constantly turning over and sifting. This does not, however, prevent it from being an immensely useful work. Its defects will only be noticed by a few advanced students, while its many merits will be appreciated by the large public for which it is written. All that unflagging industry and exhaustive study of available material could do for his book, Prof. Zimmermann has done; and if we have any complaint to make of this aspect of his work, it is that he has used his material almost too conscientiously, overloading his text in places with references to specimens which are not illustrated, and often treating his authorities with more respect than they deserve.

The plan of the first edition is in the main preserved, and rightly so: for it is the logical one for any writer setting out to cover the whole vast field of Chinese ceramics. The text is brought up to date—or rather we should say up to 1922—for it is impossible to be quite up to date



with any publication where a stream of new facts, theories and specimens bearing on one's subject is pouring in without cease. For example, the finds of "prehistoric" pottery described by J. G. Andersson in *Palaeontologia Sinica* (Peking, 1923) make our previous discussion of Chou pottery seem academic; a paper by G. Eumorfopoulos, in the *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* (London, 1922/3) advances notable theories on the subject of the Sung Ju ware; and recent excavations of Kūhsien and other places give us food for fresh thoughts on the "temmoku" and Ting types and on the possibilities of Sung blue and white.

Even Dr. Rücker-Embsen's important work, *Chinesische Früheramik*, issued in 1922, came too late for Prof. Zimmermann; and so we are deprived of what would doubtless have been an interesting criticism on that author's theory of Han glazes, a theory so startling and revolutionary that we may be perhaps excused a short digression on it.

Briefly stated Dr. Embsen's theory, if accepted, would date the earliest glazed pottery of China (such as that on Zimmermann's Plates I and II) not earlier than the fourth and possibly as late as the sixth century instead of in the Han dynasty. The theory is based on a negation alone. In Dr. Embsen's view previous writers have failed to prove the case for glaze in the Han dynasty. He admits the unglazed Han wares, but sees slight differences in form and finish between them and the glazed wares which were claimed to be analogous. He will accept none of the deductive evidence so far produced and requires ocular demonstrations and circumstantial proofs which he can touch and see. They do not happen to be forthcoming as yet; but proper excavation in China has hardly begun, and they will doubtless come presently. Meanwhile the green-glazed ware which we have called Han, Dr. Laufer's "proto-porcelain" which was claimed to be of third or fourth century date, the literary evidence of porcelain in the sixth century and tangible evidence of it in a perfected state<sup>1</sup> in the Tang dynasty are all telescoped together into a space reduced by anything from four to six centuries. This result will not disturb a "doubting Thomas," but it must be allowed to be highly inconvenient. In the absence of a definitely dated specimen of glazed pottery extracted from a virgin Han tomb under the eyes of at least two impeccable witnesses, I would suggest the following small item of evidence as worth considering. There is a well-known type of cup, a

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Embsen refuses to accept the Samarra fragments as real porcelain, because he says some of them have not been fired to full vitrification. This may be true in some cases, but there are several grades of white and yellowish white porcelain found at Samarra, and there are among them specimens which are as white, translucent and vitrified as the typical K'ang Hsi porcelain.

shallow oblong oval vessel with a projecting flange on each side<sup>2</sup>, found in the Han tombs in Szechwan and elsewhere and figured on the Han engraved stone slabs of Shantung<sup>3</sup>. It will not be disputed that this is a Han type and it will I think be accepted as such by Dr. Embden in its unglazed form. Precisely similar cups are found with the usual iridescent green glaze which we have hitherto associated with Han pottery. I underline the word "precisely" because Dr. Embden has been able to see slight differences elsewhere between the glazed and unglazed "Han" types and so to evade the conclusion. He cannot, however, apply that argument in this case and he must find some other or admit that his theory collapses. One single admitted instance of Han glaze gives it the coup de grace.

To return, Prof. Zimmermann has striven to bring his new text up to date, and the changes involved mostly concern the early periods, the history of which is in a highly fluid state and must remain so for many years. The pity is that new illustrations could not have been secured at first hand; but there were doubtless other reasons, besides economy, for borrowing sixty illustrations, out of the first forty-five plates, from other published works. These "Ersatz illustrations" are perhaps defensible in the case of Hsiang's Album, but many of them are poverty-stricken, washed-out objects and they could surely have been avoided in the case of specimens in European collections. The length of the text precludes a detailed enumeration of its many merits and occasional defects, but a criticism of a few of the important points taken seriatim may be of general interest.

On p. 29 Prof. Zimmermann concludes that glazed ware of vermilion red colour was made in the Han period. If it could be substantiated, this would add a new colour effect and a new technique to our Han pottery; but it is only based on the reference in the *Tao shuo* to a floor in a Han palace being "painted with vermilion." There is no reason why a brick floor should not have been simply painted with red pigment. The ordinary Han glaze over a brick-red body produces a brown-toned surface which could never have been compared with vermilion.

The interval between Han and T'ang occupies a good deal of the attention of modern students. Our author, though he has an excellent disquisition on Laufer's theory of "proto-porcelain," has not contributed anything fresh to the filling of the gap. Probably he has learnt since 1922 that the flat-backed tomb figures, a very distinctive type (cf.

<sup>2</sup> The nearest approach to the shape in illustration is that in A. L. Hetherington's *Early Ceramic Wares of China*, Pl. 4, fig. 1; but it is an unusually elaborate specimen.

<sup>3</sup> See *Chin Shih So*, Vol. II (Shih so) section III.



Hatherington, Pl. 5, figs. 2 and 3), are now known to have come from Northern Wei and Liang tombs.

The Tang wares are discussed at length; and the bearing of the intensely interesting finds made by Prof. Herzfeld at Samarra is fully explored. Great care, however, is needed to discriminate the imported Chinese wares found at Samarra from the close imitations of them made in the local potteries; and when Prof. Zimmermann speaks of the superior types with incised ornament and parti-coloured glaze (p. 59) and "lightly burnt yellowish" pottery (or is it "pottery burnt a light yellow colour?") one can only say that out of a mass of Samarra fragments in the British Museum every specimen answering to this description is of native make, though undoubtedly influenced by Chinese prototypes. On the other hand, in dealing with undoubted Chinese wares, the white porcelain and celadon, found at Samarra (p. 65), he seems loath to admit the celadon fragments into the same category as the Sung celadons. Now an examination of the Samarra fragments shows two distinct kinds of celadon, the one undistinguishable from the so-called Northern Chinese celadon and the other undistinguishable from the Sung *lang-ch'ian* types. The conclusion is irresistible that both these kinds of celadon were made at least a century earlier than has hitherto been realised.

With regard to the Sung wares Prof. Zimmermann has set out all the information he has been able to collect from Hsiang's Album, and the works of Bushell and others. He makes much play with the illustrations in Hsiang's Album (a book which illustrates and describes a sixteenth century Chinese collection); but the value of these pictures, at any rate, must be considerably discounted, as Bushell's version was not made from the original manuscript but from one of several copies, all of which differ in details of drawing and colouring. The text of the Album is not likely to have suffered so much in the process of copying. On p. 73 Bushell's rendering of *luan wan* (lit. egg bowl) in the *T'ao shuo* is accepted without demur as indicating "eggshell" porcelain in the Sung period. It may be justified, but after all *luan* only means an egg and may equally well have been intended to describe the shape or the colour of the bowls as their tenuity. On the other hand, our author seems to be unnecessarily sceptical in dealing with the Ting wares. There is really no reason why the Sung Ting wares should not have survived in considerable quantities, especially as they were among the articles placed in tombs. He also refuses to believe in enamelled decoration and blue and white of the Sung period. There is literary evidence in favour of the latter and its existence is likely to receive visual confirmation at any time. Indeed there are already numerous blue-and-whites claiming a Sung date,



and some of them at any rate are worthy of serious consideration. As to the former (the Sung enamelled wares) there is a family of bowls and vases, not unlike the creamy white Tz'u Chou wares, painted in red, green and yellow enamels which can no longer be denied a Sung origin. The *Kokka* of Nov. 1921 illustrates a specimen credibly dated in 1201. If this is accepted, the theory on p. 156, that enamelling began in the Yüan dynasty, goes by the board.

With regard to the Chien wares and allied types which are now grouped as "Honan temmoku," "Kian temmoku" etc., our author has apparently not yet made acquaintance with the group of patterned bowls (the exterior of one is illustrated in Hetherington, Pl. 40) reputed to have been made at the Yung-ho kilns in Kianfu, Kiangsi. They are very distinctive in their buff body and peculiar finish as well as in their stencilled or painted designs. Incidentally, the covered vase on Plate 37 (top) has not a "partridge" glaze, but a so-called "oil-spot" glaze spotted with silver.

The Ming wares are well discussed; but the doubts expressed about the late Ming or transition types of blue and white (p. 214) appear to be groundless. The dating of this group does not rest on one mounted specimen only: there are others, notably a tankard in the R. E. Brandt collection in London with a Dutch silver mark which must be either of the year 1632 or 1648.

Prof. Zimmermann is at his best in dealing with the Ch'ing porcelain, and here he has at his beck the wonderful Dresden collection, undoubtedly the most important in the world for the study of K'ang Hsi types. But even here there are one or two statements to which we must take exception. Our author clings to the improbable notion that the Viceroy Iang T'ing-tso had something to do with the so-called Iang yao red glaze. It is true that he makes reservations in a note at the end of the book, but the statement on p. 220 will assuredly be taken by the reader as a declaration of faith. This perhaps is a matter of opinion; but what are we to think of the astounding proposition on p. 227 that enamelled decoration ceased to be used in the first half of the reign of K'ang Hsi? It is difficult to take such a notion seriously, even when propounded by one of Prof. Zimmermann's standing. Why should a process in full use at the end of the Ming dynasty and admittedly one of the chief methods of decoration fifty years later have suddenly dropped out? And in a proverbially conservative country like China? We look for Prof. Zimmermann's reasons and find that in effect they amount to this, that the Jesuit Le Comte who travelled in China for ten years round about 1690 does not mention enamelled decoration in a very sketchy description which he gives of Chinese porcelain. Le Comte never visited Ch'ing-té



Chên and such an omission would in any case be of no importance. But in point of fact *Le Comte* does allude to the decoration in question in the following terms:—"the painting is not one of the least beauties of the porcelain: for that purpose one may make use of all colours but commonly they use red and much more blue." *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*. Other statements with regard to the first use of cobalt blue enamel etc. in the same passage will have to be reconsidered when eliminating this dangerous heresy. Doubts are cast on p. 259 on the theory that the well-known ruby-back dishes were decorated at Canton. It would take too long to repeat all the arguments by which that theory is supported, but we confess that we find them convincing. That, however, must remain for the present a matter of opinion. Inaccuracies in the transliteration of Chinese characters are pardonable in one who is not a professed Sinologue. *Pêng kûan-pao* for *Pêng Kûn-pao* (p. 150); *t'sai* for *ts'ai* (p. 189); *Ts'ui hung* for *Ts'ui kung* (p. 192); and *sch tsu ts'ing*, *sch tsé ts'ing* (p. 189) and *sch tsé ts'ing* (p. 198) for *Schi tsé ts'ing* are a few which have been overlooked.

These criticisms are offered in no carping spirit. Prof. Zimmermann has undertaken a formidable task in dealing with the wide and intensely interesting subject of Chinese ceramics and he has come through the ordeal with much distinction. But his name is so well known and his influence so great that his every statement must be carefully weighed. Students of Chinese porcelain and pottery have every reason to be grateful to him for his thorough exposition of the subject and for finding space among his illustrations for specimens of so many types and qualities, including wares which are within reach of the collector of moderate means.

R. L. Hobson.

WALTER BONDY. *Kang Hsi. Eine Blüte-Epoche der chinesischen Porzellankunst. Mit 16 Abb., 109 Tafeln und 6 farbigen Tafeln.* Buchenau & Reichert, Verlag, München.

Das Erscheinungsjahr ist nicht angegeben. Das Vorwort ist datiert 1923.

Bisher stand das Buch von Münsterberg ziemlich allein. Nun ist ihm ein Gefährte in dem Buch von Bondy erstanden, dessen Verfasser mit derselben Kompetenz und derselben Methode die Frage der chinesischen Kunst behandelt. Das Buch ist nicht für Fachleute berechnet, wie schon aus der Transkription des Chinesischen erhellt, die zwischen deutschen, französischen und englischen Transkriptionsregeln schwankt, so daß es in Einzelfällen leicht möglich ist, die benutzte Literatur nachzuweisen. Daß

der Verfasser kein Fachmann ist, ergibt sich schon aus der Übersetzung der gewöhnlichen beiden letzten Zeichen der Siegelmarke 年製 *nien chih*, die Bondy irrig mit „gemacht“ übersetzt.

Auch sonst sind die Angaben des Verfassers keineswegs immer zutreffend. So werden z. B. Julien Übersetzungen von Annalen von *Pou-liang*, *T'ao-shuo* und einer dritten von Bondy nicht benannten Quelle zugeschrieben, während Julien in Wirklichkeit nur die letzte Quelle übersetzt hat, die nichts anderes als das *Ch'ing-té chên t'ao-lu* ist. Weiter übersetzt Bondy den Abschnitt aus den Briefen des Père d'Entrecolles über die Bearbeitung von Kaolin und Petuntse, ohne zu merken, daß in dieser Originalbearbeitung die beiden Bezeichnungen gerade verwechselt sind. Auch werden die beiden Briefe irrigerweise 1712 datiert, während der zweite in Wirklichkeit aus dem Jahre 1702 stammt, eine Tatsache, die sehr wichtig für die Frühgeschichte des europäischen Porzellans ist, weil in diese Zeit die Durchbildung der Technik der Porzellankunst fällt.

Auch für den Sammler bietet das Buch keinen großen Wert. Einmal befällt sich das Buch nur mit allgemein bekannten Stücken, und die herrlichsten Erzeugnisse der Kang Hsi-Epoche werden von Bondy ungenau und manchmal irreführend beschrieben. Das weiße Hofrauerporzellan wird nicht einmal erwähnt, die pürsich-rosa Stücke haben nach Bondy nur zwei Farben — rot und grün, und dergleichen Dinge mehr. Der Versuch, Abnutzungsspuren als Patina anzusprechen, muß ebenfalls als mißlungen bezeichnet werden. Man könnte dies Wort mit größerem Recht auf die irisierenden Stücke der frühen chinesischen Keramik anwenden.

Das Literaturverzeichnis, das nach Bondy (Seite 15) am Ende des Buches stehen soll, sucht der Leser dort vergeblich, es befindet sich vielmehr am Anfang des Buches und enthält 13 Werke, unter denen das modernste aus dem Jahre 1915 datiert. Dies ist das bekannte Werk von Hobson, das aber keinerlei nachhaltigen Einfluß auf Bondys Arbeit ausgeübt hat. Man fragt sich verwundert, wie nach den Arbeiten von Hobson und Zimmermann ein derartiges Buch noch möglich ist.

Sachregister fehlt.

Marc Kasanin.

**CHINESISCHE FRÜHKERAMIK.** Von A. L. Hetherington. Mit einer Einleitung von R. L. Hobson, Kustos des Britischen Museums. Übersetzt von Dr. R. E. Junkelmann. Mit 100 Abb., davon 12 farbig. Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1923. XX, 168 S.

Das vorliegende Buch, zu dem Hobson eine Einleitung geschrieben hat, herausgegeben zu haben, ist eine dankenswerte Tat des Verlegers. In diesem Buch findet man, wenn man die Werke von Rücker-Embsen und Zimmermann hinzuzieht, die Grundlage für eine genaue Beschreibung der



chinesischen Keramik in deutscher Sprache gelegt, dieses um so mehr, als ausgezeichnete Abbildungen das geschriebene Wort verdeutlichen. Wenn auch keines von diesen Büchern von einem Sinologen geschrieben ist, so wird der Sinologie doch in keinem Buch Gewalt angetan.

Die Ausführungen Hetheringtons über chinesische Geschichte und Philologie bringen zwar vieles allgemein Bekannte und schürfen im einzelnen nicht tief. Einzeldinge, wie seine Annahme über die „geheime Farbe“ *ni-ti* dürfen sogar als ganz unbegründet bezeichnet werden. Aber das alles setzt den Wert des Buches für den Sammler nicht herab, für den es in allererster Linie berechnet ist. Sehr interessant sind die Resultate der chemischen Untersuchungen, die von Professor Collie unternommen wurden und in dem Kapitel „Die Technik der Sung und Yuan Töpferei“ zusammengestellt wurden.

An einigen Stellen macht der Verfasser zutreffende Beobachtungen über Zusammenhänge zwischen gewissen birmanischen Verhältnissen und der T'ang-Plastik. Diese Frage der Zusammenhänge bringt uns auf den wundesten Punkt in der Gesamterforschung der Keramik. Es ist nämlich bisher trotz großer Erfolge auf dem Gebiete der Erforschung der Technik und der Vertiefung der Quellenkenntnis kaum etwas getan worden zur Erforschung stilkritischer Prinzipien und der Zusammenhänge der Stilformen. Zwar hat Bushell im Jahre 1881 die Han-Reliefe, die deutliche Spuren fremden Einflusses erkennen lassen, veröffentlicht, die folgenden 40 Jahre haben aber keine wesentlichen grundsätzlichen Erkenntnisse über Zusammenhänge von Stilformen zutage gefördert. Diese Zusammenhänge klarzustellen ist jetzt allerdingendste Notwendigkeit für die Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Keramik. Man wird bei den damaligen Verhältnissen in Zentralasien in erster Linie eher an Klein-Bronzen als an keramische Vorlagen für die Beeinflussung denken müssen, soweit man die Zusammenhänge zwischen griechischer und ostasiatischer Kunst erforschen will. Ich möchte in diesem Zusammenhang auf eines hinweisen. Auf dem Titelbild des Werkes ist ein Kamel dargestellt, das trotz der hervorragenden Modellierung ganz einzigartig ist. Schon die Figur des Reiters erscheint ihrer Unproportionalität wegen ganz traumhaft; am merkwürdigsten aber ist der Kopf des Kamels — seine Fleischteile sind verschwunden, die Züge haben sich so verschärft und rhythmisiert, daß sich uns unwillkürlich die Vermutung aufdrängt, Bronzegreifenhöpfe aus Olympia müßten seine Muster gewesen sein. Diese Stilforschung wird in keiner Weise die Leistungen der chinesischen keramischen Künstler herabsetzen, ist aber im Interesse der Erkenntnis des Wesens der chinesischen Kunst und ihrer Stilwandlungen von höchstem Wert.

Das Buch Hetheringtons gehört in die Handbibliothek jedes Sammlers chinesischer Frühkeramik.

Marc Kasanin.



ORBIS PICTUS. Weltkunstbücherei, herausgegeben von Paul Westheim (Verlag Ernst Wasmuth A. G. Berlin). Band 12: Chinesische Kleinplastik von Otto Burchard.

Auch hier hat nicht ein wissenschaftlicher Grundsatz die Wahl der Bilder bestimmt, doch ist aus dem gesammelten Photographienmaterial eines Liebhabers, Sammlers und Kunsthändlers ein sehr hübsches und instruktives Bilderbuch entstanden. Die Objekte stammen größtenteils aus dem deutschen Handel der letzten Jahre, sie geben einen ganz hübschen Einblick in die chinesische Kleinkunst von der Han-Dynastie bis in die Zeit K'ang-hsi. Es sind meist Tierfiguren, doch auch Menschen und göttliche Wesen, aus Ton, bald mit, bald ohne Glasur oder Bemalung, aus Porzellan, Elfenbein, Holz, Lack, Kristall, Jade, Eisen und Bronze. Die Qualität ist sehr unterschiedlich, die Datierung nicht immer gewiß, aber verdienstvoll war das Zusammentragen so mancher interessanter Werke. Der Text bietet einige recht treffende Bemerkungen über Ursprünge und Grundtypen dieser Kleinplastik. Er ist von musterhafter Knappheit und Selbstbescheidung. Otto Fischer.

LI-TAI-PE. Nachdichtungen von Klabund. Im Insel-Verlag zu Leipzig.

Als Übersetzungen kommen diese Nachdichtungen nicht in Betracht; aber auch als Nachdichtungen entfernen sie sich unverhältnismäßig weit von den benutzten französischen Ausgaben. Die Sprache schwankt — wie stets bei Klabund — zwischen gekünstelten, an Baudelaire gemahnen- den Wendungen und niedrigen Ausdrücken. Wer Li Taipo kennt, sieht mit Bedauern, daß von der Eigenart des chinesischen Dichters nichts geblieben ist als ein oder das andere Bild. A. Bernhardt.

Die gelben Orangen der Prinzessin Dschau. Aus dem chinesischen Urtext von WALTER STRZODA. München, Hyperionverlag, 1922. (Der chinesischen Novellensammlung Dijn-Gu Tji-Guan Folge 1.)

Dieses Buch war bereits mehrmals Gegenstand der Besprechung in der deutschen Presse. In Ergänzung dieser Besprechungen möchte ich, was bisher nicht geschehen ist, die Aufmerksamkeit auf das stellenweise ganz seltsame Deutsch lenken, welches der Herr Übersetzer zu schreiben beliebt. Die Glanzstelle des Buches in dieser Beziehung ist wohl diese:

Es sitzen die Sessel von Gästen stets voll,

Nie leer ward der Wein in den Bechern.

Dieses sprachliche Ungeheuer soll wohl dem Leser ein annäherndes Bild der chinesischen Verskunst bieten. Der Herr Übersetzer betont im Nachwort, daß es sich um durchaus selbständige und möglichst wortgetreue Übertragungen handle. Eine ins Detail gehende Würdigung



der Arbeit vom sinologischen Standpunkte würde zu weit führen, ist aber auch nicht nötig, wenn man, um nur ein Beispiel zu zitieren, folgende Übersetzung liest:

Schließend die Tür, werf' den Mond ich hinaus, der vor meinem Fenster wartet.  
Schleudernd den Stein, eröffne ich klatschend den Himmel im Grunde  
des Wassers.

(S. 272 und 273). Das ist echter Pfümaier. Als Ergebnis der „wortgetreuen“ Übersetzung möchte ich noch die somatologische Entdeckung erwähnen, daß die Chinesen abweichend von den übrigen Menschen 36 statt 32 Zähne besitzen (S. 156). Soviel Zähne brauchen sie wohl, um die „Jaspisblüten“ (Härtegrad sieben) besser kauen zu können. Auch die „Bäume aus Edelmetall“ sind bemerkenswert. Angesichts solcher Übersetzungsmängel fallen unrichtige Transkriptionen chinesischer Worte kaum mehr ins Gewicht. Nur ein Beispiel. Der auf S. 261 erwähnte Tempel heißt Dung-yüeh und nicht Dung-yo. Aber solche Feinheiten sind dem Herrn Übersetzer wohl ganz fremd. Tautologien wie Dung-yo-miau-Tempel und ähnliche würde man bei einem Sinologen sehr ungern sehen.

L. Woitsch.

**SIBIRIEN.** Eine Landeskunde von Dr. Arved Schultz. Privatdozent der Geographie an der Universität Hamburg. Bei Ferdinand Hirt, Breslau 1923.

Herr Dr. Arved Schultz hat es unternommen, gestützt auf eine reichhaltige russische Literatur und auch teilweise aus eigener Anschauung heraus, die erste Landeskunde über Sibirien in deutscher Sprache zu veröffentlichen. Von all den in deutscher und englischer Sprache erschienenen Büchern war keines bisher einigermaßen erschöpfend und befriedigend, hat doch bis heute der Durchschnitts-Mitteleuropäer bei dem Worte Sibirien ein Kältegefühl, er sieht vor seinem geistigen Auge kettenrasselnde politische Verbrecher, Mörder und Zwangsarbeiter, er nimmt sogar in seiner mitteleuropäischen Klugheit an, daß die Eisbären in Tomsk und Omsk auf dem Korso zwischen 4 und 5 Uhr nachmittags spazieren gehen. Die wenigsten von uns aber wissen, daß Sibirien ein zweites Kanada ist. Wer Land und Leute kennt, weiß, was es bedeuten will, wenn man eine Landeskunde dieses schier unermesslichen Gebietes geographisch und wirtschaftlich zusammenfassen will. Dem Verfasser ist dies glänzend gelungen. Seine außerordentlich geschickt durchgeführte Gliederung dieses ganz gewaltigen russischen Kolonialbesitzes macht das Buch zu einem Nachschlagewerk ersten Ranges.

Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, daß Dr. Arved Schultz ganz besonderes Gewicht auf den geographischen und topographischen Teil legte und den

Teil Mensch und Kultur auf 46 Seiten zusammendrängte. Aber auch hier ist alles erstklassig und lesenswert. Wenn also auch hauptsächlich dem Geographen aus der Arbeit des Herrn Dr. Schultz Nutzen erwachsen wird, so kann der deutsche Kaufmann doch manches Wissenswerte in dem übrigens ganz gut ausgestatteten Buche nachschlagen. Den deutschen mittleren Schulen und den Lehrern der höheren Lehranstalten möchte ich dieses Werk ganz besonders ans Herz legen, damit endlich einmal dieser Unsinn über sibirische Verhältnisse aus den Köpfen der Lehrer und Schüler verschwindet. Dem Buch verleihen übrigens 17 Textkarten, die das geschriebene Wort plastisch unterstützen, sowie das 15 Seiten umfassende Literaturverzeichnis, einen ganz hervorragenden Wert. Leider ist die verzeichnete Literatur den meisten Deutschen verschlossen, solange wir in unseren Schulen schlechtes Französisch treiben, statt guten russischen Sprachunterricht zu erteilen. Die 36 Bilder, die dem Buch angefügt sind, stammen zum Teil aus erstklassigen russischen Werken.

Consten.

B. J. VLADIMIRTSOV: Tschingis-Khan. Verlag Z. J. Gschebin. Berlin — Petersburg — Moskau, 1922. 176 S. in 16°. (Russisch.)

In seinem kleinen, aber inhaltsreichen Buch faßt der Verfasser alles zusammen, was über die Mongolen des XIII. Jh. und den Gründer des Mongolenstaates, einen der größten Eroberer, die die Welt je gekannt hat, über Tschingis-Khan, bekannt ist. Die Geschichte der Mongolen beginnt eigentlich erst mit Tschingis-Khan. Daher kann man die Lebensbeschreibung des großen Eroberers als das erste und das bedeutendste Kapitel der Geschichte desjenigen Volkes ansehen, vor welchem einst die Welt bebt, und umsonst die himmlischen Mächte um Hilfe gegen die Heiden anfleht, die aus dem Tartarus sich erhoben zu haben schienen. Der Verfasser hat sich zur Aufgabe gemacht, eine ausführliche Lebensbeschreibung Tschingis-Khans zu geben, und dieses Ziel hat er erreicht: sich auf die Tatsachen stützend, schildert er den Lebenslauf des siegekrönten Mongolenherrschers und läßt seine, der fernen Vergangenheit angehörenden Taten vor den Blicken des Lesers wieder aufleben.

Die Anfangsperiode der Geschichte der Mongolen ist in Dunkel gehüllt. Es ist nicht leicht, ein klares Bild von den verworrenen Verhältnissen Nordostasiens des XII. Jh. zu liefern. Diese Aufgabe löst der Verfasser vortrefflich.

Im XII. Jh. waren die Gebiete nordwärts von China und Osturkesien von verschiedenen Nomadenstämmen bewohnt. Sie gehörten zu dem mongolischen Volksstamm, wurden aber damals noch nicht „Mongolen“ genannt. Das nationale Bewußtsein dieser Stämme, die in Nomaden und



Jäger zerfielen, war damals noch nicht erwacht. Nur ab und zu vereinigten sich diese Stämme, die in kleinere Abteilungen geordnet waren, (in *Omuk*, d. h. Stämme und *Jusun*, d. h. Geschlechter, Bein), zu größeren Massen (*Ulus*, d. h. Volk) und wurden unter Leitung hervorragender Anführer zum Sieg über die Feinde geführt. In dieser Zeit gab es schon eine Nomadenaristokratie, und die übrigen Nomaden zerfielen in Einfache (*Karatschi*) und Sklaven (*Bogul*). Die Anführer größerer Stämme (*Ulus*) trugen den Titel *Khan*. Außer dem chinesischen Einfluß, der verhältnismäßig nicht stark war und sich in der Verteilung der Titel (*Van* u. a.) geltend machte, waren die Mongolen einem Einfluß von Tibet und den Türkstämmen her ausgesetzt, der in den Titeln *Dscha-gan-bo* und *Tegin, Bilge* usw. deutlich hervortritt.

Der Verfasser hebt mit Recht den großen Einfluß der Kulturwelt Irans auf die Mongolen hervor. Wir wissen aus vielen Quellen, daß die Völker Irans noch vor dem Aufblühen des Mongolenstaates einen beständigen Einfluß auf das Gebiet der heutigen Mongolei ausübten. Spuren davon lassen sich auch in der mongolischen Sprache verfolgen.

Von den Stämmen der Mongolen des XII. Jh. waren die Tataren die mächtigsten. Diese hatten die Gebiete um den See Bujur-Noor herum in Besitz. Von den übrigen waren die Kereiten und die Naimanen die bedeutendsten. Um die Flüsse Onon und Kerulen herum streiften noch viele andere Stämme umher, unter welchen der Stamm Mongol besonders hervorragte. Der Herrscher dieses Stammes — Kabul — nahm sogar den Titel Kagan an. Höchst wahrscheinlich wurde die Benennung Mongol dem Stamm Bordschigit, von welchem Kabul-Khan stammte, zum Andenken an das einst geschwundene mächtige Volk Mongol zugeeignet, nachdem andere, besiegte, Stämme sich den Bordschigit angeschlossen hatten. Dieser neue Mongolenstaat unterlag um die Mitte des XII. Jh. der Macht der chinesischen Dsindynastie und hinterließ keine Spuren.

Tschingis-Khan wurde um 1155 in der Familie des Jessugei-Bagatur, des Enkels des Kabul-Khan, in der Gegend Delün-Boldak am Fluß Onon geboren. Von hier an beginnt die Lebensgeschichte des zukünftigen Mongolenherrschers.

Wir übergehen die Schilderung der Jugendjahre Temutschins, die, wie wir wissen, unter schweren Verhältnissen innerer Zerwürfnisse vergingen, und wollen nur bemerken, daß der Verfasser mit großer Geschicklichkeit den Kampf der Nomadenaristokratie, deren tätiger Anhänger der junge Temutschin war, mit der demokratischen Partei, deren Anführer Temutschins Gegner Dschamuga war, beschreibt. Der Verfasser entwickelt hier die zuerst von Prof. Barthold aufgestellte Theorie, die vieles durch diesen Parteikampf erklärt. Dschamuga, wie man ihn oft schildert, könnte den



Eindruck eines Eidbrüchigen und eines heimtückischen Feindes machen, man darf jedoch nicht vergessen, daß das altmongolische Heldenepos (*Juan-tao-mi-ši*), die bedeutsamste Quelle für die Anfangsperiode der mongolischen Geschichte, höchst wahrscheinlich in den aristokratischen Kreisen entstanden ist und daher wohl tendenziös sein dürfte (*Zapiski*, X, 1896, S. 107).

Der Verfasser hebt mit Recht die kurzsichtige Politik des Kereitenherrschers Van-Khan hervor, welcher ruhig zusah, wie der Sohn seines *Anda* (Blutsfreund) rasch emporkam. Dieser spielte, trotz vieler Dienste, die ihm Temutschin erwiesen hat, in allen Kriegen ein doppeltes Spiel. Dies konnte dem Auge Tschingis-Khans nicht entgehen, und so kam es nach einer mißlungenen Brautwerbung seitens Tschingis-Khans für seinen Sohn Dschumschi zu offener Fehde und zum Krieg, in welchem Van-Khan um seinen Staat und sein Leben kam.

Schließlich, nach errungenem Sieg über Van-Khan, die Naimanen und Dschamuga, wurde Temutschin im Jahre 1206 zum Kaiser erhoben.

Wohl hatte Tschingis-Khan noch einen Gegner aus dem Wege zu räumen, den Schaman-Kektschu nämlich, der zuerst viel dazu beigetragen hat, Temutschin zur höchsten Macht zu verhelfen, da er sich dem neuen Kaiser gleichstellen wollte. Tschingis-Khan war ein weitsichtiger Politiker und wußte, was er tat; er handelte nie im Affekt, auch war er nicht so grausam, wie man es glauben möchte, denn wir wissen aus vielen Quellen, daß der große Mongolenherrscher vor allem eine riesige Selbstbeherrschung besaß. Die berüchtigten Greueltaten der Mongolen wurden oft zu einseitig geschildert. Es ist eine Tatsache, daß am gewaltigen Kriegszug nach Westen vor allem der Khorezmschach Mohammed Schuld trägt, da er die Hauptveranlassung dazu gegeben hat, indem er in Otrar die Gesandtschaft Tschingis-Khans niedermetzeln ließ. Was Tschingis-Khan betrifft, so war sein ursprünglicher Plan sich nur Ostasien zu unterwerfen und den Khorezmschach ruhig im Westen walten zu lassen. Dieser Plan wurde somit durch den Khorezmschach Mohammed vernichtet. Krieg ist immer Krieg, und die vielverschiedene Grausamkeit Tschingis-Khans und seiner Krieger dürfte jedenfalls nicht größer gewesen sein, als die Gewalttaten seiner Feinde. Tschingis-Khan war ein Kind seiner Zeit, und trotzdem er ein Heide und in den Augen der Feinde ein Barbar war, konnte er duldsam mit den Vertretern so mancher Religionen sprechen. Der große Feldherr und Staatsmann verstand es, das religiöse Gefühl anderer zu schonen und daraus seinen Nutzen zu ziehen. Vergessen wir nicht, daß die Mongolen von den Mohammedanern in Semiretschje als Befreier begrüßt wurden, da dort der ehemalige Christ und Renegat Kutschlak, der Sohn des Naimanenherrschers, die Mohammedaner stark bedrängte!



Tschingis-Khan verstand seine Staatsmänner und Feldherren zu wählen und irte sich in seinen Leuten nie. Die eiserne Disziplin in seinem Heer zeugt deutlich von seinem gewaltigen Herrschertalent.

Die glänzende Charakteristik Tschingis-Khans, die auf Grund der Ergebnisse der neueren Forschungen zusammengestellt ist, bildet wohl den kostbarsten Kern des ganzen Werkes Vladimirtsovs.

Der Verfasser tut recht daran, daß er für sein Werk nur die Nachrichten der mohammedanischen Geschichtsschreiber (nach Prof. Bartholds Arbeiten) ausnutzt und die mongolischen Quellen (hauptsächlich das *Juan-lao-mi-ti*) nur zur Beleuchtung der Frage nach den ethnographischen Verhältnissen der Mongolei des XIII. Jh. heranzieht, da in den mongolischen Geschichtswerken (v. Sanang Setzen, Altan Tobtschi u. a.) die historischen Nachrichten und alte Sagen nicht auseinandergehalten werden, und daher mehr dem Folkloristen als dem Geschichtsschreiber Stoff bieten.

Was man den übrigen Teil des Buches betrifft, so werden dort die geschichtlichen Ereignisse von der Erwählung Tschingis-Khans zum Kaiser bis zu seinem Tode geschildert. Der Verfasser hat gewissenhaft alle Werke, die sich auf diese Periode der Geschichte der Mongolen beziehen, herangezogen und alles ausgebeutet, was nur möglich war.

Sehr ausführlich behandelt der Verfasser die Frage der Staatseinrichtung Tschingis-Khans, spricht von seinen Ratgebern und Feldherren, und widmet einem jeden eine Anzahl Seiten, auf denen sie kurz charakterisiert werden und die Bedeutung eines jeden hervorgehoben wird. Wir finden hier viele Namen, chinesische, mohammedanische und mongolische, da Tschingis-Khan wußte, daß er von seinen Nachbarn vieles lernen könnte. Aber Tschingis-Khan war zu klug, um die chinesische Kultur bei sich einzuführen, da sie für den Mongolenstaat hätte ebenso verhängnisvoll werden können, wie sie es für das Schicksal des gewaltigen Türkenstaates des VII. und VIII. Jh. gewesen ist. Die hervorragenden türkischen Staatsmänner sahen dies voraus, sie stützten sich auf die Beispiele der früheren Geschichte und warnten das Volk davor, die chinesische Lebensweise aufzunehmen, wie man aus den Orkhon-Inschriften ersieht.

Daher zog auch Tschingis-Khan die uigurische Kultur vor, die seinen aristokratischen Plänen ungefährlich war.

Nachdem Tschingis-Khan seinen Staat eingerichtet, sein Heer und seine Leibgarde organisiert, seine Gesetze, eine Art Nomadenrecht, geschaffen hatte — was jetzt möglich war dank der Schrift, die sich nach dem Siege über die Naimanen allmählich zu verbreiten anfang —, wurde Tschingis-Khan zum mächtigsten Herrscher in Ost-Asien. Wie gesagt, die Schrift fing nach dem Siege über die Naimanen an sich zu verbreiten, da

sie die Landsleute Tschingis-Khans von den Naimanen entlehnt haben. Standen diese doch überhaupt auf einer viel höheren Entwicklungsstufe als die Mongolen; sie waren Nestorianer und der Schrift kundig. Die mongolische Schriftsprache unterscheidet sich sehr stark von den lebendigen Mundarten, es kann daher möglich sein, daß wir in der mongolischen Schriftsprache die Naimanensprache vor uns haben.

Zum mächtigsten Herrscher Ost-Asiens geworden, nachdem die Dsindynastie von China eine völlige Niederlage im Krieg erlitten hatte, konnte Tschingis-Khan sich mit den reichsten und mächtigsten Königen des Westens messen. Nach der Katastrophe zu Otrar, nach welcher der Krieg unvermeidlich wurde, begann der Riesenkampf mit dem Khorezmshach. Sein Reich war groß, aber die inneren Verhältnisse des Landes waren nicht glänzend, da Ala-ed-Din Mohammed sowohl mit der Geistlichkeit, als auch mit seinen Feldherren haderte. Das Volk hatte auch viele Ursachen unzufrieden zu sein. Als nun der gewaltige Krieg ausbrach, stand Ala-ed-Din Mohammed seinem Feind allein gegenüber; zu seinen Gegnern gesellte sich bald auch seine Mutter, welche die Politik ihres Sohnes nicht billigen konnte. Dieser Krieg hat den Geschichtsforschern bewiesen, daß die „wilden Horden der Barbaren“ sehr gut organisiert waren und in völliger Ordnung die feindlichen Gebiete durchzogen. Den Mongolen schlossen sich die Gegner Khorezmshachs an, und so konnte Tschingis-Khan auch auf gute Wegführer und Kundschafter rechnen. Was nun die Gewalttätigkeiten der Mongolen betrifft, so sind sie vielfach übertrieben worden. Es ist Tatsache, daß die Verheerungen, die die Mongolen den Ländern Zentralasiens zugefügt haben, viel geringer waren, als die Vernichtungen, welche später im XIV. Jh. von den inneren Kriegen und Unruhen verursacht worden sind.

Auf diesen glänzenden Zug nach Westen folgt nun der dritte Heereszug nach Tangut, während dessen Tschingis-Khan im Jh. 1227, zweiundsiebzig Jahre alt, starb. Der Verfasser widmet noch ein Kapitel der Erbschaft Tschingis-Khans, in welchem er richtig die Ursachen des Verfalles des Mongolenstaates bestimmt: Tschingis-Khans Fehler war, daß er die Zivilisation mit dem Nomadenleben verbinden wollte. Andererseits zerfiel allmählich auch die Stammgemeinschaft, was auch den Ruin des Staates nach sich zog (Prof. Bartholds Theorie).

Im letzten Kapitel (XVI) wird schließlich das persönliche Leben Tschingis-Khans geschildert.

Somit haben wir mit dem Erscheinen des „Tschingis-Khan“ von Vladimirtsov eine höchst interessante und kostbare Monographie über Tschingis-Khan und die Mongolen seiner Zeit im Sinne der Wissenschaft der Gegenwart, die wir bisher so sehr vermiliten.



Schließlich sei noch bemerkt, daß das Werk noch gewinnen würde, wenn ihm ein ausführliches Verzeichnis der Arbeiten über die hier behandelte Frage beigelegt würde.

N. Poppe.

ERGEBNISSE DER KGL. PREUSSISCHEN TURFAN-EXPE-  
DITIONEN. A. v. LE COQ: Die buddhistische Spätantike in  
Mittelasien, Teil 1, die Plastik. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer (Ernst  
Vohsen) 1922.

This magnificently finished volume is the first of a series of four. Its purport is to impart to a larger public the results which the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde has brought home from its various excavations in Central Asia and at the same time to furnish the scholar with the materials for a scientific History of Fine Art in Central, South and East Asia.

Thus chief stress is laid upon the careful reproduction of specimens of plastic art of Central Asia. Seventeen of the forty-five plates, however, are devoted to Gandhāra finds, since Prof. v. le Coq is of the opinion—and I think he is right—that the Gandhāra relics are indispensable for a proper understanding of the style of these art relics of Central Asia and of the religious art of the Far East.

Each single plate is a masterpiece of reproduction, and special thanks are due to the author inasmuch as about one fourth of the plates are colourprints. There can also be no doubt but that Prof. v. le Coq has selected the very best specimens of the Berlin collection thus enabling the scholar to study the mutual relations between the execution of hellenistic art and the works of buddhist artists in Central and Far Eastern Asia.

Many a detail of these historical connections is pointed out in the "Verzeichnis der Tafeln", where the classical original underlying the Central Asian piece of workmanship is hinted at. This "Verzeichnis der Tafeln" is not a mere index of the plates, but is a detailed description of the relics. How difficult it is to make an exegesis of works of Buddhist art may be seen from a comparison of the subscription of plate 33a with the designation of the same statuette on page 27a.

In my opinion, both of the figures of plate 36 must surely represent women. The engraved line going down from the left armpit reminds one of the way in which the breasts are marked on plate 32b. As far as I can see, the figure reproduced under No. 3 on p. 29 is not a lionhead generally speaking, but a *kirtimukha* (see Rupam No. 1). This seems worthy of note in regard to the T'ao-t'ieh, the Indian legend about the *kirtimukha* seems to be made post festum. I would refer to the Citra-laksaya with regard to the marking of the iris by a red ring. Laufer's

translation of 5. 642<sup>1</sup>) must be corrected ("die am Rande roten Pupillen sind schwarz"), likewise Weller's of 眼睛 (Der chinesische Dharmasamgraha. Lakṣaṇa 27), this should be translated by "Pupille", not "Auge".

The catalogue of the plates is preceded by a chronological table. I am not in a position to verify all dates, but as far as those of earliest Indian history are concerned, I think it is still advisable to add a "ca." before all dates down to Bindusara, even after Asoka most dates are still open to doubt. Nor can I endorse the statement, that Seleucus "erzwingt Tribut und Allianz von Candragupta". The accounts handed down by classical authors do not prove this as a fact. They do not preclude the deduction, that Seleucus was vanquished and that Chandragupta won the victory. I would refer to Appendix F. of V. A. Smith's Early History of India (3rd ed., p. 149). The statement that the "Beginn der indischen Kunst" dates from Asoka might be mistaken by the uninitiated reader, it becomes intelligible, however, from Part II, Die Manichäischen Miniaturen, p. 19 as meaning that the oldest documented relics of Indian art date from Asoka's time. If on the one hand "Menanders Übertritt zum Buddhismus kann nicht bezweifelt werden", it seems advisable on the other to remember, that this conversion has hitherto not yet been proved. As to the gates of Sanchi, Prof. Grünwedel dates the southern gate only at 140 B.C., the other three are later (Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, 2nd ed., p. 24). Read Chang K'ien instead of Chan Kien, Pan Ch'ao instead of Pan Chao, Sung Yün instead of Sung yun (p. 17). A misprint has changed the date of the death of Confucius to 475 (instead of 478). The report of the introduction of Buddhism into China under Ming ti (67 A.D.) has been proved by Maspéro in B.E.F.E.O. vol. X p. 95 as being devoid of historical truth. Cf. moreover, Franke, Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr. Berlin, Ostas. Sektion, vol. XIII, p. 295.

A short, but clear and concise introduction, based on a thorough knowledge of the whole material acquaints the reader with the necessary ethnological data and the historical relations between the North-Western frontier tract of India and Central Asia; furthermore in a few lines it traces the development of Fine Art in these regions. The reader will appreciate two well drawn maps by Dr. A. Herrmann, the first of Gandhāra and Southern Udyāna (according to A. Foucher), and the second of the chief places where the relics of Central Asia art were found.

To this introduction may be added the Summary of the results gained from these excavations, whilst the principal ideas of the whole enterprise are summarised on the preceding lines.

‘སེམས་དམར་འབྲས་ལྷ་གཏེག་པ་དང་།



The last chapter of which we have to speak and which is between the last two mentioned deals with the technique of plastic art in Central Asia, betraying this art to have been handicraft, an impression which is gained when passing the plates in review—and this in spite of the variety of types.

To sum up we should feel very grateful to Prof. v. le Coq for having made accessible to us in the best possible way part of the finds from Turkestan; and, moreover, I feel convinced that by such publications the interest of the larger public will be aroused. The student of archaeology and of the history of the civilisation of mankind will also be glad to have material so well reproduced and so easy of access.

TEIL II. DIE MANICHÄISCHEN MINIATUREN. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) 1923.

This second volume which deals with Manichaean miniatures should be taken as an appendix to the last two volumes of the *Ergebnisse der Kgl. Preussischen Turfanexpedition*<sup>6</sup>.

8 plates, of which five are colourprints, form the essential part of the book and illustrate by means of magnificent reproductions some of the unique finds from Turkestan which are now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. Most of the originals are miniatures from manuscripts, only two fragments from frescoes being reproduced on plate 1 and a specimen of painting on silk on plate 2.

Although these finds are mere fragments, their value can hardly be overestimated, a fact which has been duly emphasized by Prof. v. le Coq in his comprehensive introduction. This introduction may be taken as a commentary to the plates and once again is meant for a larger public. Based as it is on a profound knowledge of the subject Prof. v. le Coq gives a lucid exposition of the contents and purport of Manichaeism, the organisation of its adherents, its spread and the influence which it exercised on the formation of Christian sects. The life of Mani is related in a succinct chapter which in its turn is followed by an exposition of Mani's relation to Fine Art. The various branches of the Manichaean's artistic activity are dealt with on the following pages: the script, the various kinds of books, the materials used for them and the way in which they were bound. A chapter on the significance of Manichaean miniatures for the History of Fine Art concludes the first part of the introduction. Then follows a description of the ruins where the Manichaean relics were found, furthermore a map by Dr. A. Herrmann on the environs of Turfan, groundplans, photographs and maps of the situation of the ruins, these last being mostly from Grünwedel, are added.

The second half of the introduction is devoted to a most careful description of the miniatures:

The great connections of history are never forgotten and I would only refer to p. 21, where Prof. v. le Coq speaks of the important rôle which Manichaeism may have played in the mediation of Buddhist tales a. s. o. and in the history of miniatures. Prof. v. le Coq is to be congratulated on having written this Introduction, which is a masterpiece of scientific popular literature, and we cannot help expressing the hope that the two outstanding volumes of the work will appear before very long.

Friedrich Weller

DIE TSCHUWASSISCHEN LAUTGESetze. [Besprechung von G. J. Ramstedt. Zur Frage nach der Stellung des Tschuwassischen. JSFOu XXXVIII. 1. Helsinki, 1922-1923.]

Die tschuwassische Sprache und die Tungusendialekte gehören zu den am wenigsten erforschten altaischen Sprachen. Der Grund liegt hier im Material selbst, da die Tschuwaschen keine Schriftsprache haben, und wir daher keine datierten Denkmäler dieser Sprache besitzen, während wir die Geschichte der Türksprachen vom VIII. Jh. an verfolgen können.

Die tschuwassische Sprache gehört zu den in sprachgeschichtlicher Hinsicht interessantesten Altalsprachen: erstens steht das Tschuwassische sehr nah zum Wolgabulgarischen, und zweitens sind die tschuwassischen Lautgesetze von großem Interesse für die mongolisch-türkische vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft.

Wie gesagt, steht das Tschuwassische nah zum Wolgabulgarischen. Die Ähnlichkeit vieler tschuwassischer und bulgarischer Formen, soweit letztere uns bekannt sind, ist geradezu erstaunlich (Bulgarische Worte bei Almarin. *Bolgary i čuvaš.* S. 103, Gombocz. Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen. S. 202), und wir können annehmen, daß diese beiden Sprachen — das Wolgabulgarische und das Altschuwassische — zwei Dialekte einer Sprache waren, da die heutigen Tschuwaschen die Nachkommen der Waldbevölkerung Wolgabulgariens waren, welche wahrscheinlich keinen regen Verkehr mit der Stadtbevölkerung von Bulgär hatten (vgl. *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* S. 791).

Über die Bulgaren und die Tschuwaschen existiert eine Reihe von Theorien: die einen hielten die Tschuwaschen für türkisierte Finnougrier, die anderen, umgekehrt, für ursprüngliche Türken. Für einen türkischen Dialekt wurde das Tschuwassische von Schlötzer (*Allg. nord. Gesch.* S. 305), Adelung (*Mithridates I.* S. 495), Klaproth (*Nouv. Journ. As. I.*



Paris, 1828. S. 237), Rask (Samml. tildeles forhen utrykte Afh. I. S. 43 ff.), Schott (De lingua Tschuwaschorum. S. 4), Grönbech (Forstudier til tyrkisk Lydhistorie, S. 2 ff.) und Melioransky (Gött. gel. Anz. 166. Jahrgang. S. 492 ff.) gehalten. Ihnen gegenüber glaubten Levesque (Journ. Asiat. VI. Paris, 1825. S. 214), Castrén (Reiseberichte und Briefe, S. 11; Ethn. Vorlesungen, S. 68) und Radloff (Phon. d. nördl. Türksprachen, § 116), daß die Tschuwaschen türkisierte Finnougrier sind. Von den beiden Theorien ist die erstere die richtige: das verwickelte Lautsystem des Tschuwasischen hat keinen Geringeren irreführt, als den Gründer der Turkologie, den Akad. W. Radloff.

Nun ist auf diese Frage nach dem Verhältnis des Tschuwasischen zu den anderen Sprachen in allerneuester Zeit Dr. G. J. Ramstedt zurückgegangen und hat die Ergebnisse seiner Arbeit in einem Aufsatz im Journ. de la Soc. Finno-Ougr. XXXVIII den Fachgenossen mitgeteilt. Da Dr. Ramstedts Arbeiten allgemein anerkannt sind und das Trefflichste liefern, was je auf dem Gebiet der mongolisch-türkischen vergleichenden Grammatik geleistet worden ist, so kann man wohl verstehen, mit welchem Interesse der Fachmann diesen Aufsatz lesen muß.

In dieser Arbeit gelangt Dr. Ramstedt zu dem Ergebnis, daß das Tschuwasische eine regelrechte Entwicklung des Urtürkischen ist und zwar ohne jede direkte Berührung mit dem Mongolischen (S. 34). Mit dem letzten Teil dieser Behauptung Dr. Ramstedts erkläre ich mich für vollständig einverstanden, da es auch meine Überzeugung ist, daß wir im Tschuwasischen keine Spuren irgendeines Einflusses seitens des Mongolischen nachweisen können, und daß wir diese Sprache, als ein Idiom ansehen müssen, das sich selbständig entwickelt hat. Ich möchte nur die Frage aufstellen: ist das Tschuwasische aber wirklich eine Türksprache? Wir können wohl nicht leugnen, daß das Tschuwasische eine Menge mit den türkischen Sprachen gemeinsamer Eigentümlichkeiten besitzt, und daß diese Sprache in bezug auf viele Lauteigentümlichkeiten dieselben Wege gegangen ist, wie die Türksprachen. Ich kann mich aber mit der Charakteristik des Tschuwasischen, als einer Türksprache, doch nicht zufrieden stellen, und in meiner Arbeit, die derselben Frage gewidmet ist und sich schon lange im Druck befindet, habe ich die Ansicht zu verteidigen versucht, daß das Tschuwasische weder ein selbständig entwickelter Türkdialekt, noch vom Mongolischen beeinflusst worden ist, sondern daß das Tschuwasische eine selbständige Sprache ist, das dritte Glied des altaischen Sprachstammes, welches uns das Lautsystem des bulgarischen Zweiges des altaischen Sprachstammes erhalten hat. Wenn Dr. Ramstedt sich das Bild so vorstellt, daß alle jetzigen Türkdialekte auf einen Urdialekt (das Urtürkische) zurückgehen und das Tschuwasische auf einen anderen, diese

beiden aber wiederum auf eine Ursprache zurückgehen, so erkläre ich mich mit dieser Theorie vollständig einverstanden, will aber sagen, daß diese letzte Ursprache nicht Urtürkisch genannt werden kann, sondern etwa „bulgarisch-türkische Ursprache“, auf welche das Urtürkische (ein z- und s-Dialekt) und das Urschuwassische (ein r- und l-Dialekt) zurückgehen.

Wie gesagt, teilt das Tschuwassische viele Eigentümlichkeiten mit den Türkischen. Vor allem wären hier zu nennen:

1. Vermischung der anlautenden \*š, \*ʃ, \*ʒ, \*n, im Türkischen (> f) und im Tschuwassischen (> l) dem Mongolischen gegenüber, wo diese Laute sich zu *š, ʃ, ʒ, n* entwickelt haben. Beispiele: mong. *deleng* „Euter“ = türk. Dsch. *jülin* ds. = tschuw. *lils* ds.; mong. *janggi* „Neuigkeit“ = türk. Alt. *jami* „neu“ = tschuw. *lma* „neu“; tschuw. *lqar* „Mund“ = türk. Uig. *aqiz* < \**jaqiz* ds.; mong. *niš-bu-sun* „Träne“ = türk. Osm. *jaš* ds. = tschuw. *lul* ds.

2. Vermischung der anlautenden stimmhaften und stimmlosen Klusile \*ɣ u. \*q (> türk. *ɣ*, tschuw. *ɣ*), \*g u. \*k (> türk. *g*, tschuw. *k*), \*d u. \*t (> türk. u. tschuw. *t*) dem Mongolischen gegenüber, wo sie als solche erhalten bleiben: mong. *qasiγun* „bitter“, *qasiγu-da* „trauern“ = türk. Uig. *qaɣu* „Trauer“ = tschuw. *xɣɣu* „bitter“; mong. *qilyasan* > *kilyasan* „Haar“ = türk. *qıl* „Roßhaar“ = tschuw. *ɣalɣ* ds.; mong. *gülig* „junges Tier“ = türk. *kölök* ds. „Kameeljunge“ =? alt-tschuw. \**kölök* > ung. *kölyök* „junger Hund“; mong. *kögerge*, \**köwerge* „Brücke“ = türk. *köprük* ds. = tschuw. *kəwr* ds.; mong. *dörben* „vier“ = türk. *dört*, *tört* ds. = tschuw. *tɣadɣ* ds.; mong. \**tügöl*, khalkh. *füt* „zermalmen, zerdrücken“ = türk. \**tüg*, Dsch. *tüi* „stampfen“ = tschuw. *to* ds.

3. Verschiebung des \*a in gewissen Fällen zu tschuw. *ɛ* und jakutisch *i* (vielleicht parallele Entwicklung?), z. B. tschuw. *il* „nehmen“ = jak. *il* ds., ühr. türk. Dial. *al* ds. = mong. kalm. *ält* „gib“.

Andererseits aber verbindet eine Reihe von Isoglossen speziell das Mongolische und das Tschuwassische:

1. Mong., tung. u. tschuw. *r* dem türk. *z* gegenüber, z. B. mong. *nir-ai* „neugeboren“ = mandschur. *har-γun* (*nijarγun*) „grün, frisch“ = tschuw. *lir* „Frühling“ = türk. Osm. *jaz* „Frühling“.

2. Mong., tung. u. tschuw. *l* dem türk. *š* gegenüber, z. B. mong. *lilayun* < \**šilayun* „Stein“ = türk. *taš* ds. = tschuw. *lšil* ds. < \**šil*.

3. Spuren der Verbindung \**ja-* im Mong. (> *i*) und Tschuw. (> *ɛ* mit Palatalisierung des vorhergehenden Konsonanten) dem Türkischen gegenüber, wo \**ja-* > *a* ohne Palatalisierung des vorhergehenden Konsonanten (s. *lilayun* u. *taš*).

Somit glaube ich annehmen zu können, daß das Tschuwassische eine Schwestersprache des Türkischen ist und mit dem letzteren auf eine



gemeinsame Ursprache zurückgeht, welche eine Schwestersprache des Mongolischen war.

Das Tschuwassische, wie schon gesagt, ist eine *r*- und *l*-Sprache. Ich stimme vollständig Dr. Ramstedt bei, daß das tschuw. *r* und *l* sich nicht aus \**z* und \**ʃ* entwickelt haben, sondern umgekehrt, daß das türk. *z* sich aus \**r* und türk. *ʃ* aus \**l* entwickelt haben. In betreff der Klangfarbe der ursprünglichen Laute kann ich nichts sagen und habe für den *r*-Laut ein urspr. \**ʃ* angesetzt (Dr. Ramstedt: \**ʃ*) und für den *l*-Laut ein \**ʒ* (stimmloses *ʒ*, bei Dr. Ramstedt: \**ʃ*). Was nun das Türkische mit *z* < \**ʃ* (od. \**ʒ*) und *ʃ* < \**ʒ* (od. \**ʃ*) betrifft, so wissen wir, daß das Uigurische und Orkhontürkische (zwischen 600–800 n. Chr.) schon ausgeprägte *z*- und *ʃ*-Sprachen waren, da schon das Urtürkische eine solche war, und ich kann mich Dr. Ramstedts Meinung nicht anschließen, daß das Türkische, jedenfalls im Westen, überall noch *ʃ* (< \**ʃ*) u. *ʒ* (< \**ʒ*) hatte, welche Laute erst zwischen 400 u. 600 n. Chr. sich zu *ʃ* u. *z* entwickelt haben (S. 31–32).

Was nun das Bulgarische, die Schwestersprache des Urtürkischen, betrifft, so war sie, wie das heutige Tschuwassische, eine *ʃ*- und *ʒ*-Sprache, und wenn nun Dr. Ramstedt meint, daß das Bulgarische schon um 700 n. Chr. eine *ʃ*-Sprache, aber noch eine *r*-Sprache war, so kann ich nur darauf verweisen, daß der einzige Beleg, welchen Dr. Ramstedt anführt, — *bedim* „der fünfte“ wohl kein bulgarisches Wort sein dürfte, da noch im XIV. Jh. im Wolgabulgarischen für „der fünfte“ die Form *bidim* die einzige war (vgl. Asmarin l. c.). Überhaupt, wie ich in meiner Arbeit zu zeigen versucht habe, müßte man die Worte aus der bulgarischen Fürstenliste (J. J. Mikkola. Die Chronologie der türk. Donaubulgaren. JSFOu XXX, 33) bei der Beurteilung des Altschuwassischen aus dem Spiel lassen, da dieselben oft zu sehr entstellt sind.

Was nun den Konsonantismus des Tschuwassischen betrifft, so ist derselbe von Dr. Ramstedt richtig behandelt worden, und ich will nur bemerken, daß man ihn nur so behandeln konnte und nicht anders. Damit soll gesagt werden, daß alle früher aufgestellten Theorien über den urtürkischen Konsonantismus fallen müssen, und daß man vollständig Dr. Ramstedts Standpunkt einzunehmen hat.

Der ursprachliche Laut \**ʃ* und alle Laute, die in den Türk Sprachen und schon in der türkisch-bulgarischen Ursprache zusammengefallen sind, haben sich im Tschuwassischen über \**ʃ* u. \**ʒ* zu *ʃ* verschoben. Im Inlaut, wie Dr. Ramstedt richtig erkannt hat, hat sich das \**ʃ* nach kurzen labialen Vokalen zu *r* verschoben, z. B. *uʃa* „Nest“ = tschuw. *ʃʒra* da. Was einige andere Beispiele betrifft, so kann ich nicht alle annehmen, so z. B. glaube ich, daß das tschuw. *ʒʒar* „Salz“ nicht auf \**ʒʒur* (S. 18), sondern auf \**tabur* < \**dabur* zurückgeht, vgl. mong. *dabusun* < \**dabur-sun* zu türk.

*tus*, *tas* < \**tasut* < \**tabuř* „Salz“. Ebenso scheint mir tschuw. *kpaak* „blau“ nicht auf \**kōk* zurückzugehen, sondern auf \**kōk* < \**kōk* < \**kōk*, vgl. jak. *kōq*. Dr. Ramsteits Etymologie von tschuw. *śelke* „Blume“ < \**śailqa* ist in vielen Hinsichten verlockend, ich glaube aber, daß dieses Wort auf die Form \**śelē* zurückgeht, vgl. mong. *śēeg* „Blume“, türk. Alt., Kas. *śēek*, wie *śēem* „Wiese“ < \**śēēm*, vgl. Kas. *śēēm* „Rasen“ usw.

Große Schwierigkeiten bereiten die Vertretungen der in- und auslautenden Laute *n* und *ŋ* im Tschuwassischen. Ersterer wird im Tschuw. bald durch *m*, bald durch *n* vertreten, und Dr. Ramstedt bemerkt, daß \**n* immer > tschuw. *m*, und wenn es als *n* erhalten bleibt, so tritt nach ihm oft ein kurzer Vokal auf, was auf Systemzwang beruht (S. 22). Was mich betrifft, so kann ich nicht sagen, wie diese doppelte Vertretung von *n* im Tschuwassischen, aufzufassen sei. Es kann auch sein, daß wir hier zwei verschiedene *n*-Laute vor uns haben; tschuw. *m* = türk. *n* < \**n*\* und tschuw. *n* = türk. *n* < *n*\*, z. B. tschuw. *xīrm* „Bauch“ = türk. Osm., Alt. *garin* ds.; tschuw. *lūlm* „Flamme“ = türk. Alt., Uig., Osm. *jalin* ds. = mong. *jalin* ds., aber tschuw. *me* „Kuh“ = türk. KKir., Osm. *inäk* ds. = mong. *ünige* ds.; tschuw. *xn* „Qual“ = türk. Uig., Kas. *qirin*. Dieses *n*\* konnte vielleicht ein mouilliertes *n*, d. h. \**n̄* gewesen sein. Jedenfalls steht fest, daß in allen Fällen, wo der Wandel \**n* > *m* sich vollzogen hat, dies eine sehr alte Erscheinung ist.

Ebenso steht es auch mit \**ŋ*, welches im Tschuwassischen durch *m* u. *n* vertreten wird. Dieser Laut, hat sich, wie Dr. Ramstedt richtig erkannt hat, lange als \**ŋ* erhalten und ging später in *n* über. Nach labialen Vokalen scheint \**ŋ* in *m* übergegangen zu sein, was aber wiederum nicht überall der Fall ist, z. B. *m*: tschuw. *xmqr* „Biene“ = türk. Kas. *qumz*, Kir. *qumz* „Käfer“; *n*: tschuw. *xnz* „Stachel“ = türk. Osm. *ringh* „Lanze“ (nach labial. Vokal). Es ist zu beachten, daß ein Wechsel von *m* ~ *n* auch im Mongolischen noch jetzt existiert, z. B. mong. *ama* „Mund“ = tung. Gold. *ama*, Čapogirisch *amga* usw., Mandschur. *angya* „Mund“ = mong. *angya* „Spalte“, *angya-ji* „den Mund aufsperrn“. Dieses *m*, welches im Mongolischen auf ein \**mg* (vgl. *ama* = Čap. *amga*) zurückzugehen scheint, entspricht einem türkischen *n* und tschuw. *m*: tschuw. *kpmf* „Herc“ türk. *kōmāl* ds. = *kōmāldırge* „Brustriemen“. Daher wird wohl auch tschuw. *m* = türk. *n* auf ein \**mg* zurückgehen und tschuw. *n* = türk. *n* auf ein \**n*. Es ist aber auch möglich, daß diese doppelte Vertretung von *n* und *ŋ* im Tschuwassischen auf einem Stufenwechsel beruht.

Schließlich gelangen wir zu dem verwickelten Vokalismus des Tschuwassischen.

Was den Wandel \**e* > tschuw. *i* betrifft, so meint Dr. Ramstedt, daß er sich über \**ē* unter dem Einfluß eines folgenden *ɿ*, *ʲ*, *ʳ*, *ʳʲ*



od. / vollzogen hat (S. 7). Dies läßt sich an einer Reihe von Beispielen beweisen, z. B.: tschuw. *irs* „gut“ = jak. *iräs* „rein“, Uig. *ariy* „heilig, rein“ = mong. *ariyua* „rein“; tschuw. *xil* < \**qulū* „kratzen, schaben“ = mong. *qaliū* „ein Fell glätten“ = türk. *qalı* „glätten“ usw. In anderen Fällen ist aber dieser Wandel nicht eingetreten oder auch eingetreten, wo andere Laute auf 'a folgten, z. B. tschuw. *liar* „Kissen“ = jak. *lit* „liegen“, *litik* „Kissen“, Osm. *jatay* „Bett“ zu *jat* „liegen“; tschuw. *xir* „hart werden“ = jak. *kitanaq* „hart“, Uig. *qaliy* ds. = mong. *qata* „hart werden“; tschuw. *xür* „Gans“ (und nicht *xir*) = jak. *qas* ds. = Osm. *qas* ds. usw. Daher glaube ich, daß der ursprachliche Vokal 'a sich unter einigen Bedingungen zu 'ä verschoben hat und dann im Jakutischen und Tschuwassischen sich zu i entwickelt hat. Dieser Wandel 'a > 'ä > i und 'a > 'ä > ü hat sich in sehr früher Zeit eingestellt (vor 800 n. Chr.) und der Wandel 'a > 'ä > ü hat sich erst in neuester Zeit (nach dem XIV. Jh.) vollzogen. Daher kann ein tschuw. ü < a kein Kriterium bei der Beurteilung von einheimischen und entlehnten Worten sein, da die meisten Lehnwörter an diesem Lautwandel teilgenommen haben.

Außer dieser geschichtlichen Entwicklung des 'a > 'ä > i und 'a > 'ä > ü hat sich das 'a im Tschuwassischen einem Quantitätswechsel unterzogen, wie überhaupt alle Vokale, wodurch die starkbetonte Stufe und die schwächer betonte Stufe auch qualitativ verschieden wurden.

Es ist das Verdienst Dr. Ramstedts, richtig erkannt zu haben, daß im Tschuwassischen ein Stufenwechsel, ähnlich wie in den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen, existiert hat, und ich möchte nur noch zeigen, daß einmal alle Türk Sprachen und das Mongolische denselben Stufenwechsel aufwiesen.

In der jakutischen Sprache ist dieser quantitative Wechsel der Stammvokale noch paradigmatisch: wenn ein einsilbiger Stamm mit geschlossener Silbe und langem Stammvokal (oder Diphthong) durch ein Suffix, welches mit einem Vokal anlautet und Konsonant auslautet, erweitert wird, so wird der Stammvokal kurz, z. B. *bäs* < \**bäl* < *bäl* „fünf“ und *bäsis* „der fünfte“ < \**bäsinä* < \**bäsinä*, da die Betonung auf das Suffix hinfallbergesogen wurde. (Vgl. Böhlingk, Über die Sprache der Jakuten, S. 122–123.) Diese betonte Stufe erscheint im Jakutischen immer als langer Vokal, welchem im Tschuwassischen ganz eigentümliche Vertretungen entsprechen, z. B.:

jak. *ar* < \**är* „hungern“ = tschuw. *vis* ds. < \**är*.

jak. *ut* < \**üt* „Feuer“ = tschuw. *rüt* ds. < \**üt*.

jak. *uon* < \**ön* „zehn“ = tschuw. *vin* ds. < \**ön*.

jak. *küüg* < \**kök* „blau“ = tschuw. *kynak* ds. < \**kök* ds.

Daher glaube ich, daß viele Beispiele, welche Dr. Ramstedt anführt (S. 12–13), als Belege für die starkbetonte Stufe angesehen werden können.

Im großen ganzen aber geht ein anlautendes *r* im Tschuw. auf einen *n*-Vorschlag zurück, welchen die labialen Vokale bekommen haben (S. 14).

Was nun das Mongolische betrifft, so hat dieser Akzentwechsel auf die Konsonanten einen Einfluß ausgeübt. Nach einer starkbetonten Stufe werden im Mongolischen *w*, *γ*, *u* behalten, nach einem unbetonten Vokal schwinden dieselben, z. B. mong. *\*nauwā* > kh. *nā* „kleben“ = türk. *\*jāp* in *japī* „zusammenkleben“ (intr.) [vgl. Festschrift Wilh. Thomsen, Leipzig, 1912, S. 187]; *\*qoyēsun* > kaln. *χōsp* „leer“ = türk. Uig. Baraba *qoyus* ds.; mong. *mongγaiun* (< *nōwaiun*), ost-mong. *nomosun* „Daunen“ zu mandschur. *nungγari* „weiche Wolle“ ~ *\*nomōsun* > khalkh. *nōso* „Wolle“ usw.

Wir können somit annehmen, daß in der altaischen Ursprache einmal ein regelmäßiger Akzentwechsel stattgefunden hat.

Nun kommen wir auf den tschuw. *i*-Vorschlag zu sprechen.

Dr. Ramstedt bemerkt (S. 15), daß vor einem hinteren Vokal der ersten Silbe im Tschuwassischen oft ein *i*-Einsatz auftritt, z. B. *šūr* „Morast“ < *\*šar* < *\*sar* = türk. *saz* ds. = mong. *širγa* „Schmutz“. Nun möchte ich bemerken, daß ich diesen *i*-Einsatz nicht als eine speziell tschuwassische Lauteigentümlichkeit auffasse, sondern als eine von der Ursprache ererbte Eigentümlichkeit — Diphthong *\*ja*, da derselbe im Mongolischen durch *i* vertreten wird und da überhaupt einem türkischen *a* im Mongolischen nie ein *i* entspricht.

Beispiele:

tschuw. *š'ūt* < *\*šai* „Stein“ = mong. *šaiγun* < *\*šai-ayun* ds. = türk. *taš* ds.

tschuw. *šūrγ* „weiß“ = mong. *šira* < *\*šara* „gelb“ = türk. Uig. *šārγ* „gelb“ (anders bei Dr. Ramstedt, S. 23).

tschuw. *šūr* < *\*d'šar* < *\*šar* „Frühling“ = mong. *nirai* < *\*nir-ai* „neugeboren“ = mandschur. *harγun* < *\*nir-γun* „grün, frisch“ = türk. *jaš* „Frühling“ usw.

Man könnte mir einwenden, daß das *i* im Mongolischen vielmehr zur Bezeichnung der Palatalisierung des vorhergehenden Konsonanten steht, aber, wie uns einige Aufzeichnungen des Altmongolischen beweisen, wurde früher auch in den lebendigen Mundarten *i* gesprochen, was darauf deutet, daß dieses keine orthographische, sondern eine lautgeschichtliche Eigentümlichkeit ist, d. h. *i* < *\*ja*, z. B. in dem von mir herausgegebenen mongolischen Glossar von Hamd' allāh Qazwīnī (Zapiski XXVI) heißt es *ārā* „gelber“ (Vogel), nicht etwa *farā* usw. Daher, wenn einem türkischen *a* ein mong. *i* entspricht, glaube ich, daß wir hier die Vertretungen eines ursprachlichen Diphth. *\*ja* haben. In anderen Fällen kann aber mongolisches *i* auch wirklich als Zeichen für die Palatalisierung des vorhergehenden Konsonanten stehen.



Ich komme nun zum Ende meines Aufsatzes. Die vortreffliche Arbeit von Dr. Ramstedt hat uns über das Dunkel der tschuwassischen Lautgeschichte neues Licht geworfen und so manches klar und deutlich gemacht, was früher so verwickelt zu sein schien. Auch hat Dr. Ramstedt eine Menge neuer Etymologien aufgestellt, welche frühere jetzt ausschließen, z. B. tschuw. *ʒʒ* „Zahn“ = türk. *ʒʒ* „Bratspieß“ (früher mit türk. *ʒʒ* „Zahn“ verbunden), tschuw. *ʒʒ* „gefroren“ = türk. Sag. *ʒʒ* „klingeln“ (früher mit türk. *ʒʒ* „gefroren“ zusammengestellt worden) u. a., welche das Gesetz: tschuw. *ʒ < ʒ* jetzt ungültig machen. Auch hat Dr. Ramstedt versucht, die Benennung Khazar aus dem türk. Verbum *qaz* „nomadisieren“ und mong. *qaraɣ* „Wagen“ zu erklären (S. 32). Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß *qasar* von *qaz-ar* abzuleiten ist, das türkische *qaz* und *qazaɣ* „ein freier, unabhängiger Mensch“ ist aber nicht mit mong. *qaraɣ* „Wagen“ zusammenzustellen, sondern mit mong. *qadaɣa < ʒadaɣa* „Freiheit, Unabhängigkeit“, welches Wort in unseren Wörterbüchern nicht vorkommt und nur in einigen alten Handschriften belegt ist (mit tibetischen Glossen). Was einige andere neue Etymologien betrifft, so kann ich sie nicht billigen, so z. B. verbindet Dr. Ramstedt das türkische *buz* „Eis“ und tschuw. *ʒʒ* ds. mit mong. *burum* „Rohrzucker“ (S. 27), das mong. *burum* ist aber aus dem Tibetischen entlehnt, vgl. འུ་རུམ་ *bu-rum* „Rohrzucker“ u. a.

Aus dem Obigen ersieht man, welche Bedeutung Dr. Ramstedts Arbeit für die mongolisch-türkische Sprachwissenschaft hat. Die Turkologen werden in ihr viel neues finden und schließlich zur Überzeugung kommen, daß ohne Kenntnis des Mongolischen, ein Turkologe nicht wissenschaftlich arbeiten kann.

N. Poppe.

WILHELM FILCHNER. Sturm über Asien. Erlebnisse eines diplomatischen Geheimagenten. Mit vielen Abbildungen, Karten und Vollbildern nach Skizzen des Verfassers, herausgegeben von Wilhelm Filchner. Verlag Neufeld & Henius, Berlin.

„Gerade in unserer Zeit,“ so schreibt der Herausgeber in seinem Geleitwort, „in der die Staaten der ganzen Erde von vulkanartigen Erschütterungen bedroht sind, wird ein Buch, das in seinem Aufbau viele Fäden großer Weltpolitik bloßlegt, mit Freuden begrüßt werden. Hier zeigen sich die eigentlichen Ursachen, aus denen sich die zeitgenössischen und historischen Umwälzungen in Zentralasien herauskristallisieren mußten, die in ihren Begleiterscheinungen schließlich sogar das gesamte Abendland in Mitleidenschaft gezogen haben.“

Wenn es das Hauptziel des Verfassers war, die letzte europäische Entwicklung als eine Begleiterscheinung der Verwicklungen im Orient

darzutun, so darf man sagen, daß dies Ziel nicht erreicht ist. Denn die Geschehnisse in Europa werden nicht als notwendige Folge aus den diplomatischen Kämpfen um Tibet und dem englisch-russischen Gegensatz erwiesen. Es wird vielmehr der diplomatische Kampf um Tibet mit seinen Auswirkungen für die politische Stellung Tibets zu China, England und Rußland dargestellt, die Rolle, die die tibetischen Politiker in diesem Kampfe spielten, die Verschiebung ihrer Orientierung von einem russophilen zu einem anglophilen Standpunkt, die geschichtliche Entwicklung Tibets von einer chinesischen Dependenz zu einer englischen „Interessensphäre“. Ausführungen über die Wirkung, die durch das sogenannte Recht der Selbstbestimmung der Völker und der kommunistischen Ideen gereizt werden mögen, beschließen das Buch. Tatsachen europäischer Politik werden eigentlich nur insoweit herangezogen, als sie den beteiligten Spielern Mittel waren, ihre Pläne in Zentralasien zu erreichen. Diesem eigentlichen Hauptteil des Buches ist als eine Art Einleitung eine Darstellung der russisch-englischen Gegensätze und Kämpfe beigegeben, die um die Schaffung einer russischen Aufmarschbasis für einen Einmarsch nach Indien statt hatten. Man erwartete in diesem Zusammenhang wohl, daß der europäische Krieg wäre als ein gewaltiger Schachzug Englands herausgearbeitet worden, sich seines russischen Gegners zu entledigen, doch findet man nichts dergleichen.

Das Buch verpufft etwas, und das ist auch der Eindruck, den man im einzelnen bei der Lektüre hat. Denn die straffe Durchführung eines Planes weicht häufig einer recht behäbigen Erzählung, die ihren Stoff aus Filchners Büchern ‚Ritt über den Pamir‘, ‚Rätsel des Matschu‘ und ‚Kumbum‘ schöpft. Die Situationen sind zum Teil glatt übernommen; ich erinnere nur an den Ngoloküberfall, an die Karawane, die auf den Schlammfeldern verunglückt. Hinter der Hauptperson des Buches, Zerempil, und dem Kosakenunteroffizier sind Filchner und Tafel nur allzuleicht zu erkennen. Der Zweck des Buches — wenn anders er vom Verfasser richtig im Geleitwort wiedergegeben ist — hätte sich auf dem zehnten Teile des Umfangs klarer herausarbeiten lassen, zumal das verwertete Tatsachenmaterial nicht eben sehr umfänglich ist.

Mit der Angabe über Filchners Quellen ist natürlich schon gesagt, daß die Titelunterschrift „Erlebnisse eines Geheimagenten“ nur Fiktion ist. Aber der Griff ist außerordentlich geschickt, denn durch das fingierte Moment, wonach Tagebuchaufzeichnungen eines russischen diplomatischen Geheimagenten mongolischer Abkunft namens Zerempil zugrunde liegen, wird die Darstellung ungemein lebhaft. Nur sollten dabei stilistische Versehen wie auf S. 34 vermieden werden: „... In der Nacht war Schnee gefallen; die ganze Gegend war weithin in eine weiße Decke eingehüllt.



Das ist für den Weitermarsch sehr nachteilig, denn jetzt konnte trockenes Gebiet nicht mehr von sumpfigem unterschieden werden. Vor uns sperrte ein etwa 10 km breiter Sumpf den Weg. Die Befürchtung Zerempils... war nur zu gerechtfertigt.<sup>11</sup>

Auch gewinnt der Verfasser auf diese Weise eine bequeme Möglichkeit den Leser an alle Brennpunkte tibetischen Lebens zu führen und ihn mit dem Leben und Treiben der einheimischen und der Grenzvölker bekannt zu machen. Eine reiche Auswahl von Bildern und die nötigen Karten unterstützen das Wort, und wenn man auch gerne genau wüßte, woher die Bilder im einzelnen sind, so wird das Buch doch in viele Laienkreise eine sehr viel richtigere Vorstellung von Land und Leuten in Tibet tragen, als sie bisher da herrschte.

Das Buch hat Wert als eine Dichtung aus Tatsachen, die wohl nicht ganz unbeeinflusst durch die Sven Hedinschen Bücher Tsangpo Lamas Wallfahrt entstanden sein dürfte.

Friedrich Weller.

SVEN HEDIN: MOUNT EVEREST. Mit 8 Künstlersteinzeichnungen von Georg Baus, einer Aufstiegs-skizze, 9 Karten, 3 Profilen, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1923.

Das vorliegende Buch Sven Hedins ist zum Teil aus dem Tag und für den Tag geschrieben. In einem einleitenden Kapitel spricht sich Sven Hedin dahin aus, daß nicht zu erwarten sei, daß der Mt. Everest erstiegen werde. Das erste Kapitel ist eine Inhaltsangabe und Besprechung des Buches: *The Reconnaissance 1921 by Lieut.-Col. C.K. Howard-Bury, D.S.O. and other members of the Mount Everest Expedition*. Eine größere Berichtigung hierzu gibt auch das 7. Kapitel — eine gedrängte Übersicht über die katholischen Missionare, welche durch die Gegend des englischen Annamarsches gezogen sind. Im 3. Kapitel spricht S. Hedin über die Zusammensetzung, Ausrüstung und die Aussichten der Expedition von 1921. Das 4. Kapitel handelt darüber, daß der Berg Tschomolungma (= Mount Everest) eine französische, keine englische Entdeckung ist. (Karte d'Anvilles v. J. 1737). Das 5. Kapitel behandelt auf Grund von Presse-notizen die beiden Höhenrekorde im Bergbesteigen (8168 und 8321 m). Das 6. Kapitel spricht auf Grund einer Timesnotiz über den letzten Versuch des Jahres 1922. Das 8. Kapitel handelt über den Mt. Everest in der Reichsgeographie der Chinesen unter Verwendung der Beiträge von Herrmann und Hänisch zu S. Hedins Werk *Southern Tibet*. Im Anhang ist der Vortrag abgedruckt, den S. H. 1922 zur Jahrhundertfeier der Gesellschaft deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte über den Aufbau des tibetischen Landes gehalten hat.

Die letzten Kapitel, vom 7. an, werden immer Bestand der im besten Sinne populären geographischen Literatur bleiben.

Friedrich Weller.

WALTER FLAIG: Im Kampf um Tschomo-lungma, den Gipfel der Erde. Stuttgart, Komos, Gesellschaft der Naturfreunde. (Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung.)

Äußerst populäre Darstellung der englischen Expeditionen von 1921 und 1922 zur Besteigung des Berges.

Friedrich Weller.

Dr. J. RICHTER: Die indischen Religionen. Rösli & Cie., München, 1922. (Philosophische Reihe, hrsg. von Dr. Alfred Werner, Bd. 55.)

Richters Buch beruht auf sekundären Quellen, die Erkenntnis wird nirgends weiter vorgetragen. Die Literaturangaben sind einseitig — es fehlt z. B. Hillebrandts vedische Mythologie. Dazu versagt Richters Wissen selbst beim elementaren technischen Rüstzeug.

S. 8 werden die vier Veden als aus den Preisliedern entstanden erklärt, die der *udgātṛ* beim Opfer sang. Diese Veden sind in Sanskrit abgefaßt, darunter auch der *Yajurveda*, „der sogen. Schwarze Veda“! S. 59 führt der Verfasser an: „das tibetische *Lalitavistara*“. Von Seelenwanderung sollte man im Buddhismus, wie Ritter es tut, überhaupt nicht reden. S. 124 sind sogar die Berichte über die buddhistischen Konzile durcheinandergeworfen. Daß es von Garbes Übersetzung des *Bhagavadgītā* seit 1921 eine zweite Auflage gibt, ist dem Verfasser nicht bekannt (S. 151). Sanskrit kann der Verfasser kaum, (S. 169 wird *śrībhāṣya* übersetzt: „der heilige Korb“), was auch aus einer ziemlichlichen Anzahl Druckfehler in den Namen erhellt.

Die „*Papua Australiens*“, die S. 29 im Gegensatz zu den englischen Kolonisten Australiens genannt werden, legen Zeugnis ab, daß der Verfasser seine Studien über die indische Religionswissenschaft hinaus auch der Ethnologie zugewandt hat.

Das Buch, das den Feld-, Wald- und Wiesenweg nie verläßt, ist wissenschaftlich völlig wertlos und auch dem Laien nicht zu empfehlen.

Friedrich Weller.

JOHANNES HERTEL, Die Himmelstore im Veda und Avesta. Indoiranische Quellen und Forschungen, Heft II, Leipzig 1924.

Der durch seine eindringenden Forschungen auf dem Gebiet des *Pañcatantra* und der indischen Fabelliteratur rühmlichst bekannte Verfasser hat seine Schritte der ältesten Litteraturschicht Indiens und Irans zugewendet



und soeben einige Abhandlungen veröffentlicht, die von seiner unermüdlichen Arbeitskraft und Schaffenslust zeugen; er wird sich nicht verhehlen, daß er damit ein schwieriges und kontroversenreiches Gebiet betritt und vielfachen Widerspruch begegnen wird. In dem Vorwort zu der obengenannten Schrift beklagt er sich in Unterschätzung des Geleisteten und Übertreibung der Mängel über die Unzulänglichkeit der gegenwärtigen Vedaforschung, die sich ebenso wie die altiranische von Phantasien leiten lasse, anstatt die historischen und geographischen Tatsachen . . . sorgfältigst zu sammeln und zu werten' und gibt mit der Besprechung von Vendidad II ein 'Musterbeispiel' davon, wie die 'wissenschaftlich allgemein anerkannten Tatsachen' entstehen. Nun ist kaum irgendwo fleißiger gearbeitet worden als auf diesen Gebieten und zwar von so wenigen Mitarbeitern, daß man über das harte Urteil Hertels erstaunen muß, das nur geeignet ist, diese Wissenschaft in Mißkredit zu bringen und auch die wenigen Mitarbeiter zu verschrecken (Ludwig, *Rgveda* VI, S. XII). Ist es denn nicht genug, daß drei Vedallübersetzungen innerhalb von 50 Jahren bei uns erschienen sind und zwei des Avesta, daß große Wortverzeichnisse die Arbeit erleichtern und redliches Bemühen um diese schwierigen Dinge sich bei fast allen Mitarbeitern zeigt. Was Hertel einwirft, dürfte ein Mangel aller Wissenschaften sein, daß der Fortschritt nämlich durch ungenügende Beobachtung, Unzulänglichkeit unseres Könnens gehemmt oder verzögert wird. Gewiß leiden wir unter dem Banne der Tradition, unter dem dogmatisch werdenden Einfluß großer Meister, deren erste Aussprüche allzu maßgebend geworden sind. Das ist anderwärts auch der Fall gewesen, wie der lange währende Einfluß der Lachmannschen Schule zeigen kann, und wird leider immer so bleiben. Schon die Fülle unsrer Abhandlungen und Einzeluntersuchungen zeigt, daß unsre Wissenschaft keineswegs von der 'Turmspitze' aus zu bauen begonnen hat. Hertel tadelt, worin ich ihm und nicht nur ich, sondern auch Oldenberg beistimmt, den Glauben an den Wert der einheimischen Tradition, die auf den Holzweg führe (Vorwort zu Zarathustra S. 5); man wird sie ganz nicht umgehen können; Roth hätte bei deren Betrugung z. B. *aryak* sicher nicht als 'Somagefäß' erklärt; Sayana verhilft durch eine Bemerkung zu X, 95, 9 zu einer richtigen Auffassung des Verses u. a. m. Man wird sich also nicht abhalten lassen dürfen, auch in der Spreu nach Körnern zu suchen. Daß ich Hertel aber in der Tendenz beistimme, mag er aus meiner Ved. Myth. ersehen, die fast ganz im Widerspruch mit der alten und neuen Tradition geschrieben ist.

Der Verfasser hat recht mit der Bemerkung, daß mit den Wanderungen der vedischen Stämme alte *devid* und deren Mythen verblassen, andere an Bedeutung gewinnen und noch andere neu aufkommen mußten, wie auch ich verschiedentlich, z. B. V. Myth. II, S. 6, 7, ausgeführt habe. Er geht aber

zu weit, wenn er (S. 33; IF. XII, 200; Zeit. Zoroast. S. 58, 62) die vedischen Stämme noch in nachzoroastrischer Zeit die unmittelbaren Grenznachbarn der Mazdayasnier sein läßt. Er verschließt sich meinem Nachweis, daß zwischen den einzelnen Büchern des RV. unterschieden werden muß und die Situation im sechsten Buch, dessen Überlieferungen am Arachotus, an den Parthern, den Parthern haften und die „Schwarzen“ noch nicht kennen, anders ist als im VII. Buch, das durch seine Flußnamen auf den Westen Indiens verweist<sup>1</sup>. Die Feindschaft zwischen Indern und Iranern kann im allgemeinen<sup>2</sup> erst zwischen der Zeit des RV., der die Asuras noch als freundliche Wesen kennt, und der der Brāhmaṇa's entstanden sein; Anspielungen auf die „Zarathustrier“ sind im RV. nur sehr spärlich, wenn *brahmadvij* auf sie überhaupt und nicht auf die vielen anderen Gegner der brahmanischen Inder zu beziehen ist.

Hertel eröffnet seine Schrift S. 11 mit der Bemerkung, daß die Anschauung, wonach das Himmelsgebäude ein feststehendes, lichterfülltes Gebäude sei, aus dessen Innerem durch das offene Tor (der Sonne) oder die offenen Tore (der Gestirne) das Himmelslicht in die Menschenwelt hineinscheine, sich bereits für die arische Zeit nachweisen lasse. Er verweist auf RV. VII, 38, 5 und das dort genannte Haus, (*dyāntam mānam sahasraśāstram*) Varuna's, unter dem nichts anderes als der sternbesetzte Himmel zu verstehen sei. Möglich, aber nicht mehr. Dem Verfasser des Verses könnte das Gesehene oder Erdachte Bild eines großen Palastes vorgeschwebt haben, wie es dem König Varuna, entsprechend dem eines indischen Herrschers, gebührt; *śahasraśāstrāna* heißt II, 41, 5 Varuna's und Mitra's *sīdas*; V, 62, 6 ihrer beider „Herrschaft“. Mbh. II, 49, 48 (ed. Bomb. p. 57<sup>3</sup>) läßt König Dhṛtarāṣṭra eine Sabhā bauen *sthāpāyakaśrair bhaktiṃ tatadāśrām sabhāṃ mama manoramāṃ darśanīyāṃ aśu kurvāṇu līpinaḥ*. Notwendig ist also die Annahme, daß die Sterne gemeint sind, nicht, wenn sie sich auch in meinem Vār- und M. findet und auch zu meiner jetzigen Ansicht über Varuna stimmt.

Es folgt eine längere Kritik von Vendidad II mit seiner angeblichen Siniflutung. Da auch neuere Autoren von dieser „Siniflutsage“ noch sprechen (Grundriß der Ir. Ph. II, S. 6; Reichelt, Aw. Elementarbuch S. 16), so scheint sie nicht, wie ich erst meinte, eine längst aufgegebene Ansicht, sondern einer neuen Erörterung bedürftig, die von Hertel mit Erfolg

<sup>1</sup> Soweit solche vereinzelt erwähnt sind, beziehe ich das auf die Brahman. Vgl. meinen Aufsatz: „Zur vedischen Mythologie und Völkerleitung“, der in der Zeitschrift f. Ind. (III?) erscheinen soll und eingehend zu Kozows Ansicht Stellung nimmt.

<sup>2</sup> S. V. Myth. I, II; Alt- und Neuindien [die Heimat des Rigveda] S. 118, mit den in rötlicher Anmerkung genannten Aufsätzen.

<sup>3</sup> D. h. einige Stellen, die spät sein dürften, ausgenommen.



vorgenommen worden ist. Ob nun im Hintergrunde die alte Flutsage schlummert oder nicht: in dem Text, der vorliegt, ist nur von Frühjahrsschwemmungen nach dem Scheiden eines harten und schneereichen Winters die Rede, ohne Zusammenhang mit der großen Flutsage, deren Merkmale (Schiff, Verlaufen der Flut, Anlegen des Schiffes an einem hohen Berge), hier fehlen. Aber auch Hertels Annahme einer Identität des von Yima angelegten Vara mit dem vedischen *vaid* fehlen sie: dort eine Feste mit Wohnungen für Menschen und Tiere, Weiden usw., hier ein Gefängnis für Rinder, das erst durch Krafttaten Indras geöffnet werden muß; dort ein leuchtender Raum, hier eine Höhle, dort eine Rettung vor dem Winter<sup>1</sup>, hier Gefangenhaltung. Auch unter dem veränderten Gesichtspunkt Hertels vermag ich doch in dem Kapitel einen klaren Gedankengang nicht zu finden; denn die Rettung von Mensch und Tier vor einem harten Winter in einem Raum und andererseits der später geschilderte Aufenthalt in einem Vara mit seinem schönen Leben (II, 41) und der ewigen Jugend seiner Bewohner (Vs. IX, 4. 5) scheinen etwas Verschiedenes und, soweit ich sehe, aus verschiedenen Teilen eines alten Epos zusammen und durcheinander Geflossenes zu sein.

Hertel stützt sich in seinen Ausführungen über die Himmelstore auf H. Reichelts Abhandlung über den 'steinernen Himmel' (IF XXXII, S. 23 ff., die diese Vorstellung für den RV. erweisen will. Mir scheinen seine Ausführungen mehr durch die Etymologie als durch die vedischen Texte selbst veranlaßt, die ich anders verstehe. S. 28 sagt Reichelt, daß der Ort, in dem das Licht und der Regen zurückgehalten werden, ein Fels sei, der mit den Wörtern *párvata*, *śári*- und *śiman*- oder *dīan* bezeichnet wird. *párvata*... gehört mit *páru*... 'Knoten, Gelenk, Glied, Ozean, Himmel', *páru*... 'Knoten, Gelenk, Glied'...; *śípa* 'Ende, Grenze', *śípara* 'am entgegengesetzten Ende, jenseitig', *śépáta*... 'das jenseitige Land, die Himmelsgegend gegenüber, der Morgen- oder Abendhimmel' zusammen und ist offenbar aus der Verbindung *párvata girī* als substantiviertes Maskulinum losgelöst. Denn das Adj. *párvata*, das wie griechisch *śípara* auf idg. \**perupto* — zurückgehen dürfte und 'äußerst, jenseitig, himmlisch'<sup>2</sup> bedeutet haben wird, kommt nur in Verbindung mit *girī*... vor<sup>3</sup>.

Hier liegt eine Autosuggestion vor, die sich im folgenden fortsetzt, wenn Reichelt I, 37, 6—8: *śhitta párvata girī* mit jenseitigem (Himmels)

<sup>1</sup> Hertel verbindet richtig *apavāsa* mit *páruvāsa* *vrāṇāśān*: er wird aus BB IX, 134; V. Myth. II, 39, v. myth. 32 ersehen, daß ich ihm beistimme.

<sup>2</sup> Von mir gesperrt.

<sup>3</sup> *páru* ist spät lexikographisch, literarisch gar nicht belegt; *párvata* kommt als Adjektiv (wenn es überhaupt je Adjektiv ist) selten vor, viermal etwa gegenüber dem mit über hundertmal benutzten Substantiv.

berg' und VIII, 64, 5 mit schon fortgelassener Klammer als ‚Himmelsberg‘ übersetzt. *pārvata* heißt aber im RV. nirgends ‚himmlisch‘ oder auch nur ‚jenseitig‘, auch nicht in Verbindung mit *giri*. Die Maruts erschüttern durch ihr Toben nur die Berge dieser Welt. Ich finde weder im PW noch bei Grassmann eine Stelle, wo *pārvata* oder *giri* das steinerne Himmelsgewölbe heißen könnte, noch vermag ich selbst eine zu finden. Hertel beruft sich mit Reichelt auf V 56, 4:

*āsmānam cit svaryām pārvatām girīm  
prā cyāvayanti yāmabhiḥ,*

und V, 30, 8:

*āsmānam cit svaryām vārtamānam  
prā cakriyeva vidadat marūdabhyah ||*

Heißt aber dort *āsmān* ‚Himmelsgewölbe‘? Aus *svaryā* folgt es auch dann nicht, wenn wir dieses nicht mit PW zu *svāra* ‚Ton‘ stellen. Es ist eine

1. Bezeichnung Indra's (I, 62, 4; IV, 17, 4).

2. Des Donnerkeils (*vājra* oder *vadhā*) I, 32, 2; 61, 6; VII, 104, 4; des ‚Angesichts‘ der Rinder I, 121, 4, der Rinder X, 68, 7; könnte also sich in erster Linie sehr gut auf den Donnerkeil beziehen, der vom Himmel geschleudert wird (I, 121, 9: *tvām āyasām prāti vartayo gōr divō āsmānam āpanitam bhūva*; 172, 2: *āsmā yām āsyatha*; II, 30, 5: *śva kṛpā divō āsmānam*; IV, 22, 1: *yō āsmānam āvasa bibhrad āi*; V, 30, 4: *āsmānam cid chāvasa didyutah*; VII, 104, 19: *prā vartaya divō āsmānam* (v. 5: *āsmānamabhiḥ*)).

3. Bezeichnung von Geschoß überhaupt: I, 191, 15; II, 14, 6.

4. Des Steines, aus dem Agni geboren wird II, 1, 1; 12, 3; 24, 7.

5. Des Herdes des Schmiedes IX, 112, 2.

6. Des Felsens oder Felsverschlusses, in dem die Kühe (Morgenröten oder Wasser)\* eingeschlossen sind: IV, 1, 13; 16, 6; VI, 43, 3; IX, 108, 6; X, 68, 4 etc. Dazu der merkwürdige Vers I, 130, 3, dem ich versuchen möchte eine abweichende Erklärung zu geben:

*śvīnadat divō nihitam gūha nidhim  
vēr nā gūrbham pāritam āsmāni  
anantē antār āsmāni |*

Der Schatz liegt in einem Stein eingehüllt, „wie das Junge eines Vogels“. Aus dem Vergleich folgt, daß *āsmān* hier eine Stein-, eine Eischale ist und mit *anantē* verbunden, die Schale eines Rieseneies bedeutet<sup>2</sup>.

\* II, 24, 4: *āsmānyam antān — āsmān āsmān udrlam ||* X, 139, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Derselbe Vergleich X, 68, 7:

*śvīdva bhūtvā lakṣmānyā gūrbham  
nā uriryāḥ pārvatāyā tmānājat ||*



Damit ist nicht das Chānd. Up. III, 19 erwähnte Ei gemeint, das sich in eine Schale von Silber (= Erde) und von Gold (= Himmel) spaltet und die Sonne zum Embryo hat, auch noch nicht das Weltei der späteren Kosmologie, sondern eine alte, sonst m. W. im Veda nicht bezeugte Vorstellung von der Sonne als Ei, wofür L. v. Schroeder (Ar. Rel. II, S. 183 u. s.) aus anderen Quellen einer Reihe von Belegen bringt. Mit dem Stein wäre hier also die Sonne gemeint, die nach indischer Vorstellung so wie der Mond ein Wasserbehälter ist, da sie acht Monate lang mit ihren Strahlen das Wasser aufsaugt und vier Monate lang ausgießt<sup>1</sup>. *āśman* also ist auch an unsrer Stelle nicht mit dem Himmel identisch, sondern deutlich verschieden, da in ihm des Himmels Schatz verborgen liegt.

7. An einer weiteren Stelle ist *āśman* als Person gedacht, die des Himmels Enden 'durchschreitet' und schützt. V, 47, 3, also ebenfalls nicht der Himmel:

*akṣi samudrā aruṣāḥ suparṇāḥ  
pārvarya yonim pītūr ā vīcā |  
mādhye divo nihitāḥ pñinir āśma  
v cakrame vijāsaḥ paty antān ||*

Pāda <sup>a b</sup> weisen auf den Mond, der somit unter dem *pñinir āśma* zu verstehen wäre, der die Enden des Luftkreises durchwandert<sup>2</sup>.

8. Die einzige Stelle, wo *āśman* 'Himmel' bedeuten kann, ist VII, 88, 2:

*svār yād āśmann aṭhipā u āndho  
abhi mā vāpūr dyāyē nityat |<sup>a</sup>*

aber nicht V, 56, 7 oder 30, 8. Kehren wir nach dem Umwege zu diesen Versen zurück. Eine Beziehung von *ā. svaryā* auf den Blitz, die man nach I, 121, 9; 172, 2 u. a. (siehe oben) vermuten könnte, wird durch *prīḍ gāvayanti* unwahrscheinlich gemacht; allein auf VII, 88, 2 möchte ich in diesen Stellen die Bedeutung 'Himmel' nicht gründen. Hertel glaubt,

<sup>1</sup> Man vergleiche die Pravargyacereemonie und die Bezeichnung als 'goldene Kanne' bei anderen Völkern (L. v. Schroeder, Ar. Rel. II, S. 80, 207, 387, 441).

<sup>2</sup> VMYth. I, 327.

<sup>3</sup> Man erinnere sich an Śat. Br. VI, 1, 2, 3 und Kāt. XVIII, 3, 19. Die Erklärung des Śat. Br. hilft nicht weiter. Kāt. verwendet den Vers (= Vā. Saṃh. XVII, 60) bei dem Einhaas eines hantfarbigen (und runden) Steines in die Glut. Mahidhara erklärt ihn irrtümlich als die Sonne. A. Kuhn hat AKPAW 1873, S. 144, 145 gezeigt, daß bei anderen Völkern Sonne und Sterne als Steine gedacht wurden; z. B. zitiert er Anaxagoras: *ἐστὶ τὸν πᾶν ἥλιον λίθον πρὸς εἶναι* und führt Beispiele aus der angelsächsischen und altnordischen Poesie an, wonach Sonne und Mond als Steine gelten. Er verweist auch auf unsern Vers und auf Vājas's Brantjewel.

<sup>4</sup> Über die Schwierigkeiten des Verses Oldenberg RV II, S. 61.

hier die Anschauung zu finden, daß der steinerne Himmel sich drehe. Hätten die vedischen Inder aus dem Wechsel der Sternbilder wirklich auf eine Drehung des steinernen Himmelsgewölbes geschlossen, so wäre es seltsam, daß sie diesen langsam vor sich gehenden Wechsel gerade dem Ungestüm der Maruts und ihrer temporären Wirksamkeit zugeschrieben hätten oder nach V, 56, 4 das steinerne Himmelsgewölbe, wie etwas ganz Verschiedenes, „durch die beiden Welthälften hindurch, wie auf einem Rade“ vorwärts bewegt haben sollten. Ich glaube, daß wir auf diesem Wege zu einer richtigen Erklärung nicht kommen<sup>1</sup>.

Hertel bemerkt zu Reichelts Übersetzung „sie rütteln den rauschenden [oder glänzenden?] Himmel, den jenseitigen Berg“, daß *prā cyu caus.* niemals „rütteln“ bedeuten könne. Das Simplex findet sich V, 53, 6 mit *āla* verbunden *divāh kōlam acucyatuḥ*<sup>2</sup>; diese „Kufe des Himmels“ ist nichts anderes als der *ālmasya avatā*, der *ātsa udrin* II, 24, 4; der *ātsa ākṣita* VIII, 7, 16 und andere mythologische Synonyma, die V. Myth. I, 324 ff; III, 304, 305 aufgezählt sind; die von *Tvaṣṭr* getragene, mit Soma gefüllte Schale AV IX, 4, 6 gehört dahin. Der wandelnde *ālman* entspricht dem „wandelnden Brunnen“ X, 30, 9<sup>3</sup>. Zwischen *cyu* und *prā-cyu* an dieser Stelle kann ich einen erheblichen Unterschied nicht entdecken; die Maruts setzen den himmlischen Stein in Bewegung<sup>4</sup>. So lasse ich für V, 56, 4 und für V, 30, 7, 8 nicht eine Deutung von *ālman* als das „steinerne, in

<sup>1</sup> Auch VII, 86, 1 spricht nicht dafür.

b) — *vī yās tatāmbha rodasī cid urāi* |

c) *prā nātam pṛvām munūte bṛhāntam*

d) *divā nūkṣatram paprāthas ca bhūma*

Die Erklärung von Pāda<sup>2</sup> ist durch<sup>b</sup> und<sup>d</sup> bedingt. Die in<sup>b</sup> ausgesprochene Schöpfertätigkeit wird in<sup>c</sup> und<sup>d</sup> durch *prā nātam munūte*, durch *nūkṣatram* und *bhūma* erläutert. 1) Firmament 2) Gestirn (Sonne, Mond und Sterne) 3) Erde. Es heißt anderswo nirgends, daß der Gott das Firmament „in Bewegung setze“, sondern immer nur, daß er es „stütze oder befestige“. Von Agni III, 5, 10 *ūf atāmbhāt samidhā nākam*; von Vipu VII, 99, 2 *ūf atāmbhā nākam* . . . *ādāhṛtha pṛcety kabīḍham pṛthivyāḥ*; X, 113, 4, 121, 5. Ähnlich in bezug auf *dyā* v. B. X, 153, 3 *ūf dyām atāmbhā bhāṣā*, daraus ist zu schließen: *prā nūf* heißt auch nicht „vorwärts“ sondern „begnaden“, weist von Feinden gesagt (vgl. die Stellen aus dem A. V. im PW; einmal [A. V. II, 25, 3] durch *pārāṇe* verstärkt) *prā* ist in bezug auf die Richtung des Stoßes ein unbestimmter Ausdruck, *Varena* stützt also 1. das Firmament, 2) d. h. (genauer) „empor“ und breitet 3. die Gestirne 3. die Erde aus.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. dazu *ūfī vāyam arya maruḥ kōlam divā ālmanātaram* IX, 86, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *tridantam vidhrantam ātsam* I, 64, 6: *ātsam nā mukhā vi nayanā vāṣṇam* ) *ātsam dūkhaṁ sthāyāntam ākṣitam* ]].

<sup>4</sup> I, 85, 3 ähnlich: — *vāḥ ādrim maruḥ rāṣṭhāyanāḥ* |

*utruṣṇayo vī yanti dṛṣṭvāḥ* —

*ādrī* ist hier nicht = Blut, sondern dasselbe wie *ālman*, und *rāṣṭhāyanāḥ* = *prācyaṇuḥ*.



Bewegung gesetzte Himmelsgewölbe<sup>1</sup> gelten, sondern sehe darin den Wandelstein, der von den Maruts getrieben seine Wasser ausgießt. Die Vorstellung widerspricht der unsrigen, ist aber vom vedischen Standpunkt ganz verständlich, der die Herkunft des Regens unter ganz verschiedenen Bildern schildert<sup>2</sup>.

Während ich also im RV. keinen Hinweis auf einen Steinhimmel (VII, 88, 2 möglicherweise ausgenommen) finde, noch weniger auf eine Drehung des Himmelsgewölbes, unterschreibe ich Hertels Ansicht von Sonne und Mond als Himmelstoren, wenn auch nicht für den RV., so doch für die spätere Zeit. Der Vers des Mbh. XIII, 1082 (PW s. v. *pīṛyāna*)

*ayam ca devayānānam ādityo dvāram ucyate*

*ayam ca pīṛyānānam candramā dvāram ucyate* ||

tritt zu den Belegen aus den Upaniṣaden hinzu und mag wie diese auf einer alten Anschauung beruhen, die aber im RV. nicht vertreten ist. Wenn Hertel S. 47 aus V, 42, 9 *brahmadūjah sūryā yāvayasva* anführt, so sehe ich darin nur den Gegensatz von Tod und Leben, von *ucchāntir uśaso* und *acitrē tamarō vimādhye*. Man wünscht dem Brahmafeinde, daß er die Sonne nicht mehr sehe<sup>3</sup>. Ebenso lassen sich Bedenken gegen Hertels Deutung der anderen Verse erheben, in denen ich keinen Beweis für die Sonne als Himmelstor erblicke; auch nicht für die von Hertel angesetzte Deutung der Sterne als 'Himmelstore'<sup>4</sup> oder 'Öffnungen im Himmelsgewölbe', durch die etwa das 'Wasser des Himmelsozeans' abfließt. Die Stellen des Avesta, selbst wenn sie sich nicht bloß auf die Regen-, sondern auf alle Sterne beziehen, scheinen mir für die Exegese des R.V. in diesem Falle nicht verwendbar.

Meine Besprechung des Hertelschen Buches überschreitet schon bedeutend den Rahmen einer Rezension, so daß ich mich darauf beschränken muß, zum Schluß noch auf die sehr eingehende Besprechung der Äprilieder und die Anmerkungen 1. über *par* oder *para*? mit einer Untersuchung über *pariṣṭā*, dessen Entstehen er gewiß mit Recht einem Interpolator zuschreibt, sowie 2. über die drei Abteilungen des Himmels, awestische und vedische Anschauungen<sup>5</sup> zu verweisen.

Mai 1924.

Alfred Hillebrandt.

<sup>1</sup> Die Befreiung der von Vṛta (= Winter) umlagerten Ströme ist eine ganz verschiedene Sache; ebenso die Befreiung der Morgenröten. Den Betrachtungen Reichelts, der manche der Phantasie angehörige Dinge zu ernst nimmt, stimme ich nicht zu; auch nicht der Meinung, daß der von Indra erschlagene Vater der 'Steinhimmel' sei.

<sup>2</sup> Weitere Stellen: Album Kern S. 264, Z. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Am I, 188, 5 auf die Schlüsse zu stehen, halte ich bei der Farblosigkeit der dort aufgeführten Worte *vidā*, *asmed* usw., welche doch nichts besagen, für gewagt.



Dr. HANS HAAS, *Buddha in der abendländischen Legende?* Veröffentlichungen des Staatlichen Forschungsinstituts für vergleichende Religionsgeschichte an der Universität Leipzig. Nr. 9. Leipzig (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung 1923). 34 S.

Die Broschüre befaßt sich ausschließlich mit meinem Büchlein des gleichen Titels von 1922, Leipzig, H. Haessels Verlag. Ich hatte mich, angeregt von Richard v. Garbe in Tübingen, vom Standpunkt der abendländischen Legende aus an das Problem gewagt, in dem ausgesprochenen Gefühl, als Nicht-Indologe nach der buddhistischen Seite auf unsicherem Boden zu gehen. Um so dankbarer bin ich für alles fachmännische Interesse an meiner Arbeit und ihren Ergebnissen und für jede sachliche Berichtigung. Von einer Besprechung im Umfang der Haas'schen Veröffentlichung ließ sich das ausgiebig erwarten. Sie enttäuscht und leistet sich zugleich methodisch Entgleisungen, die in einer wissenschaftlichen Arbeit kaum mehr verständlich sind. Zunächst das Ergebnis: ich stellte fest, daß bei aller äußeren und inneren Verwandtschaft der buddhistischen und christlichen Heiligen und der Hagiographen-Psyché ein Zusammenhang für das Frühchristentum und frühere Mittelalter über den Joasaph-Roman hinaus nicht zu erweisen sei; und Joasaph sei durch den Islam übermittelt. Im späteren Mittelalter sei „der Gang zum Eisenhammer“ eine vereinzelte aber sichere abendländische Anleihe; die Frage nach dem Weg mußte ich offen lassen. Alle die zahlreichen anderen gemeinsamen Motive stammen aus gemeinsamen Quellen. Unverkennbar dagegen sei im späteren Mittelalter ein reichlicher Einschlag der [buddhistischen (?), indischen (?)] orientalischen Schwankliteratur und Novellistik im Abendland, eine leicht verständliche Begleiterscheinung der geographischen Horizonterweiterung. Haas „will [diese Behauptung] nicht angängig erscheinen“; wagt eine buddhistische Infiltration im Neuen Testament mit Sicherheit in keinem Falle zu behaupten; „von der Zeit ab aber, in der die apokryphische Literatur, die Kindheitsevangelien, Apokalypsen und Apostelgeschichten aufschossen, sind buddhistische Einflüsse unmöglich in Abrede zu stellen; sie im einzelnen festzustellen, ist eine Aufgabe, die noch zu tun bleibt“ (S. 34). Das klingt fast, als ob über dieses ganze Problem noch nichts geschrieben wäre. Ich habe es (S. 74—98) durchgesprochen. Wenn „buddhistische Einflüsse hier unmöglich in Abrede zu stellen wären“, hätte ich das auch eingesehen und vertreten; das darf er mir zutrauen. Also die Hauptsache: irgendwie eine wissenschaftliche Widerlegung meiner Ergebnisse und damit eine Förderung der Frage liegt nicht vor. Die ganze Broschüre ist, von ein paar unwesentlichen Berichtigungen abgesehen, eine temperamentvolle, amüsante, aber nicht gerade glückliche Polemik. Herr Haas hat mich auch zu berichtigen



gewußt, und dafür weiß ich ihm Dank. S. 8 macht er auf unfechtbare chronologische Datierungen aufmerksam: das Jahr 170 zu *Älvagbo* ist unzutreffend; woher das Versehen kommt, vermag ich nicht zu sagen; meine Vertrautheit mit Winternitz' Geschichte der indischen Literatur hätte Haas übrigens sagen müssen, daß es sich hier nicht um „kühnliche“ eigene Datierung, sondern um einen Druck- oder Lesefehler handeln müsse. Recht hat er ferner mit der Berichtigung meines Ansatzes des Mahāpadānasutta; ich lasse (S. 95) seine Priorität vor dem Matthäus-Evangelium „mehr als anfechtbar“ sein und verweise dafür auf Winternitz; W. redet von „verhältnismäßig später Zeit“ beim Mahāparinibbānasutta, etwa parallel Asoka; dann „einer sehr späten Zeit“ beim Mahāpadānasutta; so wird mein Ansatz wenigstens verständlich; ein eigenes Urteil habe ich in diesen Fragen nicht. S. 87 sage ich, daß der Kommentar zum Udānavarga bedeutend jünger sei als der Udānavarga selbst; Seidenstücker spricht von der Kompilation des Udānavarga zwischen 75 v. Chr. und 200 n. Chr.; ein Kommentar dazu muß doch wohl jünger sein; woher ich das „bedeutend jüngeren Datums“ (in Anführungszeichen) habe, vermag ich im Augenblick nicht festzustellen. Recht hat Haas des weiteren mit der Datierung der Stupas von Boro Budur; nur hätte er beachten sollen, daß meine Zeitangabe ausschließlich für Sāñchi gilt; immerhin, meine Zusammenstellung konnte mißverstanden werden. S. 24 bemerkt H. richtig, daß es sich Jātaka 463 nicht um die Wundermacht, sondern die Berufstüchtigkeit des Bodhisattva handelt; das Motiv selbst ist aber dadurch nicht beeinträchtigt; vgl. Jātaka 442, 464 und meine Darlegungen S. 216f. Mit der Streichung meiner Anmerkung 189, S. 98, soweit sie St. Vitus betrifft, bin ich auch einverstanden.

S. 12 findet H. einen Widerspruch zwischen meiner Auffassung der Rolle der Jātaka als Ganzes: das eine Mal halte ich die Wanderung der Jātaka als Buch für ausgeschlossen, während ich sie ein andermal voraussetze. Doch nicht. R. Garbe läßt die Eustachius-Legende eine Kompilation von Jātaka 12 plus J. 547, den Christophorus J. 537 sein, also christliche Legenden aus dem Komplex der Jātaka, ausdrücklich aus der Wirkung der literarischen Fassung im Osten selbst erklärt; so Garbe und so ich; und nun bin ich der Meinung, daß aus diesem literarischen Zusammenhang und seiner monumentalen Festlegung in den Stupas im Osten durch orientalische Christen auch andere Motive ins Christliche umgedeutet worden wären, wenn Eustachius und Christophorus von dort her kämen. für die ich aber andere, näherliegende Quellen fand. Ich kann nicht mit der Möglichkeit der Bekanntschaft der Jātaka als Buch im Westen rechnen, da ich in ihnen eine Voraussetzung für die christliche abendländische Legende nicht finde. Der Joasaph und der unschuldig Verfolgte im „Gang



zum Eisenhammer" sind als fertige Gestalten nicht Jātaka-Nummern. S. 23 handelt H. von der Übertragung der Schatten- und Schul-Legende Buddhas auf andere indische Heilige und „vermag nicht recht zu verstehen, wie Günter sich so widerspenstig zeigen kann, die gleiche Erklärung [daß im Osten das gleichartige Jüngere vom Älteren herzuleiten ist] gelten zu lassen, wenn ihm parallele Erzählungen im Westen begegnen, nachdem doch auch er zugibt, daß die äußere Möglichkeit der Verpflanzung füglich nicht zu bestreiten ist". Aber das Schattenwunder fehlt eben in der älteren christlichen Legende und ist, als es auftaucht, aus der Antike und der jüdisch-arabischen Legende und der gemeinmenschlichen Wunderstimmung viel näher zu erklären; und die Schulgeschichte der Apokryphen hat außer der doch nicht zu verwundernden legendären Tatsache des Schulbesuchs Buddhas und Jesu nichts an sich, was die Übernahme nahelegte. „Das Güntersche Buch war noch nicht ausgegeben, da befand sich ein neuer Beitrag zum buddhistischen Ursprung der St. Eustachius-Legende im Druck" (S. 8 f.): die Sarabha-Gazelle des Jātaka 483 ist im Ananda-Heiligtum zu Pagan aus der Zeit von 1060/1107 mit einem das Tier überschattenden kreuzförmigen Schirm über dem Rücken dargestellt; daraus wurde der Hirsch mit dem Kreuzfix im Geweih! Dazu nur eines: die älteren Darstellungen der verfolgten Gazelle haben den Schirm nicht, und die christliche Legendenversion ist vormittelalterlich. Von einem Beweis Sarabha-Schirm = Hirsch mit Kreuz kann doch keine Rede sein, wie denn auch H. „keineswegs gewillt ist, für die genealogische Abhängigkeit in diesem Falle sich einzusetzen".

Die Berichtigungen und literarischen Hinweise nehme ich dankbar entgegen. Meine Resultate berühren sie nicht. Anderes dagegen hätte ich in einer wissenschaftlichen Kritik nicht erwartet. Ich spreche S. 194 von den Heroen, die über die Zeit im Mutterleib bleiben. Haas S. 18 zitiert nach mir den Bodhisattva des Jātaka 100, den seine Mutter sieben Jahre trug, und findet es trotzdem „nicht recht verständlich", warum ich „den Bodhisattva hier nicht ausgeschieden" habe! S. 24: „Manches, was Günter anzieht, ist geradezu abwegig; zu illustrieren, daß der Heilige unverletzlich und vom Übel nicht zu erreichen ist, wird notiert: Wenn der Bodhisattva als Schiffer das Fahrzeug bestiegen hatte, gab es es dort keinen Unfall. Erinnern soll das auf christlicher Seite doch wohl an die Erzählung von der Stillung des Sturmes durch Jesu". . . Nein. Die Parallelen zu dem Motiv sind deutlich S. 214/15, Anm. 196 meines „Buddha" markiert; H.'s wuchtiger Hieb geht daneben. Dann: „Daß zwischen der buddhistischen Erzählung vom wasserwandernden Jünger (Jātaka 190, Vorerzählung) und Petri Seegang ein genealogischer Zusammenhang bestehen müsse, ist hier einmal offenbar Günters Meinung" (H. S. 25). Ich empfehle dem Herrn



Kritiker, meine Anm. 212, S. 218, noch einmal und aufmerksamer zu lesen. S. 22 (H.) soll ich mir (S. 196) „wohl von Dutoit haben sagen lassen, daß das Schattenwunder der Buddhalegende erst der späteren Buddhist. Tradition angehöre“. Ich muß mich nur wundern, woher H. den Einfall hat; weit und breit ist von nichts Ähnlichem die Rede. Ich soll J. 190 (den wasserwandelnden Jünger) „für eins nehmen“ mit der parallelen Theorie des Tripiṭaka (H. S. 26); fällt mir nicht ein; ich stelle einfach Legende und Theorie nebeneinander (S. 219). Ebenda (S. 26) soll ich Jātaka 499, wo König Sivi dem blinden Bettler ein Auge gibt, verwandt sein lassen mit Matth. 18,9: „Wenn dein Auge dich ärgert.“ Das wäre allerdings „nicht glücklich“. Aber bei mehr Aufmerksamkeit hätte H. gelesen, wie ich nach Sivi von der Nonne Subhā erzähle, die sich „nach der Forderung der buddhistischen Erkenntnis“ ein Auge ausreißt, um den Versucher abzuschrecken; dann erst ist Matth. zitiert; und nun wird auch H. die Parallele nicht mehr allzu unglücklich finden. S. 27 will H. einer anderen meiner Parallelen „beim ersten Begegnen gleich den Garaus machen“, indem er sie „etwas genauer unter die Lupe“ nimmt. Ich stelle S. 230/1 König Abgar und König Ajātasatru nebeneinander, die beide durch ein Bild des Meisters geheilt worden seien. H. bemerkt, daß die Darstellung des Vorgangs in Alt-Kutscha nichts mit einer Heilung durch den Anblick des Bildes zu tun hat. Aber ich rede doch gar nicht von Alt-Kutscha, sondern von der tibetischen Version. S. 30 spricht H. von „Glünterscher Konfrontierung von ganz disparaten Dingen, von denen man nicht versteht, was sie im Zusammenhang einer Untersuchung wie der von ihm angestellten sollen“. Bei mehr Aufmerksamkeit hätte auch H. begriffen. Und sollte meine Darstellung zu knapp ausgefallen sein, so konnte ihm das Vorwort zeigen, daß mein „Buddha“ die Ergänzung zu früheren Arbeiten war, die über mein Material und meine Absicht hinlänglich Aufschluß gaben. Was H. S. 7 über meine „Präokkupation“ sagt, klingt sehr menschlich. Auf alle Fälle hätte er sich dann aber vor der Gegenokkupation hüten müssen.

H. Glünter.

DER WEG DER WAHRHEIT (Dhammapadam), deutsch durch Paul EBERHARDT, Verlag F. A. Perthes, A.-G., Stuttgart, Gotha.

Kein Zweifel, daß das vorliegende Buch die schönsten Gedanken enthält — nur ist mir nicht ganz klar, warum es gerade eine Übersetzung des Dhammapada genannt wird. Man darf nachgerade doch erwarten, daß Übersetzungen aus dem Pāli sich bei den allergewöhnlichsten und grundlegendsten Begriffen nicht mehr vergreifen. Immer wieder spricht Eberhardt von der Seele als Inbegriff des Letzten, dauernd Wertvollen im Menschen, das Nibbāna ist einmal das „Nichts“ (v. 32), das andere Mal der Himmel

(v. 369). Angesichts dessen fällt es gar nicht weiter auf, wenn an einer Unzahl Stellen schiefe Wiedergaben des Pālitextes sich finden und eine freie Fantasie über ein Thema des Dhammapadaverses gespielt wird. Wie fremd dem Übersetzer die ganze Welt des Pālibuddhismus geblieben ist, kann wohl nicht besser beleuchtet werden als dadurch, daß der Übersetzer als Vorspruch das Wort Goethes wählte:

Und solange du das nicht hast  
Dieses: Stirb und werde!  
Bist du nur ein trüber Gast  
Auf der dunklen Erde.

Wie jeder heute ein Buch über chinesische Kunst oder zum Buddhismus schreiben muß, so muß er auch die deutsche Sprache bereichern. Vers 28 findet sich das schöne Wort „unerbitterlich“.

Seine eignen Leidenschaften  
tritt der Weise unter sich.  
Milde gegen alle Wesen,  
Selbst sich unerbitterlich  
ringt er stetig sich empor.

Unterschiedliche Stilblüten schmücken das Deutsch, die köstlichste steht in folgendem Verse (325):

Wenn einer gierig nur ans Essen denkt,  
sich faul und matt auf seinem Lager reckt,  
sich wie ein Schwein zu seinem Troge drängt:  
Stets neues Sein ist solchem Tier bereit,  
und jedes ihn im Ekel von sich speit.

Na, es reimt wenigstens.

Hört an, was ich sage, die ihr hier um mich seid:  
Legt an die Wurzel euer Scheit,  
so wie der Kräutersammler tut;  
und nicht mit dieser Gier geruht  
bis sie mit allen Fasern ist heraus.

Ich will nicht weiter ins Einzelne gehen und nicht mehr anführen, ich glaube, wir besitzen bereits bessere Übersetzungen des Dhammapada.

Friedrich Weller.

PAUL ALTHAUS, *Mystische Lyrik aus dem indischen Mittelalter in Nachdichtungen*. Mit einer Einleitung von Stanislav Schayer. München (Recht-Verlag) 1923. XXXII, 157 Seiten.

Die indische Gedankenwelt ist in solchem Maße von mystischen Vorstellungen und Gedankengängen durchsetzt, daß man, wenn man innerhalb



ihrer noch im Besonderen von Mystik sprechen will, diesen Begriff so eng wie nur möglich fassen muß. Der Buddhismus ist ohne die mystische Versenkung überhaupt nicht zu verstehen, der alte Brahmanismus nicht ohne die machtvolle Identifikation des Makro- und Mikrokosmos, sei dieser der Mensch oder nur der Opferaltar. Wenn man trotzdem als die eigentliche Mystik jene Schicht des Hinduismus bezeichnet, die der Inder Bhaktimārga nennt, so ist es, daß wir nur hier, trotz des nachträglich hineinkonstruierten Monismus, praktisch einen ausgeprägten Dualismus finden, der erst die Gegenüberstellung Gott — Mensch erlaubt, das heiße Ringen der menschlichen Seele um Gott, der Gnade des Herrn um den sündigen Menschen. Alles konzentriert sich auf dieses Erlebnis, alle kosmische Spekulation wird dem gegenüber Nebensache. Aber dieses Verhältnis zwischen der Gottheit und dem Menschen ist keine gleichmäßige Einheit. Von dem ersten Sich-Unterwerfen unter die göttliche Macht wächst es zur heißen Liebesinbrunst, zum glühenden Verlangen nach dem Einen — um schließlich sich überschlagend wieder in das Leben zurückzufinden mit dem Bewußtsein, in Gottes Hand zu ruhen — auslaufend endlich in einen schlichten Theismus. Bei den shaivitischen Dichtern und den krishnaitischen Heiligen eine leidenschaftliche Sehnsucht nach der Vereinigung mit Gott, bei Kabir, Nānak, Tulsidās eine innere Ruhe und Gottergebenheit. Es ist dieselbe Entwicklung, wie sie zwischen unserer mittelalterlichen Mystik und Luther liegt. Und es mag daher die Frage sein, ob man, wie es die Autoren dieses Buches tun, auch die letzteren zur indischen Mystik rechnen darf, und nicht vielmehr zur indischen Reformation. Es kommt so eine innere Zerrissenheit in das Werk, um so mehr als auch noch Dichter aus dem Kreise des indisch-muslimischen Sufismus aufgenommen wurden. Und die Einleitung steht denn auch den Problemen dieser Mystik ziemlich hilflos gegenüber. Sehr beschlagen in der alten Philosophie, verliert ihr Verfasser den Grund, sobald er über Shankara und Rāmānuja hinaus, nicht mehr mit der Fragestellung der älteren Philosophen arbeiten kann: der Gottesvorstellung und ihres Verhältnisses zur Erlösungslehre. Freilich kennt auch die hinduistische Mystik solche Probleme; aber es handelt sich für sie gar nicht darum, sie wirklich zu lösen, sondern den Gegensatz zwischen der überkommenen Tradition und ihrem nicht philosophisch, sondern gefühlsmäßig religiös empfunden Gottesglauben scholastisch zu verdecken. Ein Verständnis des Bhaktimārga ist eben nicht von der philosophischen Spekulation, sondern von der psychologischen Analyse der mystischen Erlebnisse dieser Heiligen zu erreichen, die doch nur Wert auf die Gesinnung des Herzens legten und die Beschäftigung mit der Philosophie nur duldeten, wenn nicht gar als schädlich erachteten. Dadurch, daß dies nicht beachtet wurde, fehlt den Gedichten auch der



innere Zusammenhang, und der wunderbare Aufbau der Heilstufen von der kontemplativen Ruhe bis zum höchsten Liebesrausch, wie ihn so schön die Bangiya Padābali und der Padakalpadruma zeigen, kommt nirgends zum Durchblick. Was den Versen eine Einheit gibt, ist, daß sie alle einer Quelle, dem großen religiösen Sammelwerk der Sikh, dem *Adi Granth*, entnommen sind, und zwar der englischen Übertragung von Trumpp. Ebenso steht es mit den Abbildungen. Hübsch ist die Lichtdrucktafel, eine kleine Szene aus dem krishnaitischen Legendenkreis: Rādhā und Krishna im Vrindāwalde — welcher Name übrigens hier auffallenderweise immer Bindra-ban verschrieben ist. — Als Vignetten sind aber einfach die Textillustrationen aus Coomaraswamy's *Indian Drawings*, London 1910—1912, abgedruckt. Zum Inhalt haben jedoch diese Skizzen von Tieren, Schreibern, usw., oft ganz andersartiger Herkunft, keine Beziehung. Freilich hätten sich zum Inhalt der Gedichte nur Illustrationen aus der Rādhā-Krishna-Mythe finden lassen. Aber es existieren doch zum mindesten alte traditionelle Porträts vieler von den Dichtern. Die Sammlung Spencer-Churchill enthält solche von Kabir, Rāv Dās, Sāin und Pipā, das Lahore-Museum von Tulsidās und Rāv Dās, das Berliner von Kabir und Shaikh Farid Shakarganj. Und solche der Sikhgurus sind überhaupt recht häufig; Macauliffe (*Sikh-Religion*) und Gupta (*Sikh School of Painting*) haben eine ganze Reihe alter und guter Stücke veröffentlicht. Wissenschaftlich bringt so das Buch nichts Neues. Daß den Übertragungen nur der englische Text von Trumpp zugrunde liegt, wird man den Autoren nicht nachtragen dürfen, da, wie nun einmal die Verhältnisse liegen, die Werke selbst der bedeutendsten Dichter, die in den Volkssprachen abgefaßt sind, mit Ausnahme einiger weniger englischer Ausgaben, auf deutschen Bibliotheken so gut wie nicht zu finden sind. Künstlerisch ist die teilweise recht holperige Diktion der Originale wohl getroffen, was aber diesen Strophen dennoch ihre Schönheit gibt, die starke Persönlichkeit und religiöse Inbrunst ihrer Verfasser, kommt leider nicht zur Geltung. Man vergleiche damit nur einmal R. N. Tagores Nachdichtung Kabirs! Was ist nun der Wert dieses Buches? Daß es beitrage, das Interesse weiterer deutscher Kreise auf die Geisteswelt jenes Indiens zu lenken, das außerhalb der Bannmeilen der klassischen Hindukultur und der künstlich weitergepflegten Sanskrit- und Prakritliteratur des Mittelalters liegt. Vielleicht, daß doch nun allmählich der Bann gebrochen wird, den die Romantik um unsere Einstellung zu Indien geschlagen hat, und auch in Deutschland der Weg endlich frei wird zu einer gleichwertigen Betrachtung der indischen Kultur, von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, in ihrem Heimatland wie ihren Kolonisations- und Missionsgebieten!

Hermann Goetz.



PROFESSOR BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, *Die Lebensanschauung des Inders*. Verlag von Markert & Petters, 1923, VIII, 62.

Das, an das größere Publikum sich wendende Büchlein enthält eine Anzahl kurz gefaßter Aufsätze und Bemerkungen über Indien, die unter den Titeln „Lebensanschauung des Inders“, „Politische Strömungen in der indischen Kultur“, „Die soziale Philosophie Jung-Indiens“, „Aus der Frauenbewegung in Indien“, „Moderne indische Aquarelle“ zusammengefaßt sind, und schließt mit der scharfen Kritik eines deutschen Berichtes über das heutige Indien (Strauch in der Sonntagsbeilage der D. A. Z. vom 22. Juli 1923). Der Verfasser will falsche Vorstellungen über Indien im Geist der Deutschen berichtigen und kämpft erfolgreich für das Ansehen seiner Heimat, die auf politischem wie kulturellem Gebiet Gleichberechtigung auf Grund ihrer Vergangenheit und ihrer Befähigung für die Gegenwart erstrebt. Dem ganz populär gehaltenen Buche ist Verbreitung in weiteren Leserkreisen zu wünschen. Einige Bemerkungen daraus seien hier wiedergegeben. P. 23: „Damit man soziale, wirtschaftliche, gesetzliche und verfassungsmäßige Vergleichen zwischen der Vergangenheit von Asien und Europa aufstellen kann, ist es unerlässlich, daß wir uns in die richtige, historische Perspektive einstellen“.

P. 24: „In dem heutigen Freiheitskampf der Inder soll man nicht nur den militärischen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Krieg gegen den fremden Imperialismus sehen, sondern auch den geistigen Krieg gegen den okzidentalistischen Chauvinismus in den Rassen-, Kultur- und anderen sozialen Fragen“.

P. 27: „Die romantische Überschätzung der Universalität, der Unendlichkeit der Geisterwelt usw. hat dazu geführt, aus Indien ein Synonym für den Transzendentalismus, Pantheismus, Mystizismus und die Traumphilosophie zu machen... die deutschen Gelehrten haben sich... von ihrer eigenen Weisheit dem wirklichen Indien gegenüber blenden lassen“.

P. 28: „In der sogenannten „Indienfahrt“ von Bonsels lesen die Deutschen die Erzählungen über den Tierkampf, zwei Dienstboten, eine Prostituierte usw. Wenn aber ein derartiger Roman als eine Beschreibung über das indische Leben in Deutschland (1922—1923) fast als volkstümlich gilt, so ist man erstaunt, wie weit der deutsche Geschmack heruntergefallen und wie blind dem Wahrheitssinn der Geist der Bevölkerung geworden ist“.

P. 33: „Der heutige Swaradsch-Aufstand hat sein intellektuelles und moralisches Rückgrat mit einer langen Tradition voll starker herausfordernder Mächte geführt“.

P. 47: „Die Geschichte der mohammedanischen Frau, Abadi Hanu aus Delhi, ist schon vielen zu Ohren gekommen. Ihre beiden Söhne, die



in Indien durch ihre hingebende Vaterlandsliebe und ihren Freiheitsgeist bekannt sind, wurden ohne Beschuldigung in den Kerker geworfen. Die hochbetagte Mutter war darüber nicht beängstigt, sondern freute sich und erklärte öffentlich, daß sie ihre zwei Söhne verleugnen und verstoßen würde, sollten sie ihr gegebenes Gelübde brechen. Das ist der Zeitgeist der indischen Frauen. . . .“

Seine Ansichten über die deutsche Kolonialbewegung sollte der Verfasser etwas berichtigen. Deutschland hat keine alten Kulturländer erworben und beherrscht, sondern in seine ehemaligen Kolonien die erste Kultur eingeführt, dort eine gerechte und fürsorgliche Verwaltung eingerichtet und der Bevölkerung die Wohltaten der eigenen Heimat gebracht. Hinzugefügt ist am Ende ein Verzeichnis der Schriften des sehr rührigen und eifrig für das Verständnis seiner Heimat kämpfenden Verfassers.

Alfred Hillebrandt.

SARKAR, BENOY KUMAR: The political institutions and theories of the Hindus. A study in comparative politics. Leipzig, Markert & Petters, 1922 (XXIV, 242 S. gr. 8°).

Der Verfasser ist einer der eifrigsten Arbeiter auf dem Gebiet der altindischen Politik, von ihm stammt eine Übersetzung der Çukraniti, eine Arbeit über "the positive back-ground of Hindu Sociology" (Book 1: non-political; Book 2: political) u. a. m. Zugänglich dürfte deutschen Lesern nur dies Werk sein, das er unter dem oben genannten Titel erscheinen ließ.

Bisher ist das Studium der altindischen Politik im Osten wie im Westen vernachlässigt und hinter das von Literatur und Philosophie zurückgestellt worden. Es zeigt sich jetzt, da den Indischen Nitiwerken mehr Aufmerksamkeit zugewendet wird, daß die Inder nicht nur Philosophen, sondern auch sehr nüchterne und menschenkundige Staatsmänner besaßen, die erkannt hatten, daß es „eine schwere Aufgabe ist, die Geschicke eines Staates zu leiten“. Der Verfasser der vorliegenden Schrift verfügt über eine ungewöhnliche Belesenheit und hat Quellen benützt, die uns nicht in gleichem Umfange zur Seite stehen. Er verteilt den Stoff über neun Kapitel, die von der Hindu Constitution wie von der Theorie "of the Constitution in Hindu Political Philosophy" und der Theorie "of Sovereignty in Hindu Political Philosophy" handeln; er zieht nicht nur die theoretischen Werke, sondern auch die Inschriften herbei und unterwirft die südindischen Staaten einer Betrachtung. Ich finde das Werk sehr inhaltreich, aber auch wenig konzentriert und hätte mehr Vertiefung gewünscht. Mit vielen anderen Forschern nimmt Sarkar das Vorhandensein von Republiken in Altindien an, was, wie ich glaube, noch nicht erwiesen ist. Die Gana's im 12. Buch



des Mahābhārata jedenfalls bezeichnen nur die Aristokraten eines Landes. Wenn einzelne Gana's Münzen schlagen ließen, so wird das auf die regierenden Familien eines Landes eher als auf einen demokratischen Staat zu beziehen sein. Auch scheint zweifelhaft, ob die Verhältnisse des buddhistischen Saṃgha (S. 37) für die Beurteilung politischer Zustände herbeigezogen werden können. Die Belesenheit Sarkars erstreckt sich auf Werke des Westens und zieht in großem Umfange, wie die Literaturübersicht zeigt, solche in französischer, englischer oder deutscher Sprache zur Charakteristik der indischen Anschauungen herbei. Er sagt, gewiß mit Recht, S. 150: "that despotism is not the sole message of the East . . . that the West also has been the prolific parent of despotism". Aber er geht in seinen Vergleichen oft zu weit und hätte die indischen Ideen mehr hervorstellen sollen als uns dauernd von Aristoteles zu Augustin, Thomas von Aquin, Abul Fazl usw. usw. zu führen. Es scheint auch nicht, daß die Vergleiche immer stimmen. Nicht imstande alles zu kontrollieren, beschränke ich mich auf die Kritik einiger seiner Bemerkungen über Deutschland. Wenn er von William II's miserable failure in the attempt to wrench "world-dominion" from Great Britain's hands (137) spricht, so zeigt er sich der gegen W. II unterhaltenen Propaganda der Entente verfallen und legt diesem eine Absicht unter, von der kein wohl orientierter Deutscher etwas weiß. W. II war kein *vijigraha* (218). Auch Bismarcks "blood and iron" statecraft war keine Eroberungssucht, sondern bezieht sich nur auf die letzte Möglichkeit die deutschen Stämme zur Einheit zu führen. B. wußte, wie die Inder, daß der Krieg nur der äußerste der vier politischen Upāya's und Sieg wie Niederlage unsicher ist. Er hat auch bis zu seinem Abgange den Frieden Europas gewahrt. Solche Vergleiche wären besser unterblieben.

Das Werk ist "Young Asia" gewidmet. Möge es geeignet sein, ihm die Größe seiner politischen Vergangenheit vor Augen zu führen.

Alfred Hillebrandt

1. A. SAUTER, Unter Brahminen und Paria. K. F. Köhler, Leipzig, 1923.

Sauters Absicht ist es nicht, dem Leser eine Fülle von Einzelwissen, zu einem geschlossenen Bilde indischen Lebens zu verweben. Er zeichnet eine Reihe Skizzen vom indischen Adel, seinen Weltleuten und Heiligen, Männer und Frauen werden uns auf dem lebhaft geschilderten Hintergrunde indischer Natur gezeichnet, vom Tierleben wird besonders das der Affen in einzelnen Skizzen lebendig. Unsere Kenntnis und Erkenntnis indischen Wesens wird aber durch das Buch nicht gefördert, bis auf ganze Kleinigkeiten enthält es nichts, das nicht schon bekannt gewesen wäre.

Seine Angaben vertragen oft die bessernde Hand, ich verweise auf die Anm. S. 207, die Angaben über den Buddhismus S. 28. An anderen Stellen wäre man erfreut, Ausführlicheres zu hören, so, wenn S. 211 angegeben wird, daß es noch Ureinwohner gibt, denen der Gebrauch des Feuers unbekannt ist, denn das wäre ein ethnologisches Kuriosum allerersten Ranges. Auch die Angaben über die Zwergvölker sind leider sogar dem Orte nach sehr unbestimmt (in der Nähe des Narbudaflusses). Wichtig ist die Beschreibung des höchsten Bewußtseinszustandes eines modernen Yogin, weil sie das Denken dieser Art moderner religiöser Führer Indiens als durchaus komplexer, magischer Natur erkennen läßt, „die wahre Eigenschaft der Seele ist die des Raumes“ sagt der Svāmin selber, ein Sata, der auch bei Cassierer stehen könnte. Damit ist, soviel ich sehe, leider auch die Möglichkeit vernichtet, eine Rettung für unser abendländisches Wesen aus dem Geistesleben der indischen Yogin abzuleiten (S. 85).

Das Buch geht nirgends in die Tiefe. Es ist eine leichte, freundliche Plauderei eines warmherzigen Freundes indischer Erde, die dem, der noch nichts von Indien weiß, lebendige Stimmungseindrücke in leicht verdaulicher Form vermitteln mag.

Friedrich Weller.

RAJANI KANTA DAS, Lecturer in Economics, New York University;  
Formerly Special Agent, Department of Labor, United States  
Government:

1. Factory Labor in India (216 Seiten).
2. The Labor Movement in India (112 Seiten).
3. Factory Legislation in India (92 Seiten).
4. Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast (126 Seiten).

Sämtlich im Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin und Leipzig 1923.

Ein indischer Gelehrter, jetzt an der New York University tätig, früher in Diensten des Arbeitsministeriums in Washington, entwirft in den drei erstgenannten Büchern ein Bild der sozialen Entwicklung Britisch-Indiens in den letzten beiden, zumal dem letzten Menschenalter. Der Autor ist zu seinen Studien über die Lage der Arbeiterschaft in Indien durch den Wunsch veranlaßt worden, die Ursachen der außerordentlichen Armut dieses Landes aufzudecken. Er gelangt zu dem Schlusse, daß diese Armut, die sowohl absolut wie relativ ihres gleichen sucht, unmittelbar durch die politische Abhängigkeit Indiens veranlaßt ist, das dauernd gewaltige Zahlungen an England zu leisten hat (insbesondere in der Form der home charges), daß jedoch nicht minder bedeutsam die bisherige Unfähigkeit des



indischen Volkes mitspielt, den besten Gebrauch von den wirtschaftlichen Möglichkeiten des Landes zu machen. Nötwendig sei die Modernisierung der industriellen Organisation, um den Wirkungsgrad der Arbeit zu steigern, Seite an Seite damit aber die Einführung eines gerechteren Systems der Einkommensverteilung.

Das wichtigste und umfassendste der vier Bücher ist das über die Fabrikarbeit in Indien. Nüchtern gibt der Verfasser hier in planmäßiger, offenbar vorlesungsartiger Einteilung Auskunft über die Entstehung der Fabrikarbeit in Indien, über die Fabrikdisziplin, die Arbeitsstunden, Gesundheit, Sicherheit, Leistungsgrad der industriellen Arbeit, Entlohnung, Lebenshaltung, Fabrikgesetzgebung und Arbeiterorganisationen. Wir erfahren mancherlei kaum Bekanntes. Lehrreich sind z. B. die Darlegungen über die Unstetigkeit der indischen Fabrikarbeiter und ihre Ursachen. Es gibt Fälle, in denen einzelne Arbeiter 15–20 Jahre ununterbrochen in derselben Fabrik tätig gewesen sind. Andere wechseln häufig. Aber die Ursachen liegen nicht in ihnen. Denn seit vielen Jahrhunderten ist gerade der Inder gewöhnt, sich mit den einmal herrschenden Zuständen abzufinden und auf den Versuch ihrer Änderung zu verzichten. Es müssen also die Gründe für den häufigen Wechsel der Stellung in dem Arbeitssystem liegen: wenn die Arbeitszeit und die Löhne Unzufriedenheit erregen, kann die Arbeit nicht stetig sein. Das bekämpft auch die Ansicht, der indische Arbeiter sei unpünktlich und zum Schwänzen geneigt. Im Gegenteil sind die Tore der indischen Fabriken meist schon lange vor der Öffnung von den Arbeitern umlagert, weil diese zu arm sind, als daß sie Uhren besäßen, und daher aus Furcht, zu spät zu kommen, lieber zu früh zur Stelle sind.

Im allgemeinen ist die Gesamtlage des indischen Arbeiters wohl noch heute, wenngleich sich durch die sozialpolitische Gesetzgebung des letzten Menschenalters manches gebessert hat, die, daß er von dem Unternehmer ausgebeutet werden kann. Besonders gilt das für die Lohnzahlung. In vielen Fabriken werden die Löhne 14 Tage oder noch länger zurückgehalten unter dem Vorgeben, die pünktliche Zahlung würde einen noch häufigeren und schnelleren Stellenwechsel im Gefolge haben. Dieses Verfahren hat namentlich in den letzten Jahren zahlreiche Streike veranlaßt. Streckt doch der Arbeiter, der seinen Lohn zu spät erhält, dem Unternehmer zinslos für eine bestimmte Zeit eine Summe vor, die ihm selbst während dieses Zeitraumes fehlt, so daß er oft genug deshalb Geld borgen und seinerseits Zinsen dafür zahlen muß. Es ist vorgekommen, daß Unternehmer auf diese Weise Betriebskapital erhielten, für das sie sonst 5–6 Prozent Zinsen hätten zahlen müssen, während die Arbeiter 50–100 Prozent verloren.



Über die Frauen- und Kinderarbeit in Indien, über die Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung dort (die erste Gewerkschaft wurde 1890, die zweite erst 1910 gegründet, und nicht vor 1918 begann eine wirkliche Gewerkschaftsbewegung) berichtet Das ebenso objektiv, ruhig und klar wie über die Lebenshaltung, den Gesundheitszustand, die Stellung zum Alkohol und vieles andere. Zuweilen stützt er sich auf amerikanische Quellen, so in den Vergleichen der Lebenshaltung der Arbeiter in den Vereinigten Staaten, Japan und Indien. Die Hauptquellen sind die statistischen Veröffentlichungen indischer Behörden und eine Anzahl englischer Blaubücher.

Dieselbe Objektivität zeichnet das Buch über die Hinduarbeiter an der pazifischen Küste von Amerika aus. Die Auswanderung indischer Arbeiter, um im fremden Lande ein höheres Einkommen zu erzielen als daheim, hat im letzten Menschenalter großen Umfang angenommen. In den angelsächsischen Ländern stößt sie überall auf Gegnerschaft. In den Vereinigten Staaten, Kanada, Natal und den übrigen englischen Gebieten Afrikas werden den Indern (auch und nicht zum wenigsten den indischen Kleinhändlern) durch die Gesetzgebung oder durch die Verwaltung viele Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Gandhi hat seine Sporen in der Vertretung der Rechte seines Volkes in einer Protestbewegung der südafrikanischen Inder gegen solches Unrecht gewonnen. Es ist daher zu begrüßen, daß Das in seinem Werke über die Hinduarbeiter an der pazifischen Küste die dortigen Verhältnisse genauer untersucht. Wir möchten wünschen, daß er ein ähnliches Werk auch für die Inder in Afrika schreibe.

Ernst Schultze.

HOFFMANN, S. J.: JOHANNES B. 37 Jahre Missionär in Indien.  
Verlagsanstalt Tyrolia, Innsbruck.

Kurze Missionsschrift über Geschichte, gegenwärtigen Zustand, soziale Missionseinrichtungen unter den Mundas. Offen im Urteil: nach Hoffmann sind die Ergebnisse der Mission in Indien nicht überwältigend. Versuch, die Gründe aufzudecken und eine Methode aufzustellen, die bessere Resultate verspricht (dei Nobili). S. 27 folgen den Heiden die Protestanten.

Friedrich Weller.

BAURAT G. TH. HOECH (KOLBERG). Die Eingliederung Indiens in die Geschichte der Baukunst. (Mannus-Bibliothek, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. G. Kossinna, No. 29). Leipzig, Verlag von Curt Kabitzsch, 1922. 43 Seiten mit 37 Textabbildungen.

Der Hauptteil der vorliegenden Schrift ist eine Wiederholung der vom Verfasser in der Zeitschrift für Bauwesen 1914 vorgetragenen



phantastischen Hypothesen, denen sich neue gleichwertige Ausführungen über Ornamentik heigesellen. Hoeck schwebt das Ziel vor, die primitivsten Grundlagen der indischen Architektur aufzudecken. Er erblickt sie für alles — für Tempel und Stüpa Vorderindiens wie für die chinesischen Pagoden — in der Bambuskonstruktion. Um für diese Ansicht Gläubige zu gewinnen, wird eine ausgedehnte Literatur gewaltsam ausgepreßt. Zweifellos waren die menschlichen Behausungen in frühesten Zeiten Hütten aus Buschwerk, Holz und Gras, wo nicht die Vegetationsarmut zu Lehmhäuten zwang. In den meisten Tropenländern liefert das Bambusrohr das bequemste, zwar wenig dauerhafte, aber stets wieder leicht zu ersetzende Baumaterial. Hat man sich aber an irgendwie höhere Lebensansichten gewöhnt, so greift man, wo nur möglich, namentlich für repräsentative Bauten, bald zum widerstandsfähigeren Holz. Schon diese Binsenwahrheit sollte davor warnen, in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Architektur von einem sogenannten „Bambusstil“ als geradezu allgemeiner Grundlage zu sprechen. Gewiß werden manche ursprüngliche Elemente beibehalten, die bei neuem Baustoff tektonisch überflüssig sind und dann höchstens dekorativen Charakter haben. Aber so geradlinig wie H. die Gewölberippen der indischen Höhlentempel, den nordindischen Sikkhara, die indisch-muhammedanischen Denksäulen, Minarets und Kuppelbauten, die chinesischen geschweiften Etagendächer aus dem Bambusbau entstehen läßt, ist die Entwicklung wahrlich nicht verlaufen. Und gänzlich verfehlt ist es, für „Topen und Dagoben“ ein Bambusvorbild zu konstruieren; hier bleibt der Tumulus die wahrscheinlichste Grundlage, und die architektonischen Teile, die den Holzstil vertreten (Gittersteinsätze um Krönung und Basis, die Tore der Umzäunung, wie sie z. B. in Sanchi erhalten sind) treten sekundär hinzu. Die meisten Beispiele, auf die sich H. stützt, sind schon wegen ihres späten Datums dazu ungeeignet. Als die Orissa-Kuppel entstand, hatte der Steinbau in Indien längst schon, zum mindesten für Kultzwecke, den Holzbau abgelöst; dieser Wechsel war, wenn nicht alle Nachrichten trügen, im dritten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert eingetreten. Aus früheren Perioden ist, von etlichen einfachen Stüpa vielleicht abgesehen, der Steinbau nicht zu belegen. Aber auch in die obengenannte Regierungszeit Asokas vermögen wir mit Sicherheit nur die monolithischen Säulen mit den persischen Kapitellen zu datieren. Bald danach schwingt sich die Skulptur zu hohen Leistungen empor; was wir aber an den Reliefs der Sanchi-Tore, an den Resten der Stüpa von Bhārhut und Amarāvati an Architekturdarstellungen sehen, schildert noch durchgehends den Holzbaustil. Diesen treffen wir auch in den Höhlentempeln von Ajanta, Bhaja usw., und mit den frühesten freistehenden Steinarbeiten, den im 7. Jahrhundert aus dem Fels gehauenen Tempeln der südindischen Pallava-Herrscher, verhält es sich ebenso; die deutlichsten



Merkmale sind die in Stein nachgeahmten Holzrippen der Dachwölbung, die sich an den Hufeisenbögen der Caitya-Fronten in den Höhlenanlagen zeigen, und auch an einigen Steintempeln der Pallava-Ära lassen sich solche Nachbildungen feststellen.

Alle diese Holzvorbilder sind verloren gegangen, und auch die frühesten sie nachahmenden Ziegelbauten waren nicht sehr langlebig; nur wenige Beispiele sind es, auf die sich die Forschung berufen kann.

Sind wir erst einmal bis zum 15. Jahrhundert vorgerückt, so finden wir die indische Architektur von Elementen durchsetzt, die mit der Fremdherrschaft des Islam eingedrungen sind. Aber sogar Bauten dieses Stils bezieht Hoech in das Bambus-System, frischweg dekretiert er (p. 39), daß die Langhausbauten aus dem Holzstil, die Zentralbauten aus dem Bambusstil hervorgegangen sind!

Noch naiver und unbekümmerter geht Hoech in der Ableitung des symbolischen und dekorativen Beiwerks vor. Wenn er die Lotuspflanze als unerschöpfliche Quelle für Kultsymbole und für den Schmuck religiöser Bauten und Bildwerke voranstellt, so ist das sicher berechtigt. Was soll man aber zu seiner Idee sagen, das bekannte Trisūla (Dreizaack) auf den Lotus-Wurzelstock zurückzuführen und das Vorbild im Schlamm Boden des Wassergrundes zu suchen? Mit keiner Silbe trägt er der Tatsache Rechnung, daß der „Kreis“ unter diesem Symbol (p. 15) das Rad der buddhistischen Lehre bedeutet. Die Ausführungen über die Verwendung der einzelnen Pflanzenteile des Lotus bezeugen eingehendes Naturstudium, das jedoch durch die Phantasie des Autors auf Irrwege abgeleitet wird. An den Haaren herbeigezogen ist die Deutung der Volutenform an den Querbalken der Sanchi-Tore (p. 18) — kein Wunder, daß dann auch die Verwendung griechischer Kunstmotive auf indischem Boden verschoben erklärt wird. Für die nordwestindische Abwandlung der Akanthusblätter auf korinthischen Kapitellen gilt Hoech als Vorbild das faltig niederhängende Wasserblatt des Lotus (p. 16), und er bekommt es fertig, in die Ornamentik des Athener Lysikrates-Denkmals (334 v. Chr.), das er auch sonst als vom indischen Bambusstil beeinflusst erklärt, beim Vergleich mit offenkundig jüngeren korinthischen Kapitellen Indiens vereinfachte Abwandlungen sicher älterer, in Indien bodenständiger Formen hineinzulesen!! Die Sprache der Gandhāra-Monumente und ihr Einfluß auf die indisch-ostasiatische Kunst wird einfach ignoriert; sollte man es nach allem, was Foucher, Grünwedel, Le Coq und Stein erforscht und veröffentlicht haben, für möglich halten, daß der Satz (p. 26) gedruckt wird: „Der Einfluß der Hellenen auf Indien beschränkt sich im wesentlichen auf die Mäozkunst“!!

Alles in allem: das kleine Buch mit dem großen programmatischen Titel ist eine schmerzliche Enttäuschung.

L. Scherman.



BENOY KUMAR SARKAR; *The Futurism of young Asia and other essays on the relations between the East and the West*. Berlin, Julius Springer, 1922.

The fine volume in which Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar has collected his various essays, reviews, lectures written or delivered on various occasions and republished here (under the 5 headings: the futurism of Young Asia, Asia and Eur-America, revolutions in China, tendencies in Hindu culture, young India and Appendix young India in Exact Sciences) will not fail to attract the interest of Orientalists as well as of politicians who pay attention to the spiritual movements and stirring political questions of the East.

The events of the year 1905 which Professor Sarkar characterizes as the year of the birth of Young Asia, and the still more impressive facts of the Great War against the economical rivalry of Germany, and last not least the proclamation of the principle of the right of nations and their self-determination have revolutionised the minds of Young Asia, producing an effect probably unexpected to those, who thought it wise to remodel the European map in a manner betraying more the hatred against competitive Germany than the insight of leading statesmen: They did not, or would not foresee that this principle so eagerly effectuated in Europe from a mere political point of view, would equally apply to the once highly cultivated, and now subdued nations of the East. The conflict, says Professor Sarkar, has been, potentially at least, a mighty factor toward Asia's advance in the near future. For the war has given Asia the one thing she needed—a complete change in the diplomatic grouping of powers and in the values obtaining in the political psychology of all nations (p. 23).

Young Asia appears now on the stage and puts in a claim to its own rights. It does not understand why the boons granted to Lithuania or Poland should be withheld from peoples of the East who enjoyed a high civilization long before anything like it was dreamed of in the home of their oppressors, and who show even now their capabilities in a way not at all inferior to the European mind. Kumar Sarkar accuses Western scholars of committing three fallacies in the application of the comparative method to the study of race-questions. In the first place, they do not take the same *class* of facts. They compare . . . the thoughts and activities of the higher intellectual and economic grades of the Occident with those of the illiterates and paupers and half-fed masses of the Orient . . . , secondly, the Eur-Americans do not apply the same method of *interpretation* to the data of the Orient as to those of the Occident; . . . in the third place . . . they compare the old institutions of the Orient with the last



achievements of the Occident, and they ignore the fact that it is only in very recent times that the same old conditions have disappeared from the West (14 ff.).

Young Asia reminds the West that it is no longer willing to believe in the long held up dogma of the 'superior race' or 'the white man's burden' (p. 18. 287), which he was not invited to take upon his shoulders and might easily throw off on those who think themselves the legitimate heirs and proprietors of the East.

Sarkar has taken up the case of Young Asia and pleads in a most skilful manner. His astonishing acquaintance with the history of European civilization and its most celebrated representatives as well as his familiarity with the modern History of the East render his book fascinating reading, his sense of sarcasm adding to it a peculiar charm, which makes the reading the more attractive. 'The time, he says, is fast approaching when Europe and America will have to admit that their peoples must not greater claims or privileges in Asia than the peoples of Asia can possibly possess within the bounds of Europe and America' (34). He wishes to show that the civic sense and political genius of the Western races are nowhere superior to those of the Hindus, Chinese and Mohammedans (289) and depicts in vivid colours the sad lot of China, which may serve as a model for the fate awaiting a people which because of its inward discord and military unpreparedness despite its soldierlike qualifications falls a prey to aggressive and egoistic instincts of well-armed nations. To day, he says, in China every important undertaking of the government, every work of public utility, the management of post offices, railways, or iron and steel factories is being directed by foreign advisers and experts (243). In international relations, not to have the sinews of war is tantamount to inviting thralldom and submitting to oppression (239). 'Look on France, the cradle of liberty'. 'Which of the colonial Powers has been a more criminal offender on this score than the French republic?' 'The treatment of the Chinese empire since 1842 and subsequently of the Chinese republic by the Powers has left no warm corner in Young China's heart for one 'foreign devil' as against another (32). The expulsion of the West from the East is the sole preliminary to the discussion of fundamental peace terms' (25. 303). The book deserves to be strongly recommended as a sign of the inquietude of the Eastern mind and its awakening. The many names of Indians mentioned in the Appendices, who have won great estimation as scientists, poets, scholars justify the hopes that the author sets on the rising generation and India's future. But I imagine that he trusts too much on the permanency of affairs in Sovjet-Russia and on the possibility of an alliance of the international socialism of continental



Europe with the military nationalism of Young Asia (p. 35). He seems to disdain the work of philologists and antiquarians though he should acknowledge that their work has added much to the appreciation of ancient India and the Genius of the forefathers of Young India. Can there be greater homage done to this Genius than the fact that now for the third time a German translation of the holiest of their writings appears? Sarkar quotes Bismarck's word of blood and iron. It was said with respect to German affairs only and meant, that considering the utter failure of all other means to bring about the German unity, the appeal to arms was the last Upāya, that could secure that much desired end. After the foundation of the German empire Bismarck knew no higher aim than to be a powerful defender of German welfare and European peace. Generalization of that utterance, intelligible only in the above connection, would be just as unsubstantiated as the fable of William II warlike propensities.

Alfred Hillebrandt.

FRIEDRICH BILABEL, Ein koptisches Fragment über die Begründer des Manichaeismus (Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrussammlungen, Heft 3). Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1924. Verlags-Nr. 1824. 16 S. Gr. 8°.

Manis Absicht entsprechend, eine die Erfüllung der bisherigen Glaubensformen bedeutende Weltreligion zu stiften, hat der Religionsgründer bereits zu seinen Lebzeiten eine umfassende Missionstätigkeit eingeleitet. Nach Mitteilung Reitzensteins (Historische Zeitschrift, 3. Folge XXX, S. 15. Anm.) finden sich in den Andreas zur Bearbeitung überlassenen manichäischen Fragmenten aus Turfan Angaben über die Entsendung eines eigenen manichäischen Sendboten nach Ägypten. Wie in Nordafrika, wo Augustin neun Jahre manichäischer Auditor war, hat der Manichaeismus in christlichem Gewande — Mani gab sich als den Parakleten aus — auch im Nillande eifrig Anhänger gewonnen. So sollen zur Zeit des Patriarchen Timotheus von Alexandrien in Ägypten die meisten Metropoliten, Bischöfe und Mönche Manichäer gewesen sein (Keller, Realenc. f. prot. Theol. XII, S. 224, v. Wesendonk, Die Lehre des Mani, Leipzig, 1922, S. 53). Hat Nordafrika in den Streitschriften Augustins gegen die Manichäer uns wenigstens für die abendländische Form des Manismus die wertvollsten Zeugnisse überliefert, so hat v. Le Coq (Die manichäischen Miniaturen, 1923, S. 10. Anm. 3) die in Ägypten gefundenen Reste manichäischen Schrifttums mit Recht als ziemlich kümmerlich bezeichnet. D. S. Margoliouth im Journal of Egyptian Archaeology II, 1915 und W. E. Crum im Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1919 haben diese spärlichen ägyptischen Funde veröffentlicht.



Nun hat Fr. Bilabel unter den koptischen Papyrusfragmenten der Universitätsbibliothek zu Heidelberg ein auf die Manichäer bezügliches Bruchstück entdeckt, auf das er bereits beim Deutschen Orientalistentag von 1923 aufmerksam machte. Das Fragment, dessen Alter der Herausgeber nicht schätzen zu können angibt und das C. Schmidt ins 7. Jahrh. setzt (S. 8), stellt, wie Bilabel zutreffend hervorhebt, ein Bruchstück einer christlichen Schrift „contra Manichaeos“, dar, die Cyrillus am nächsten zu stehen scheint. Die Erzählung von Mānis sagenhaften Vorgängern Scythianus und Terebinthus entspricht der Darstellung des Acta Archelai. Danach wären Scythianus, Terebinthus und Corbicius-Māni drei aufeinander folgende Häupter der manichäischen Gemeinde gewesen. Theodoret von Cyra (Migne, Patr. Gr.-Lat. Sp. 83) läßt dagegen Terebinthus fort und macht Māni unter den Namen Scythianus zum Sklaven, der seine Besitzerin beerbt.

Historisch lassen sich diese Nachrichten von Vorläufern Mānis nicht halten. Fr. Bilabel hebt durchaus richtig hervor (S. 10, Anm.), daß aus der Polemik mit dem Christentum heraus sich bei den Manichäern das Bedürfnis geltend machte, die Gleichaltrigkeit der manichäischen Religion mit dem Christentum zu beweisen. Deshalb heißt es in den Acta Archelai (c. LI ff. ed. Routh: Rel. sacrae V), daß Scythianus zur Zeit der Apostel Begründer und Urheber der Manichäer war. In Terebinthus ist, wie bereits Kessler (Mani) gesehen hat, Buddha zu erkennen und diesen ihm auch in den Acta Archelai zugesprochenen Namen legt er sich ebenfalls in dem Heidelberger Fragment bei (S. 12). Ebenso verfährt die griechische Abschwörungsformel für Manichäer (Text bei Cotelerius, SS. PP. ap. op. I, S. 543; Kessler, Mani, S. 403 ff.; Jackson, Zoroaster, 2. Aufl., S. 253, vgl. v. Wesendonk, Die Lehre des Mani, S. 70, Anm. 3.) Buddha ist einer der religiösen Führer, auf die sich Māni ausdrücklich beruft. In Scythianus könnte ein Hinweis auf die arsakidische Abkunft Mānis durch seine Mutter erblickt werden, falls die Lesung „Ašghānīer“ im Fihrist 'ul 'ulūm des an-Nadīm zu Recht besteht. Die Parther wurden von den abendländischen Autoren bisweilen als Scythae bezeichnet, ein Verfahren, das die nomadische Herkunft dieser Dynastie erklärlich macht. Bei der weiten Verzweigung des arsakidischen Königshauses — man vergleiche wie viele Mitglieder heute im modernen Persien das Geschlecht der Kadscharen zählt, selbst wenn man vom gleichnamigen Stamm absieht — wäre die Zugehörigkeit von Mānis Mutter zu den Ašghāniern an sich durchaus denkbar, zumal sein Vater Patacius einer geachteten Familie von Hamadān entstammte. Den Namen Patacius trägt übrigens in einem Turfanfragment ein manichäischer Sendbote, der speziell ins römische Reich ausgesandt wird (Reitzenstein a. a. O.).



Die Verwendung des Namens Persis für Babylonien in dem Heidelberger Papyrus (S. 13 und 15), wie sie auch bei anderen christlichen Schriftstellern zu verzeichnen ist, erklärt sich daher, daß in der Partherzeit Ktesiphon eine der Residenzen des Großkönigs geworden war. Vielleicht fällt dadurch Licht auf das Fragment M. 42 aus Turfan (Andreas bei Reitzenstein a. a. O., S. 9), wonach Zoroastr (Zarathustra) zur Herrschaft von Pāra herabstieg; in einem Bruchstück seines Werkes Schāpūrakān, das in Turfan gefunden wurde (F. W. K. Müller, Handschriftenreste in Estrangelo aus Turfan II, S. 87), nennt sich Māni einen Arzt (d. i. Heiland, auch Zarathustra heißt in den Gāthās „Heller des Lebens“, Yasna XXXI, 19, XLIV, 2) aus dem Lande Babel. Ein anderes Mal betont er seine Abkunft aus Babel (Andreas bei M. Lidzbarski, Nachr. der Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. phil.-hist. Klasse, 1918, S. 302). Unter den Arsakiden und Sāsāniden bildeten Babylonien und Fārs offenbar einen Begriff.

Das Heidelberger Fragment enthält die Angabe (S. 13), daß „sie (in Persien-Babylonien) dem Mithras dienten, der die Sonne ist“. Mithra, der alte arische Lichtgott, den Zarathustra zurückgedrängt hat, ist seit der jüngeren Achämenidenzeit wieder hervorgetreten. Wie die mit ihm von Artaxerxes II. mit Mithra zusammen genannte Anāhitā, wohl ursprünglich eine Wassergottheit, mit Ištar, Aphrodite oder Artemis verglichen wurde, wovon schon Herodot I, 131 weiß, so erscheint Mithra als Marduk und Šamaš in Babylonien, als Apollon-Helios-Hermes auf dem Grabdenkmal des Antiochos von Kommagene. Daß die Verehrung des Mithra in Babylonien und anderen Teilen des persischen Reiches nicht den gleichen Charakter besaß wie der stark mit klein-asiatischen Elementen durchsetzte Mithraismus, sei erwähnt. Unter dem in den Acta Archelai als „Sohn des Mithra“ aufgeführten Labdacus ist ein Priester des Gottes zu verstehen, vergleiche den als Magier des Mithra in einer kappadokischen Inschrift genannten Sagarios (J. Marquart, Unters. zur Geschichte von Eran II, S. 122. Grégoire und Clermont-Ganneau, Bulletin de l'Académie des instr. 1908, S. 434 ff.).

Die von Terebinthus vor seinem Todessturz angerufenen Dämonen (S. 13) sind nach den Acta Archelai Luftdämonen. Unter den fünf Göttern — den biš tūnri der türkischen Fragmente —, die Ōrmazd wie eine Leibwache umgeben, nimmt der Äther oder der „sanfte Lufthauch“ (fravahar, fravahtar) den ersten Platz ein.

Das von Bilabel herausgegebene Fragment, das er als ein Überbleibsel einer selbständigen, bisher unbekannten Schrift „contra Manichaeos“ betrachtet (S. 16), bietet, wie die angegebenen Hinweise ergeben, trotz seines geringen Umfanges reichlichen Stoff zu religionsgeschichtlichen Betrachtungen. Zu der von Bilabel (S. 5) angeführten Literatur wären außer den vorstehend



bereits zitierten Schriften noch zu nennen: v. Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III*, Anh. zu den Abh. der Berliner Akademie 1922 und Bang, *Le Muséon* XXXVI, S. 137 ff. („Manichäische Laienbeichtspiegel“, auch als S.-A. erschienen), J. Scheftelowitz, „Is Manichaeism an Iranian religion?“ *Asia Major* I, S. 460 s. u.: v. Wesendonk, *Urmensch u. Seele*, Hannover, 1924, S. 114 Anm. Titus von Bostra (S. 16) ist syrisch von Lagarde, Berlin, 1859 herausgegeben worden. Ein Neudruck ist 1923 bei Lafaire in Hannover erschienen.

O. G. v. Wesendonk.

O. G. VON WESENDONK, *Die Lehre des Mani*, Leipzig (Harrassowitz) 1922; 86 p.

Wesendonks *Mani* führt uns in populärer Form in die Religion Manis ein und gibt uns ein Bild von Manis Leben und Wirken. Seine Darstellung von Manis Religion gründet sich im wesentlichen auf die jüngeren indirekten Quellen nichtmanichäischer Schriftsteller, während die Turfanfunde, welche wichtige Fragmente der manichäischen Literatur zu Tage gefördert haben und zum Teil ein ganz neues Licht auf diese Religion werfen, nur nebenbei gestreift werden. Die Darstellung mancher religiöser Ideen, wie sie uns in den Originalfragmenten entgegentritt, weicht zuweilen von den in den indirekten Quellen enthaltenen Angaben ab. In einzelnen Fällen ist der Grund dafür in der inkorrekten Überlieferung der sekundären Quelle zu suchen. So sind z. B. sowohl nach den manichäischen Texten als auch nach Fihrist besonders drei göttliche Elemente in der irdischen Welt mit der finsternen Materie vermischt. Nach ersteren sind es „Wind, Wasser und Feuer“ (Müller II, 17, 19 u. 39). In dem Fihrist'schen Bericht von dem Geschick der Seele heißt es: Die Seele des Wahrhaftigen steigt bis zur Mondsphäre empor. Während die beiden Seelen-Elemente „Licht und Wind“, die nicht mit der finsternen Macht vermischt sind, unmittelbar in die Lichtwelt aufsteigen, bleiben noch zunächst in dem Körper die mit der Materie vermengten Seelenelemente „Wasser, Feuer und sanfter Lufthauch“ zurück; sie bilden demnach den zweiten Seelenbestandteil, der erst später aufsteigt und zwar zunächst zur Sonne und Mond, wo diese drei Elemente geläutert werden. In der Lichtwelt vereinigen sich wieder die fünf Seelenbestandteile zu einer einheitlichen Seele, die dort als Gottheit fortlebt, (vgl. auch Reitzenstein, *Iran. Erlös.* 35). Nach den manichäischen Texten ist aber nicht „Wind“, sondern „der leise Lufthauch“ (*Fravahar*) eines der beiden ersten Elemente, die gleich nach dem Abscheiden zum Lichtort aufsteigen. *Fravahar* ist Manis oberstes Element und ist seiner uralten Bedeutung nach die göttliche bereits vor ihrer Inkorporierung existierende Seele, die nach dem Tode des Menschen wieder eine himmlische Gottheit



wird. Also ist die Überlieferung des Fihrist inkorrekt. Ich erwähne noch ein weiteres Beispiel der inkorrekten Überlieferung: Nach den manichäischen Texten wird Ōrmazd nicht als göttlicher Urmensch hingestellt, wohl aber in einer von dem Syrer Bar Khoni überlieferten manichäischen Legende, gemäß welcher der erste göttliche Mensch, der Sohn Zarvāns (= Ōrmazd) im Kampfe gegen die finsternen Gewalten von letzteren gefangen wird. Nach den manichäischen Texten jedoch wird nicht Ōrmazd, sondern dessen Sohn, der fünfältige Gott, von den Dämonen gefesselt, während Ōrmazd selbst stets den finsternen Mächten überlegen war. Dieses geht schon aus Coq III, 19 hervor: „Und es siegte der lichte Tag, er vernichtete die finstere Nacht, wieder dem früheren Kampfe des Gottes Ōrmazd ähnlich“. Und nach T. 1 a (Coq I, 19 L) war Ōrmazd zur finsternen Hölle herabgestiegen und „indem er den Feuergott zur Axt machte, spaltete er des Dämonen Haupt“. Hiergegen wird in T. II, 173 b (Coq I, 14) nur berichtet, daß Gott Wadziwantag und die Muttergöttheit den Ōrmazd, nachdem die ihn in die Hölle begleitenden Götter Chrōstag und Padwaytag ihn verlassen hatten, aus der Hölle aufwärts steigen ließen und zum Götterhimmel sandten, wo sie dann von ihm fünf Götter, die fünf Lichtelemente abschieden. Die Götter die damals die Schöpfung der Welt planten, brauchten hierzu die Lichtelemente des Ōrmazd und holten daher den in der Hölle kämpfenden Ōrmazd. Nach den manichäischen Originaltexten gerät nur der fünfältige Gott, der Sohn Ōrmazds, der einerseits die „Rüstung“ des Ōrmazd, anderseits aber auch seine „Leibwache“ ist, in die Gefangenschaft der Dämonen, er ist der Urmensch. Nur weil Ōrmazd im Kampfe gegen die finsternen Dämonen siegreich ist, werden auch die mit der Finsternis vermischten fünf Lichtwesen „durch die Hilfe des Gottes Ōrmizd“ erlöst werden (M. 2, Andreas bei Reitzenstein, Mand. B. 27). Nun wird die fehlerhafte Überlieferung des syrischen Textes des Bar Khoni noch dadurch erwiesen, daß ersterer elf Himmel angibt, während die manichäischen Originalfragmente nur zehn kennen.

Die aufgefundenen manichäischen Originaltexte sind nicht gleichwertig zu benutzen, sie enthalten teils sehr alte, teils ganz junge Schichten der manichäischen Religionsentwicklung. So werden z. B. im Sündenbekenntnis Chastuanist vier Arten Götter aufgezählt, von denen der Gottvater (*pidar be*, Müller I, 26) Zarvān dem Menschen das Siegel der Liebe aufdrückt, der Sonnen- und Mondgott das des Glaubens, der fünfältige Gott das Siegel der Gottesfurcht und die Götter Burchan das des Wissens. Jedoch in einem andern türkisch-manichäischen Texte (T. II k 2 a — Coq I, 21 f.), der zu denjenigen gehört, die sich schon dadurch als jung erweisen, daß Buddha als Heiliger aufgezählt wird, vereinigt Zarvān, „des Götterhimmels ältester Bruder und ältere Schwester“ in sich die fünfältige Gottheit.



Schon der Umstand, daß in T. II, K. 2 a der manichäische Gottheit die Vidyā-Weisheit zugeschrieben wird (Coq I, 21), beweist deutlich, daß dieser Text vom Buddhismus nicht unbeeinflusst geblieben ist. Gerade die türkischen Manichäer scheinen sehr unter buddhistischem Einflusse gestanden zu haben, so daß viele türkisch-manichäische Texte einen buddhistischen Einschlag haben (vgl. Coq T. M. III, 3). Diese gehören einer jüngeren Periode an. So wird Buddha als Heiliger erwähnt (Coq III, 14), „der Buddha-Weg“ (Coq III, 32), der buddhistische Berg Sumeru (Coq III, 8), das große Meer Samudra (Coq III, 9, der ganze Satz, der dem Samudra vorangeht, trägt buddhistische Färbung). Echt buddhistisch ist der Satz: „Die vier Götterkönige, die an den zehn Himmelsrichtungen befindlichen gebetsmächtigen Götter“ (Coq III, 34). Die vier Götterkönige nebst den zehn Himmelsrichtungen kommen z. B. Dīgha Nk. XVI, 3 und 5 vor. Alle diese buddhistisch beeinflussten manichäischen Texte, wozu Fragment T. II K. 2 a gehört, sind also sekundär. Hingegen ist die in Chuastuanift sich findende Vierteilung der manichäischen Götter alt (vgl. Scheftelowitz, Entsteh. d. Manich. 22). Die vier Arten Götter sind dort 1. Zarvān, 2. Sonnen- und Mondgott, 3. die fünf Götter (= fünffältiger Gott), 4. die Burchan. Zarvān und der fünffältige Gott sind also im Chuastuanift vollständig getrennte Gottheiten, hingegen bilden gemäß dem oben erwähnten Fragment T. II K. 2 die fünf Götter die Hülle des Zarvān, eine Einheit mit Zarvān. Nach der älteren manichäischen Lehre (vgl. T. II 173 b, Coq I, 14) sind die fünf Götter (=fünf himmlischen Elementen), die von Ōrmazd „ausgeschieden“ worden sind, ein Teil des Wesens von Ōrmazd, seine „Rüstung“ und seine „Leibwache“ im Kampfe gegen die finstere Materie. Die Auffassung, daß Zarvān sich in die fünf Götter einhüllt und mit ihnen vereint ist, scheint einer jüngeren Periode anzugehören, worauf auch der Text T. II K. 2 a hinweist. Zarvān ist ja mit dem indischen Götterkönig Brahma identifiziert worden und nach indischen Spekulationen sind alle übrigen Götter nur Erscheinungsformen des Brahma. Ähnlich heißt es bei Coq III, 31: „Darauf so kommt der Gott Gesetzesmajestät (= Zarvān) mit den drei Göttern, die er selber ist“.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wenn Reizenstein-GGA 1923, 50 sagt: „Der Gott (Zarvān) und sein Selbst oder seine Seele und sein Leib werden beliebig getrennt oder verbunden gedacht. Das geschieht schon bei den Zarathustriern, vgl. Porphyrius: „Das Licht ist der Leib, die Wahrheit aber die Seele des Ōrmazd“, so ist dagegen einzuwenden, daß nicht Zarvān, sondern Ahuramazda nach der Zarathustri-Religion sich den Hohen Himmel als Gewand anlegt und daß eine ähnliche Anschauung sogar bei den Indern, Ismaeliten und Manichäern zu belegen ist (vgl. Scheftelowitz, Alpers, Religion p. 144, Brauns, Mand. Schr. 185). Das Licht (die Lichtende = Himmel) stellt aber nach manichäischer Auffassung nur ein einziges Gotteswesen (Element) dar und zerfällt nicht in die aus dem manichäischen Ōrmazd hervorgegangenen fünf Götter.



Vielfach bieten die indirekten Quellen den Schlüssel zum Verständnis der Originalfragmente, sodaß sie sich gegenseitig ergänzen. Daß die Seele (*gyza*) aus den fünf Elementen zusammengesetzt ist, geht aus dem Fihrist (Fölgel 100) hervor. In dem Bericht des Fihrist über die fünf Seelenteile (Licht, Wind, Wasser, Feuer, sanfter Lufthauch) stehen zwei und drei derselben als höherer und niederer Teil sich gegenüber. Und diese fünf Seelenteile sind die fünf Lichtelemente (vgl. Reitzenstein, Iran. Eriös. 42 und 35). Man vgl. hierzu Müller II, 17, 19 und 39. Ferner schildert der Fihrist, wie die Seele, nachdem drei Seelenelemente von ihr in Sonne und Mond geläutert worden sind, sich zum Himmel erhebt und „eine Gottheit“ wird. Auf diese Vorstellung spielt eine Stelle im Fragment M. 420 an: „Rein wird er (= Seele des abgeschiedenen Gläubigen) und zur Sonne und zum Monde wird er hinaufgeleitet und zum *cīhr i Ōhrmazd* ~~be~~ wird er werden, und aus der Sonne und dem Monde werden sie (die Seelenelemente) zusammen zum Paradies hinaufgeleitet“. Es kann sich hier nur um die Seele des verstorbenen Frommen handeln, denn diese „empfängt die Gabe der Seligen und den guten Anteil im unsterblichen Paradies“ (Müller II, 77). Was bedeutet nun *cīhr i Ōhrmazd be*? Der Manichäismus nimmt an, daß die Urseele, die göttlichen fünf Elemente, von Ōrmazd „abgeschieden“ worden, also seine Nachkommen sind (vgl. Scheftelowitz, Entsteh. d. Manich. 61 f.). Daher werden die Seelen, deren Elemente sich nicht allzusehr „mit der Finsternis vermischt“ haben, von den Göttern „als mit ihnen von gleichem Ursprung“ angesehen (vgl. Andreas bei Reitzenstein, Mand. B. 26 f.). Nun geht mittelpers. *cīhr* auf uriran. *cihra* zurück. Im Awesta gibt es 2 Wörter *cihra*, von denen das eine Wort: „Same, Herkunft, Geschlecht, Nachkommenschaft“ bedeutet (Bartholomae, Air. Wtb. 387)<sup>1</sup>. In der Pehlewī-Übersetzung wird *cihra* teils durch *tozmač* (= *ap- tozmač*) „Same, Geschlecht, Familie, Nachkomme“, teils durch das synonyme *cihrak* wiedergegeben, vgl. Aw. *aficihra* „den Samen des Wassers enthaltend“ = *apcihrak*; Aw. *urvarcihra* „den Samen der Pflanzen enthaltend“ = *urvar cihrak*; Aw. *utracihra* „den Samen des Feuers enthaltend“ = *ataš tozmač*; Aw. *daēvocihra* „Nachkomme der Dämonen“ = *dēvda tozmač*; vgl. auch Dink. (ed. Sanjana 3, 200, 5: *neša min tozmač* „eine Frau von Familie“, Bānīl. (ed. Justi) 79, 13: *tozmač i manučihr* „Nachkomme des Manučihr“. Im Manichäischen sind nun die beiden synonymen mittelpersischen Wörter ohne das Suff. *-ak* erhalten, vergl. *tozmač i rošman* (Müller II, 78) „Geschlecht der Leuchtenden“ und *cīhr i Ōhrmazd be* „Same (Geschlecht, Nachkomme) des Gottes Ōrmazd“. Die erlöste Seele

<sup>1</sup> Auch im Altindischen und Hebräischen bedeutet „Same“ „Nachkomme“, vgl. al. *sema* A. V. II, 28, 5 und hebr. 77.



wird also nach ihrer Läuterung zum Paradies eingehen und dort zum Geschlecht des Gottes Ormazd gehören.

Ganz unerwähnt gelassen hat Wesendonk die erst aus den Turfanfragmenten gewonnene, sehr wichtige Manvahnēd-Idee, die der iranischen Fravaši-Vorstellung entspricht. Die Manvahnēd verhält sich zur Seele (*xiyān*) wie die iranische Fravaši zur Urvan. Die Seele ist nach manichäischer Auffassung der Körper der Manvahnēd. Die Manvahnēd (= Fravaši) eines Menschen ist aber zu seinen Lebzeiten an die Körper gebunden; sie ist die unsterbliche Seele, die bereits vor ihrer Inkorporierung im Himmel existiert hat, die manichäische Mānā, welche aber zu Lebzeiten des Menschen im Körper weilt und ihren Wohnsitz in der Seele hat. So entspricht die „Manvahnēd der Seele“ dem iranischen Ausdruck „Fravaši der Seele“ (y. 1, 18; 23, 4). Wenn Manvahnēd nach meiner Ansicht ‚verehrungswürdiger Geist‘ bedeutet, so möchte ich darauf hinweisen, daß in der etymologischen Bedeutung von Aw, *fravaši* ebenfalls nicht der prägnante Fravaši-Begriff liegt, denn *fravaši* = altiran. *fravartī* heißt etymologisch „Bekennnis, Glaube“. Auch im Manichäischen gibt die wörtliche Bedeutung eines Wortes nicht seinen eigentlichen Sinn wieder. Wolke man z. B. manichäisch *Xradžahr* ganz wörtlich nehmen, so heißt es „Verstandeswelt“ (so Andreas). Aber aus der manichäischen Übersetzung der neutestamentlichen Stücke (z. B. Matth. 25, 40) geht hervor, daß es die Bedeutung „himmlischer König“, *šmānīw* hat.

Wesendonks Auffassung, daß Mani ein „Vertreter iranischen Geistes“ sei, bedarf sehr der Einschränkung. Der Grundton seiner Religion ist nicht iranisch. Die von Mani direkt aus dem Parsismus entlehnten Vorstellungen und Bezeichnungen haben fast durchweg einen andern Inhalt erhalten. So ist Mani, der Paraklet Jesu, der Sohn des Gottes Zarvān für Zarathuštra eingetreten, indem er sich selbst als „Leiter der mazdayasnischen Religion“ bezeichnet und ein Ritualwerk des Mani, das auch die Fasttage angibt, „Buch der Zarathuštrier“ heißt. Das Fragment M. 16 (Müller II, 43 f.), das ein Stück aus der Lehrschrift eines manichäischen Führers darstellt, begründet nämlich seine Angaben hinsichtlich der manichäischen Fasttage damit, daß er aus den als zarathuštrisch bezeichneten Schriften eines autoritativen „er“ zitiert. Dieser manichäische Verfasser von M. 16 kann unmöglich Mani sein, denn wie würde er als göttlicher Gesandter, als Verkünder des lebenden Gotteswortes, der sogar „dem Ormazd gleichgesetzt ist“ (Reitzenstein, Ir. Erl. 17), seine religiösen Verordnungen über Festlegung von Fasttagen auf das tote, niedergeschriebene Wort eines Menschen stützen, der Bücher der Zarathuštrier geschrieben hat. Zu verstehen wäre es, wenn Mani sich auf Worte seines prophetischen Vorgängers Zarathuštra berufen würde. Aber die in M. 16 erwähnten hl. Bücher der Zarathuštrier



haben einen dem Zarathustrismus widersprechenden Inhalt, denn das Zarathustra-Gesetz verbietet ja streng das Fasten. Wer nun dieser „er“ ist, welcher die Bücher der Zarathustrier geschrieben hat, läßt sich aus anderen Stellen mit Sicherheit erschließen. In den manichäischen Texten wird „er“ oft zitiert und stets ist „er“ Mani selbst, vgl. Müller II, 31: „Und in dem Evangelium der Lebenden spricht er“; II, 33: „Aus den Episteln MESÖNS über die beiden Leiber spricht er“; Coq, Türk. Man. III, 11: „Und also geruhte<sup>1</sup> er zu sagen“; das. III, 12: „Und im hi. Buche geruhte er also zu sagen“.

Im letzten Kapitel seines Buches: „Das Verhältnis des Manichäismus zu anderen Religionen“ geht Wesendonk allen schwierigen Fragen über die Herkunft der einzelnen manichäischen Vorstellungen aus dem Wege. Sehr brauchbar ist die am Schlusse seines Buches zusammengestellte Bibliographie über den Manichäismus.

J. Scheftelowitz

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: Das Herz der Natur. Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1923.

Younghusband führt den Leser vom Ganges durch die Himalayawälder nach Dardschilling, um hier die Reihe der Bilder mit dem Ausblick auf den Kantschin-dschanga abzuschließen. Er bringt den Leser durch Kashmir und zeigt ihm die grausige Schönheit der Karakorumberge. In der Wüste Gobi läßt er ihn zum Sternenhimmel emporblicken. In allem Naturempfinden offenbart sich ein feinsinniger und vornehmer Mensch, der aber auch ein sehr guter Engländer ist.

Doch sind diese Eindrücke von der Natur Younghusband nur Mittel, sich aus ihnen ein Bild vom Leben, seinem Wesen und Werden aufzubauen. Diese Ausführungen entspringen zu sehr der Seele eines träumenden Ästheten als daß sie philosophisch fester gegründet dastünden. Den Beweis ersetzt öfter die Wiederholung einer Ansicht. Irgend etwas Neues oder Abschließendes bringt für diesen seinen Hauptzweck das Buch nicht.

Es ist kein Problem gelöst oder gefördert. Der Hauptwert des Buches liegt in der Charakterisierung Younghusbands.

Angehängt sind zwei Vorträge über Naturschönheit und Geographie, welche Younghusband in der Kgl. Geographischen Gesellschaft von England bzw. im University College in London gehalten hat. Sie enthalten die Forderung, die Geographie habe ihr Studium auch mit auf die Schönheit der Natur auszudehnen.

Friedrich Weller.

<sup>1</sup> Die Ausdruckweise „geruhte“ ist buddhistisch, vgl. auch Coq III, 14 (Nr. 7): „Und-Buddha also geruhte zu sagen“. Reitzenstein, dem diese Stellen unbekannt waren, behauptet, daher G.G.A. 1923, 45 fälschlich: „Kein Manichäer hätte bei geordnetem Sinn eine Schrift seines Meisters so zitieren können“ und für Mani „er“ gesagt.



J. B. AUFHAUSER, Christentum und Buddhismus im Ringen um Fernasien. Bücherei der Kultur und Geschichte, Band 25. Bonn und Leipzig, K. Schröder, 1922. XII, 401 S.

Ein ernstes wissenschaftliches und verdienstliches Werk wird von seinem als Professor der Missionswissenschaft an der Universität München lehrenden Verfasser bescheiden nur als ein Versuch bezeichnet, „einen kurzen Überblick über das Ringen der beiden großen Religionen im fernen Osten zu geben. . . . In anspruchloser Form will es einen kurzen, auch weiteren Kreisen verständlichen Abriss der Missionsgeschichte Fernasiens bieten. Das Literaturverzeichnis<sup>1</sup> will tieferer Anteilnahme die Wege weisen in ein Gebiet, das vom gewöhnlichen Fachstudium weitab gelegen ist“ (Vorwort S. VIII). Bei näherer Prüfung aber erweist sich die Arbeit als eine weit mehr bietende, gewissenhafte und wissenschaftlichen Anforderungen im großen und ganzen durchaus entsprechende Darstellung der mehr als zwei Jahrtausende umspannenden, ganzen geschichtlichen Entwicklung der verschiedenen Missionstätigkeiten unter all den Völkerschaften des raumgewaltigen asiatischen Erdteiles von den ersten Anfängen an bis hinauf zur Gegenwart. Das Verdienst des Werkes beruht vor allem darauf, aus der überaus reichhaltigen und vielfach nicht gerade leicht erreichbaren Literatur all der einzelnen Sondergebiete ohne Absicht eigener Forschungsergebnisse, wenn auch durchaus nicht ohne kritische Würdigung, ein anderweit bisher kaum je in solcher Fülle dargebotenes und mit Geschick übersichtlich gruppiertes Material zusammenzuführen. Freilich, zu einem eigenen Urteil über ein so riesiges und vielseitiges Feld der Forschung und über ihre literarischen Ergebnisse reicht ein einzelnes Gelehrtenleben, und sei es noch so fleißig und gründlich, bei weitem nicht aus, und jedem Bearbeiter eines Sondergebietes daraus wird es wohl nicht schwer fallen, hier dem Verfasser öfters berechnigte Einwände in Einzelfällen entgegenzuhalten. Aber dennoch muß anerkannt werden, daß es im allgemeinen ihm doch gelungen ist, fast überall die wichtigsten und richtigsten Quellen herauszufinden und sie verständnisvoll zu verwerten. Volle Anerkennung verdient ferner das stets vorurteilslose, rein sachliche und besonnene Urteil. Trotz begreiflicher Wahrung und Betonung seines katholischen Standpunktes scheut sich der Verfasser auch durchaus nicht, verhängnisvolle Mißgriffe der römischen Geistlichkeit zuzugeben und offen darzulegen, wie bei dem wiederholt als „unselig“ gekennzeichneten, hundertjährigen (1633—1742) Ritenstreit<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> S. 267-297, 340 Nummern.

<sup>2</sup> Z. B. S. 199: „So ging infolge dieser unseligen Padroado- und Riten-Streitigkeiten das zu großen Hoffnungen berechtigende Missionswerk in Ostasien einem jähen Verfall entgegen“. Vgl. auch S. 163, 175, 197. — Ferner S. 205: „Unkluger Eifer einerseits,



Andererseits läßt er den Verdiensten der Mission auch anderer Kirchen, vor allem der protestantischen, nicht nur volle Gerechtigkeit zuteil werden, sondern zeigt sich auch gründlich vertraut mit ihrer ausgedehnten Fachliteratur, aus der er reichlich schöpft. Leibnitz rühmt er als „einen der größten Geister der Menschheit“ (S. 213).

Nicht besonders glücklich gewählt erscheint der Titel des Werkes schon wegen des vom Verfasser geprägten, etwas unklaren Ausdruckes „Fernasien“, von dem er auch nirgends angibt, welche Teile Asiens er selbst darunter verstanden wissen will. Mit dem üblichen Begriffe von Ostasien oder Ferner Osten deckt er sich nicht etwa. Denn außerdem umspannt dankenswerter Weise der reiche Inhalt des Werkes nicht nur Indien im weitesten Sinne, sondern nicht weniger als alle Gebiete des ganzen Erdteiles, die je der Schauplatz der Mission waren oder sind, also eigentlich das gesamte Asien. Auch handelt es sich weniger um ein Ringen der zwei großen Weltreligionen miteinander um die asiatischen Völkerschaften als um die geschichtliche Entwicklung der einen wie der anderen in den einzelnen Teilgebieten.

Der in drei Hauptabschnitte gegliederte Inhalt bietet in dem ersten, „Das Christentum auf dem Wege nach Ostasien“ (S. 1—21), einen Überblick über missionarisches Wirken, von den Anfängen bei Griechen und Juden an bis hinein in das christliche Mittelalter. Sodann bringt das 2. Kapitel, „Der Buddhismus und seine Verbreitung über die fernöstliche Welt“ (S. 22—77), zunächst kurz die wesentlichsten Züge aus Buddhas Leben und Wirken und hierauf den Siegeszug der indischen Glaubenslehre bis an die fernen Gestade des Pazifiks. Den eigentlichen Kern des Werkes bildet das weit umfangreichere und über den engen Rahmen der Überschrift nicht selten weit hinausgreifende 3. Kapitel, „Die christliche Mission in Ostasien“ (S. 78—312). Es beginnt mit der Schilderung der Missionstätigkeit der persisch-nestorianischen Kirche von den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung an bis etwa zu den Berichten Marco Polos im 13. Jahrhundert (S. 78—101) und der Franziskaner und Dominikaner im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert (S. 101—124). Auch wer diesem Stoffe nicht mehr ganz fern steht, wird hier wohl manche neue und willkommene Einzelheiten finden. Hierauf folgt die auf die Erschließung des Indischen und des Stillen Ozeans durch die Entdeckungen

ärgerliches Leben, Verdorbenheit, Unfähigkeit und Sorglosigkeit mancher Missionäre um die eigentliche Heidenmission andrenen, — bisweilen suchten sie in ihrem Eigennutze mehr für ihre heimischen Verwandten draußen Schätze zu sammeln und Handel zu treiben — Habgier und unchristliches Leben portugiesischer Kaufleute wie Beamter vernichteten das Missionswerk trotz aller anfänglichen erfreulichen Erfolge bald an völliger Fruchtlosigkeit.



der portugiesischen Seefahrer gestützte „Aufblühende Missionstätigkeit des 16. Jahrhunderts“ (S. 134—160). Unter Betonung des segensreichen Wirkens Xaviers wird näher dargelegt, wie die Mission in Indien, in Tibet, auf den Philippinen, in China und Japan erfolgreich sich ausbreitet, vielfach dank dem hervorragenden Wissen und dem reinen Lebenswandel der damaligen abendländischen Sendboten des Jesuiten- und anderer Orden. Ein trübes Bild nach all diesen zu den besten Hoffnungen berechtigenden Errungenschaften bietet dagegen die nun folgende, eingehende Schilderung des „Padroado (Vorrechte der portugiesischen Krone)- und Ritenstreites“ (S. 160—199) dar, sowie der nächste Abschnitt „Verfall des ostasiatischen Missionswerkes im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert“ (S. 199—209). Auf diesen Niedergang folgt aber ein neuer Aufstieg „Vom Wiedererwachen des Missionswerkes im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart“ (S. 209—267), der auch ausführliches Material über die jetzt bestehenden Einrichtungen aller der einzelnen Missionen in den verschiedenen Gebieten Asiens enthält. Mit einem Ausblick auf die Zukunftsaussichten und die Mittel zu ihrer Erfüllung („Die wichtigsten Kulturaufgaben der Mission in Ostasien“ S. 267—312) gelangt das eigentliche Werk zum Abschluß.

Jedoch folgen noch fünf wichtige und gewiß manchem aufmerksamen Benutzer des Buches besonders willkommene „Anhänge“. Zunächst eine Religionsstatistik der zehn einzelnen Missionsländer Asiens sowie der Gesamtmenschheit zum Vergleich (S. 313—320), sodann „Zeit-Tabellen“ (S. 320—336), die eine besonders zum Nachschlagen recht dienliche Zusammenstellung der wichtigsten im Buche verarbeiteten geschichtlichen Ereignisse und Zustände mit Jahreszahl darbieten, gegliedert in die Hauptabschnitte: 1. Vorder- und Hinter-Indien, 2. China nebst Tibet, 3. Japan, Korea und Philippinen. Ändliche Leser werden hier freilich nicht umhin können, manche der in ihrer knappen Fassung etwas schief geratenen oder nicht ganz zutreffenden Angaben mit Fragezeichen zu versehen<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Z. B. bei Japan: „... Koto Dalachi (834) erfindet die japanische Schrift“. — „701 Kodifikation des japanischen Rechts wie der Geschichte-Annalen“. — „Vom 9. Jahrh. ab Japan ein Feudalstaat“ (S. 333). Bei der Koto Dalachi von der Sage zugeschriebenen „Erfindung“ handelt es sich doch nicht um eine wirkliche „japanische Schrift“, sondern nur um das eine der wahrscheinlich nach und nach entstandenen beiden Systeme der japanischen Silbenschriften („Kana“). Die beiden ältesten vorliegenden Geschichte-Annalen stammen nicht aus dem Jahre 701, sondern das „Kojiki“ von 712 und das „Nihongi“ von 720; bei Erwähnung ihrer „Kodifikation“ hat sich der Verfasser wohl nur im Ausdruck verirrt. Aus dem Beamtenstaat nach chinesischem Vorbild (seit 645) wird Japan zum Feudalstaat erst 1192 durch Begründung des auf dem Lehnswesen beruhenden Shōgunates unter Yoritomo. Auch kann man doch schwerlich den Buddhismus als Staatsreligion unter der Herrschaft der Tokugawa (1600—1867) bezeichnen (S. 334, 1596—1597), auch S. 62: Erhebung des „Buddhismus zur Staatsreligion“ am 1600 durch die Shōgunen.



Der 3. Anhang, „Der Buddhismus im Abendlande“ (S. 337—349), schildert die Entstehung und gegenwärtige Gestaltung des „modernisierten und ideallisierten, vielfach wirklichkeitsfremden Neobuddhismus des gelehrten Abendlandes“ (S. 339—340), eine häufig „unter dem Eindruck des entsetzlichen Weltkrieges und der Probleme des Lebens und Todes“ (S. 341) stehende Geistesbewegung, die „nur allzuvielen in sensationeller Begeisterung, sentimentaler Schwärmerei und Empfänglichkeit für die ästhetischen Reize mystischer Poesie nach dem Modeartikel der Mystik“ greifen ließ, „die fast zu einer charakteristischen Kulturerrscheinung unserer Zeit geworden ist“ (S. 342). Bei aller begreiflichen kritischen Ablehnung auch eines gereinigten Neobuddhismus für das christliche Abendland verneint der Verfasser aber keineswegs die manchem Träger dieser Geistesrichtung innewohnenden edelen Beweggründe.

Im 4. Anhang, „Die Parallel-Erzählungen im Leben Buddhas und Jesus“ (S. 349—366), wendet er sich einem schwierigen Stoffe der religionswissenschaftlichen Forschung zu, der in der Neuzeit zu einer ersten und bedeutsamen Streitfrage geworden ist und bereits eine umfangreiche wissenschaftliche Fachbibliothek gereizt hat. Er gibt zunächst einen dienlichen Überblick über die wichtigsten Werke dieser ganzen, noch fortwährend anwachsenden Literatur, soweit sie bei Abschluß seiner Arbeit schon vorlag (S. 350—352)<sup>1</sup>. Sodann bejaht er „die Möglichkeit einer Kenntnis buddhistischer Legenden im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert in Syrien-Palästina“ (S. 352), sowie „eines gegenseitigen Austausches von Fabeln und religiösen Erzählungen“ (S. 353). Nach Erörterung der Vorfrage, „welche der beiden Literaturgattungen hat das höhere Alter für sich?“ (S. 355), geht der Verfasser über zur Wiedergabe und vergleichenden Prüfung von den auffallendsten „angeblichen Entlehnungen, den hypothetischen Zusammenhängen der heiligen Literatur der beiden Religionen“ (S. 357), und zwar der Jungfrauengeburt, der mit Simeon im Tempel (Lucas 2, 25) verglichenen Asita-Legende, der Versuchung durch Māra, den Bösen, des Wunders des Meerwandels und der Brotvermehrung sowie der Erzählung

Finden doch auch während dieser Zeit, genau wie zuvor, sogar staatliche Zeremonien des nationalen Kultus, des Shinto, feierlich statt. Im Frieden von Shimonoseki wird nicht „Verzicht Japans auf Entschädigung von Rußland, Deutschland und Frankreich erzwungen“ (S. 335, 1894—1895), sondern im Gegenteil Verzicht auf die Liaoning-Halbinsel mit Port Arthur gegen Erhöhung der Kriegsentschädigung.

<sup>1</sup> Die sehr reichhaltige und dienliche „Bibliographie zur Frage nach den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Buddhismus und Christentum“ von H. HALL (Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 36, 1921, Heft 11—12) und die sorgfältige Quellenuntersuchung der Fragen bei C. CLEMEN, „Christliche Einflüsse auf den chinesischen und japanischen Buddhismus“ (Orientalische Zeitschrift 9, 1921/22, S. 10—37, 185—200) gehören zu den erst später erschienenen Beiträgen zu dieser Forschung.



vom Scherflein der Witwe. Nach gewissenhaft abwägender Untersuchung gelangt der Verfasser zu dem Ergebnis, sich der Ansicht derjenigen Forscher anzuschließen, welche die buddhistischen Parallelen nicht als Vorbilder der entsprechenden biblischen Erzählungen anzuerkennen vermögen (S. 366).

Der 5. Anhang bringt — last not least — das „Literaturverzeichnis“ (S. 367—397), dessen mit emsigem Fleiß zusammengetragener und verarbeiteter, reicher Inhalt aus so vielen Einzelgebieten der Forschung zu den wertvollsten wissenschaftlichen Gaben der schönen Arbeit zählt und gewiß jedem Benutzer treffliche Dienste leisten wird. Die Durcharbeitung des Werkes wird freilich durch Zusammenfassung der nicht weniger als 340 Hinweise zu diesem numerierten Verzeichnis, an Stelle der üblichen Wiedergabe als Fußnoten unter dem betreffenden Texte, nicht gerade erleichtert.

Schmerzlich vermissen wird mancher gerade bei einem so inhaltreichen und zum Nachschlagen so dienlichen Werke das kaum zu entbehrende Sach- und Personenverzeichnis. Ganz abgesehen von äußeren Mängeln, wie den zahlreichen Druckfehlern, für welche die längst nicht ausreichende Liste der „Berichtigungen“ (S. 401) allerdings berechtigte Entschuldigungsgründe geltend macht, wird ein an Stoff so reiches und so weite Gebiete der Forschung umspannendes Werk natürlich bei Einzelheiten auch mancherlei Einwände sachlicher Art herausfordern. Z. B. (vgl. auch Anm. 1 S. 821) hat sich in die Schilderung des Verfalles der Mission und der Christenverfolgung in Japan während der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (S. 199 bis 202) leider eine ganze Reihe von schiefen Ansichten und unrichtigen Einzelheiten eingeschlichen. So erweckt die Angabe „Die buddhistische Shinaekte und der Shintoismus vereinigten sich hier gegen das hereinflutende Christentum“ (S. 199) den ganz falschen Eindruck, als ob die anderen buddhistischen Sekten etwa der Frage gleichgültig oder christenfreundlicher gegenüber gestanden hätten als die allerdings zahlreiche und einflußreiche Shinsekte. Unklar bleibt dem Verfasser die staatsrechtliche Stellung des mächtigen Regenten Hideyoshi<sup>1</sup>, der wohl die Gewalt, aber nicht den Titel eines Shōgun zu erlangen vermochte; denn dieser Titel galt als erblicher Besitz allein der Nachkommen des vom Kaiserhause abstammenden Adelsgeschlechtes der Minamoto. Hideyoshi wird auch das Verdienst der „Abschüttelung der seit 1371 anerkannten chinesischen Oberhoheit“ zugeschrieben (S. 200). Aber diese Oberhoheit Chinas hat in Wirklichkeit überhaupt weder je bestanden, noch japanische Anerkennung gefunden, wenn auch einzelne Shōgune aus dem Geschlechte Ashikaga höfische Titel von Kaisern

<sup>1</sup> S. 200: „der Herrscher von Japan Taikōmama, eigentlich der Shōgun (erster Lebensträger des Kaisers) Hideyoshi“; auch in den Zeit-Tabellen S. 334: „1582—1598. Hideyoshi Shōgun“.



der chinesischen Ming-Dynastie unnehmen. „1637 unter Kaiser Schogun-sama erreichte die furchtbare Christenverfolgung im Lande ihren Höhepunkt“ (S. 201). Einen Kaiser dieses Namens, der nichts weiter bedeutet als „Herr Shōgun“, hat es freilich nie gegeben, und der Verfasser meint natürlich auch gar nicht den Kaiser, sondern den für ihn regierenden Shōgun (damals Iemitsu). Wiederholt schon widerlegt ist die ganz falsche Angabe: „Jeder Fremde, der ins Land kommen wollte, mußte Kreuz und Marienbild mit Füßen treten (Jesumi)“ (S. 202). Dieser Vorschrift des „Bildertrampelns“ bedienten sich aber die japanischen Behörden Einheimischen gegenüber, die im Verdachte des Christentums standen, während Europäer in dem damals abgeschlossenen Japan überhaupt nicht zugelassen waren außer den dieser Maßregel nicht unterworfenen Holländern. Nicht zutreffend ist die Bezeichnung der drei japanischen Jünglinge, die als Gesandte der ihnen verwandten drei Landesherren oder Daimyo 1585 zum Papst nach Rom kamen, als „Fürsten“ (S. 158). Noch weniger passend ist es, diese Daimyo jetzt noch, wie einst in den Jesuitenberichten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, „Könige“ zu nennen (S. 131). Unter den Ländern, „wo der Buddhismus noch heute bevorrechtete National- oder Staatsreligion, das Mönchtum die Seele der Nation ist“ (S. 71—72), wird neben Ceylon, Birma, Siam und Tibet, auf die es gewiß zutrifft, merkwürdigerweise auch Korea angeführt, wo doch der Buddhismus seit Jahrhunderten zu einer ganz unbedeutenden Rolle herabgedrückt ist und seine Mönche keineswegs eine sehr geachtete Stellung einnehmen. Trotzdem das Quellenmaterial, auf dem die Arbeit beruht, gewiß außerordentlich reichhaltig ist, sind dem fleißigen Verfasser auf einzelnen Gebieten besonders bedentsame und kaum entbehrliche Werke leider doch entgangen. So geht es doch kaum an, über den Buddhismus Ostasiens zu schreiben (S. 37—77) ohne Berücksichtigung auch nur einer von de Groot's für chinesischen und von A. Lloyds für japanischen Buddhismus grundlegenden Arbeiten. Vergeblich aber sucht man die Namen dieser beiden hervorragenden Forscher in dem ganzen betreffenden Teil des Literaturverzeichnisses (S. 370 Nr. 31 bis S. 375 Nr. 64). Durch tiefere Quellenkenntnis hätte auch der gewiß schon reiche und dankenswerte Inhalt der beiden ersten Paragraphen von Kap. 3, „Die christliche Mission in Ostasien“, und zwar „Die Missionstätigkeit der persisch-nestorianischen Kirche“ (S. 78—101) und „Die Franziskaner- und Dominikanermmission des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts“ (S. 101—124), noch wertvolle und bedeutsame Ergänzungen erfahren. Für ersteren Paragraphen sei z. B. verwiesen auf die in der zeitgenössischen amtlichen japanischen Chronik „Shokur Nihongi“ aus dem Jahre 736 berichtete Ankunft eines von Lloyd vielleicht nicht ganz zutreffend als „Nestorian doctor“ bezeichneten Persers in Japan oder auf die ebenfalls schon von Lloyd erwähnte vermutliche Berührung

des japanischen Begründers der buddhistischen Shingon-Sekte, des berühmten Kūkai oder Kōbō Daishi (774—835), in der damals einen Treffpunkt so vieler Völker und Kulte weit über Asiens Grenzen hinaus bildenden Hauptstadt der chinesischen T'ang-Dynastie Ch'ang-an, dem jetzigen Singanfu mit dem Nestorianer Adam von Persien, der dort gemeinsam mit einem buddhistischen Priester, dem Indier Prajna, an der Übersetzung eines Sūtras arbeitete<sup>1</sup>. Schwerlich konnte auch der vielgenannte Nestorianer-Denkstein von 781 in Ch'ang-an der Aufmerksamkeit der scharf beobachtenden buddhistischen Studienpriester aus Japan wie Kūkai und der Begründer der Tendai-Sekte im Inselreiche Dengyō Daishi (767—822) entgehen, wie auch Lloyd<sup>2</sup> schon betont hat. Erwähnung verdient hätten auch wohl die Gerüchte über Vorhandensein einer altchristlichen Handschrift, vielleicht des Lucas-Evangeliums, in einem buddhistischen Kloster der alten japanischen Hauptstadt Kyōto<sup>3</sup>, obwohl eine zuverlässige kritische Bestätigung jener Meldungen bisher leider immer noch fehlt. Zum Abschnitt über die christliche Mission des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts in Ostasien sind betreffs Koreas hinzuzufügen gewisse Angaben in der vom Verfasser anderweit auch benutzten, trefflichen Quellenforschung von G. Golubovich<sup>4</sup> über „christiani antiche recenti“ in Korea schon zur Zeit des zum zweiten Erzbischof in Peking ernannten Mönches Nicolò (um 1333). Einer Widerlegung bedurft hätten vielleicht die verschiedenen irrigen Meldungen über Missionstätigkeit von Franziskanern oder Dominikanern auch in Japan schon im 13. bis 14. Jahrhundert, die sogar erst neuerdings in einem so ernsthaften Werke wie in dem von de Moilrey<sup>5</sup> wieder auftauchen. Unter den Quellen für die Chinareise von Wilhelm Rubruk im Jahre 1253 (S. 378 Nr. 106) vermißt man die dienliche Hakluyt-Ausgabe<sup>6</sup> nebst dem Anhang von

<sup>1</sup> Lloyd, *The Creed of Half Japan*, S. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Lloyd, *Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism*, *Transactions Asiatic Society of Japan* 35, 1908, S. 200—201. Abgedruckt in *The Wheat among the Tares*, London 1908, S. 39—40: „... when Kōbō and Dengyō visited the city, they must have seen standing at a street corner the celebrated Singanfu monument which proclaimed to all China the great doctrine of the Christian Faith“.

<sup>3</sup> Lloyd, *The Wheat among the Tares*, S. 28. — L. Delplace, *Le Catholicisme au Japon*, Vol. I, S. 59—61, Brüssel 1909. — C. Skovgaard Petersen, *Asia Japan*, wie es heute ist, S. 22, Basel 1912.

<sup>4</sup> *Biblioteca Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Franceseano*, Bd. 1, S. 421, Quaracchi 1919.

<sup>5</sup> J. de Moilrey, *La Hiérarchie catholique en Chine, en Corée et au Japon* (1307—1914). *Variétés Sinologiques* Nr. 38, 1914, S. 4. Vgl. die ausführliche Richtigstellung in *Introductory Volume* von Asia Major (Hirth-Festschrift), Nr. 176, S. 668—671.

<sup>6</sup> W. W. Rockhill, *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253—1255, as narrated by himself, with two Accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de Carpina*. London 1900. Hakluyt Society, 2. Ser., Bd. 4.



Beazley<sup>1</sup>. Nur aus Versehen hier weggeblieben zu sein scheint der beachtenswerte Beitrag von A. Batton<sup>2</sup>, da nachher mit „Batton u. u. O.“ (S. 379, Nr. 126) auf dieses aber auch sonst nicht mit dem Titel angeführte Werk verwiesen wird.

Alle diese Ausstellungen sollen jedoch nicht etwa das im großen und ganzen recht dankenswerte und durchaus zu empfehlende Werk herabsetzen; die eingehende kritische Würdigung wird im Gegenteil gerade bekunden, daß es sich hier um eine wissenschaftliche Arbeit handelt die ernste Beachtung verdient.

O. Nachod.

JOSEPH DAHLMANN S. J., Japans älteste Beziehungen zum Westen 1542—1614 in zeitgenössischen Denkmälern seiner Kunst. (Ergänzungshefte zu den Stimmen der Zeit, Erste Reihe: Kulturfagen, 9. Heft.) Freiburg i. B., Herder & Co. 1923. 72 Seiten.

Unter den Gegenständen, die das Historische Institut zur Erforschung Aijapans 1917 auf einer Ausstellung in Tōkyō gezeigt hat, waren auch einige Wandschirme aus dem Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts mit Darstellungen von europäischen Schiffen, Kaufleuten, Priestern, einer katholischen Messe u. dgl. Dahlmann bringt sie in sechs recht gut gelungenen Reproduktionen und kommt in seiner Untersuchung zu dem sehr wahrscheinlichen Ergebnis, daß sie zwischen 1600 und 1614 in Nagasaki von christlichen Japanern gemalt worden sind. Ihr künstlerischer Wert ist ziemlich gering, auch sind ähnliche Schirme mit demselben Sujet in europäischen Sammlungen vorhanden (z. B. im Victoria and Albert Museum). Der Titel des Schriftchens kann leicht irreführen. Außer dem Allernotwendigsten zum Verständnis der Bilder wird über die Beziehungen Japans zum Westen nichts gesagt.

Otto München-Helfen.

HERMANN HEUVERS: S. J. Der Buddhismus und seine religiöse Bedeutung für unsere Zeit. Xaverius-Verlag, Aachen 1921.

Eine kurze Darlegung des Werdens und Wesens des Buddhismus dient als Grundlage für seine Ablehnung vom Standpunkte des frommgläubigen Katholiken aus. S. 42 ff. eine Kritik des Keyserlingschen Tagebuchs eines Reisephilosophen.

<sup>1</sup> C. B. Beazley, The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis. Ebenda 1903, Ergänzungsband.

<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm von Rubruk, ein Weltreisender aus dem Franziskanerorden, und seine Sendung in das Land der Tataren. Münster i. W. 1921.

Der Verfasser ist kaum Indologe (die Yoga S. 10, 11, 50), manches, was noch Problem ist, wird deshalb zu sicher vorgetragen.

- S. 23. sind die Ausführungen über das Nirvāṇa einseitig. Nirvāṇa braucht ja weiter nichts zu bedeuten als das Aufhören dessen, was für gewöhnliche Menschen im Leben da ist, des Leides.
- S. 25. Daß Jaina und Buddhismus einander zum Verwechseln ähnlich seien, ist lange überholte Auffassung.
- S. 33. Wird Dahlke gegen Grimm ausgespielt, so beweist das nichts gegen den alten Buddhismus.
- S. 38. Von „Seelenwanderung“ ist in alten buddhistischen Quellen auch nicht die Rede.

Friedrich Weller.

D. MARTIN SCHLUNCK, Die Weltreligionen und das Christentum. Hamburg, Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1923. 213 Seiten.

Dieses Buch hat, wie der Verfasser selbst sagt, nicht die Aufgabe „der vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft Stoff zuführen, sondern dem Christentum die Waffen zu schärfen gegen alles Nichtchristentum“. Ob der Versuch, die Überlegenheit des Christentums über alle für die Mission in Betracht kommenden Religionen zu erweisen, gelungen ist, soll hier nicht geprüft werden. In dem darstellenden Teil aber findet sich über den Buddhismus das Folgende: „Brutaler Egoismus und stumpfsinnige Tatenlosigkeit auf der einen, hingebende, selbstverleugnende Liebe und Tatkraft auf der anderen Seite, das ist im Kern der Unterschied in der Sittlichkeit zwischen Buddhismus und Christentum. Daran ändert selbst die Tatsache nichts, daß der Buddha, statt nach der Erleuchtung ins Nirvana einzugehen, aus Mitleid mit der Menschheit seinen Lehrberuf anzufangen und aus Mitleid gepredigt hat, denn hinter dem Gefühl des Mitleids, das nicht zur Tat der Barmherzigkeit wird, steht doch die Selbstsucht als wirkendes Motiv“ (S. 96). In den Buddhatempeln stehen unzählige Götzen, „je hüßlicher, um so besser“ (S. 98). Der Buddhismus, ein halbes Jahrtausend älter als das Christentum, steht unter den acht Hauptreligionen der Erde an sechster, das Christentum an erster Stelle, „ein zahlenmäßiger Beweis seiner Unterlegenheit“ (S. 98). Und darauf hätte doch nur Arthur Schopenhauer die richtige Antwort geben können.

Otto München-Helfen.



PAUL COHEN-PORTHEIM, *Asien als Erzieher*. Leipzig, Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1920. VII u. 241 S.

Daß alle Gegensätze, Mißtrauen, Abneigung, Haß, nur aufgehoben werden können durch die Einsicht, daß im Tiefsten Alles verwandt und letztlich Eines sei, ist der Grundgedanke dieses im Kriege entstandenen und sicherlich gutgemeinten Buches. Diese universalistische Weltauffassung, wie sie der Verfasser nennt, findet sich nach ihm am klarsten ausgedrückt in dem Schrifttum der alten Inder und Chinesen. Asien ist ihm daher ein geistiger, kein geographischer Begriff. Wer sich will auseinandersetzen lassen, daß durch die Anwendung dieser Einsicht alle möglichen Gegensätze, Impressionismus und Expressionismus, Gott und Mensch, Zionismus und Assimilantentum, Gut und Böse als ein und dasselbe erwiesen werden, warum die Psychoanalyse recht hat und auch ihre Gegner u. dgl. m., der mag das Buch lesen. Ob dem Verfasser das geglückt ist, liegt zu beurteilen hier kein Anlaß vor. Nur mag doch noch gesagt sein, daß der Kunst die Trennung Europas von Asien noch eine Zeitlang notwendig sein dürfte, wenn die Umschlag- und Vorsatzzeichnung des Autors bereits Asien zum Erzieher gehabt haben sollte.

Otto München-Helfen.

O. FRANKE, *Ein Dokument zur Geistesgeschichte der Han-Zeit*. (Sitzungsberichte d. Preussischen Akademie, 1924, S. 56 ff.)

1. 法無繼嗣, den (astrologischen) Gesetzen zufolge bedeutet dies: Fehlen der Nachkommenschaft. Franke, S. 65; es bedeutet, daß das Recht keine Fortsetzung findet.
2. 仁德不脩, 誅罰太酷, Menschenliebe und Tugend werden nicht in Anwendung gebracht, die verhängten Strafen sind zu grausam. Franke, S. 65: die Verantwortung dafür liegt bei der Güte und der Tugend, die es nicht unternehmen, die allzu große Grausamkeit zu bestrafen.
3. 臣聞於師, ich habe von meinem Lehrer gehört . . . Franke, S. 66: ich habe aber im Volke das Wort gehört . . .
4. 而臣作威作福刑罰急刻之所感也. (Diese Naturerscheinungen) sind aber verursacht (感) durch eigenmächtiges Auftreten von Ministern und allzu grausame Anwendung des Strafrechtes. Franke: Wenn „die Minister Schrecken verbreiten und Gunstbezeugungen spenden oder Strafen verhängen“, so ist das etwas, was mich mit tiefer Besorgnis erfüllt.
5. 三公上書, die höchsten Minister hatten Eingaben beim Kaiser eingereicht. Franke: drei Würdenträger . . .

6. 杜衆 ist Name eines untergeordneten Beamten des Distriktes Hung-nung (Playfair, Nr. 2530, 1<sup>o</sup>), *wu-luan-yüan* ist sein Amtstitel (vgl. Tsochuan V, 729 u. n. 11 und Chavannes, *Mém. hist.* II, 516), aber nicht (S. 67, Anm. 1): „fünf Beamte“. Franke: Li Yün hat in seiner Eingabe an den Thron offen dargelegt, was man (einem erlauchten Herrscher) nicht verbieten soll. Da man das Volk fernhalten wolle, so hat er . . . . Erst S. 71, Anmerkung 5 entdeckt Franke, daß „*ju-chung*“ ein Eigenname ist.
7. 猷斯之祚 ist der Segen zahlreicher Nachkommenschaft, von dem in der Ode Chung-sü (Shihking IV, Prolegomena, S. 38 und IV, 11) die Rede ist. Franke, S. 67: der Segen der Grassüpfel.
8. 星隕爲石, 聲 . . . . es fielen Sterne und wurden zu Steinen (vgl. Chavannes, II, 182 und III, 392), den Lärm davon hat man in drei Provinzen gehört. Franke, S. 68: es fielen Meteore, die das Rassein von Steinen hören ließen.
9. 易況之大人, das Iking vergleicht den Drachen mit dem Himmelssohn, und darum betrachten Herrscher ihn (den Drachen) als ein Omen. Franke, S. 68: daher vergleicht das *Yi-king* der Tschou den „großen Mann“, d. h. den kaiserlichen Herrscher damit wegen der glücklichen Vorbedeutung.  
Der folgende Satz lautet: Man hat gehört, daß in Ho-nei ein Drache gestorben ist, euphemistisch (諱) sprach man aber von einer Schlange (Drachentod bedeutet Kaisertod, darum ließ man den Drachen eine Schlange sein). Franke, S. 68: man hört wohl, daß der Tod des Drachen von Ho-nei sich in einer Schlange verhält habe.
10. 鄭客 ist meiner Meinung nach kein Eigenname (Franke, S. 68), sondern „ein Mann aus Chêng“ (ähnliche Beispiele im Tsochuan).
11. 文石 ist ein bunter Stein (gestreift wie Marmor, vgl. Kom. zu Lâ-lai-po VI, 4), aber nicht „ein Stein mit Schriftzeichen“ (der Geist sagt: ich will dem Herrscher vom See Hao einen Brief zukommen lassen. Du mußt mit dem Edelstein an den Baum klopfen. Und dem, der darauf Bescheid gibt, mußt Du meinen Brief einhändigen. Franke, S. 68, Anmerk. 5: dann wird sich das Weitere ergeben und dir ein Schriftstück ausgehändigt werden.
12. 虛言猶然, 況於貫邪, leere Gerüchte (nämlich, daß ein Drache gestorben wäre) sind so (durch den Tod des Kaisers) zur Wahrheit geworden. Um wieviel eher wird dies der Fall sein, wenn nicht leere Gerüchte, sondern eine Tatsache vorliegt (nämlich, daß wirklich ein toter Drache gefunden wurde). Franke, S. 69: . . . es blieb doch das leere Gerüchte nach wie vor und verbreitete sich über Wahres und Falsches.



13. 不合明聽 (Frankes Text hat irrtümlich 德) (als ich früher das Geisterbuch überreichte) fand ich bei Euer Majestät kein Gehör (vgl. Legge, Shuking, III, 234). 上 bedeutet hier „dem Kaiser überreichen“, vgl. Kommentar zum Satze 僞託神靈, aber nicht „hinaufsteigen“ (Franke, S. 70).
14. 誠願賜清閒極盡所言, meine dringende Bitte geht dahin, Eure Majestät mögen mir Ruhe und Muße gewähren, um alles, was ich noch sagen möchte, erschöpfend behandeln zu dürfen.  
 Franke, S. 71: ich habe den dringenden Wunsch, daß Frieden und Ruhe in aller Vollkommenheit (von Eurer Majestät dem Lande) beschert werden möchte.
15. Zu 德星 (Franke, S. 71 und Anmerk. 2), vgl. Chavannes, III, 392 u. 505, endlich meine Lexicogr. Beitr., II, 108: zu 天王, der Himmelskönig, Antares; vgl. Schlegel, Uranogr. Chin. pag. 149. 庚辰 (S. 64, Anmerk. 7) halte ich nicht für cyklische Zeichen, sondern für einen anderen Namen des Planeten Venus, (vgl. Shihking, Legge, IV, 356).
16. Zu dem unübersetzten 相倚, einander zu übertreffen suchen, vgl. Legge, II\*, 215.
17. 今黃門常侍天刑之人, gegenwärtig sind die Wachkommandanten der Tore der Kaiserstadt Eunuchen. Franke, S. 73: die Eunuchen des Palastes, die vom Himmel Gebrandmarkten.
18. Betreffs der Sterngruppe „die Himmels Eunuchen“, (Franke, S. 74) und des Sternings „der Himmelsmarkt“ (ibid.) vgl. Schlegel, Uranogr. Chin., S. 519. 主 (verbun) 市里, die Aufsicht über die Marktplätze führen. Franke, S. 74: sie sollen für den Herrn nur die Geschäfte des Marktes besorgen.
19. 浮屠不三宿桑下, die buddhistische Satzung, man dürfe nicht drei Nächte unter einem Baum verbleiben, um das Entstehen von Zuneigung zu verhindern, ist der Höhepunkt der Vollkommenheit. Franke, S. 75: Buddha blieb nicht drei Nächte unter einem Maulbeerbaum . . . das ist der Höhepunkt seines Wesens. Was Anmerkung 2 betrifft, so vergleiche T'ung-chien-kang-mu Kap. 11, Blatt 65 verso (unter 正誤).
20. Über Chao T'an, (Franke, S. 76 und Anmerk. 1), vgl. Chavannes, I, Introduction, S. 228 und Wên-hsüan, Kap. 41, 2: er war ein Eunuch (刀筆之餘, vgl. Chavannes, IV, 293) und nicht seine Söhne und Enkel gelangten zu großem Einfluß, sondern Kaiser Hsiao-wên-ti hatte eine zahlreiche Nachkommenschaft (trotz seiner Intimität mit einem Eunuchen). (Franke: mit einem Menschen, der dem Bell des Henkers eben entronnen.) Über Yüan Ang, vgl. Giles B. D. Nr. 2571. (Franke liest: Ai Ang.)

21. 誣上罔事, er hat den Kaiser durch Erfindung von Lügen verleumdete. Franke, S. 76: er hat in Verblendung tülgerische Dinge an den Thron berichtet.
22. 激切, (obwohl die Sprache Hsiang Kiai's) ungewöhnlich freimütig und scharf war . . . Franke, S. 76: der Kaiser war zwar über seine Reden sehr aufgebracht . . .
23. 舉方正, schlug seine Berufung als „*fang-chêng*“ (aufrichtiger Mann) vor, vgl. T'ung-chien-kang-mu Kap. 11, Blatt 57 recto. Franke, S. 77: empfahl seine Schrift als zutreffend und wahrhaft.

Dies sind die wichtigsten Fehler, die mir aufgefallen sind. Es finden sich überdies noch einige Stellen, deren Übersetzung mir unrichtig erscheint, wo ich aber außerstande bin, eine bessere vorzulegen, so z. B. 臣又聞之得主所好, 自非正道, 神爲生虐, ich habe ferner gehört von (之) überherrschenden Neigungen (zu 得主, vgl. Legge, Iking 60., 419), die, weil sie gegen die Moral sind, wunderbarerweise zur lebenden Plage werden. (Franke, S. 73: daß, wenn es sich trifft, daß ein Herrscher selbst den rechten Weg des Verhaltens verläßt, der Einfluß seines geistigen Wesens Gewalttaten erzeugt.) Der ganze Satz schreit geradezu nach einer grammatikalischen Erklärung! Eine andere unklare Stelle ist jene, wo von den Kerkermeistern die Rede ist, die nach Gutdünken (自己) Leute getötet oder am Leben gelassen haben; ist nun dies die richtige Cäsur oder muß man mit Franke, S. 67: 自己死者 lesen? — Auch über die Abkunft Hsiang Kiai's besteht eine unaufgeklärte Meinungsverschiedenheit. Dem Fêng-su-t'ung zufolge wäre er ein Nachkomme des Hsiang Lao von Ch'ü (Tsochuan, V, 314<sup>18</sup>, 341<sup>18</sup> usw.). Dagegen lesen wir im T'ung-chien-kang-mu, Kap. 11, Blatt 64 verso, daß er ein Nachkomme des 公子遷 von Lu war (Tsochuan, V, 197<sup>10</sup>, 215<sup>10</sup> usw.), dessen posthumer Titel 襄 als Familienname gebraucht wurde. Welchen „der T'ang-Zeit entstammenden Kommentar“ meint nun Franke auf S. 61, Anmerkung 1 seiner Arbeit?

Weltevreden auf Java, 30. September 1924.

E. von Zach.

LAO TSE, TAO TE KING. Übertragen von F. Fiedler, herausgegeben von Gustav Wyneken, Hannover, Paul Staegemann, 1922, 16. 97 S.

Eine von jenen vielen Übersetzungen, die dem anderweitig bekannten Herausgeber zufolge „ohne irgendwie tiefer eindringende, vielleicht ohne jede Kenntnis der chinesischen Sprache“ geschrieben ist. Dafür entschädigt „die sprachliche Kraft und Schönheit, der Styl und der Rhythmus des



Werkes nicht. Es ist eben „eine wirkliche Neuschöpfung“ wie alle solche Übersetzungen des Lao-tse. Schade um den Aufwand an Zeit und Mühe, sowohl für „Übersetzer“ und Herausgeber, als auch für den deutschen Leser und — Rezensenten.

Bruno Schindler.

FRANKE, O. Die Großmächte in Ostasien von 1894—1914. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges. Braunschweig, Georg Westermann, 1923, 8, XXIV u. 407 S.

Nach den „ostasiatischen Neubildungen“, die im Jahre 1911 erschienen waren, endlich wieder etwas von dem bekannten Sinologen, wo er in seinem ureigensten Elemente ist.

Wie der Verfasser im Vorwort bemerkt, ist die Arbeit aus Vorlesungen entstanden, die er im Wintersemester 1920/21 an der Hamburger Universität gehalten hat. Man muß neidlos anerkennen, daß der Verfasser einen so komplizierten Stoff meisterhaft behandelt. Als echter Wissenschaftler hat er nur „unbestreitbare Tatsachen, amtliche Schriftstücke und Aufzeichnungen der in der Entwicklung führenden Persönlichkeiten als Stoff und als Quellen benutzt“. Zum Teil sind ihm auch eine Anzahl bisher unveröffentlichter, wichtiger Aktenstücke zugänglich gemacht und von ihm verwendet worden.

Zunächst wird in einer Einleitung (S. 1—30) das Verhältnis Ostasiens zu den abendländischen Großmächten nach dem Auftauchen der japanischen Macht skizziert und der Besitzstand der Großmächte vom Jahre 1894 und seine Vorgeschichte gegeben. In den folgenden Abschnitten wird geschildert:

- I. Der japanisch-chinesische Krieg und der Einspruch von Schimonoseki (S. 31—104).
- II. Die „Sphären-Politik“ bis 1900 (S. 105—144).
- III. Englische Bündnispolitik. Der Ausbruch des russisch-japanischen Krieges (S. 145—240).
- IV. Der Krieg und seine Folgen. Die Unverletzlichkeitsverträge. Einkreisung Deutschlands (S. 241—407).

Schon dieser Überblick der Hauptkapitellüberschriften zeigt zur Genüge, daß es dem Verfasser vorschwebte, eine umfassende Darstellung von Tatsachen über die Politik der Großmächte in Ostasien bis 1914 zu geben, die gleichsam als „Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges“ gedacht ist. Die Einstellung des Verfassers ist vom nationalen und menschlichen Standpunkte überhaupt — wie er auch selbst im Vorwort bekennt, — verständlich. Aber die Fernwirkungen der englischen Politik auf Ostasien sind

doch gar zu kraß dargestellt und z. B. die der russischen zu sehr gemildert. Alles in allem aber ein Buch, aus dem jeder, der sich mit chinesischer Geschichte beschäftigt, sehr viel lernen kann.

Bruno Schindler.

Diese Nummer ist bereits ca. 13 Bogen stärker als vorgesehen ausgefallen. Es mußten daher folgende Besprechungen bis zur nächsten Nummer zurückgestellt werden:

This number contains 208 pages more than was anticipated. Therefore the following reviews of books had to be reserved for volume II of this periodical:

E. Boerschmann, *Baukunst und Landschaft in China*, Berlin, (Ernst Wasmuth A.-G.)

Gilbert Reid, *Der Kampf um Chinas Freiheit*, Leipzig, (K. F. Koehler 1923).

Arthur Rothorn, *Geschichte Chinas*, Stuttgart-Gotha, (F. A. Perthes A.-G.) 1923.

F. E. A. Krause, *Ja-Tao-Fo, Die religiösen und philosophischen Systeme Ostasiens*, München, (E. Reinhardt) 1924.

B. Karlgren, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese*, London, (Oxford University Press) 1923.

B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris, (Paul Geuthner) 1923.

A. Waley, *An Introduction of Chinese Painting*, London, (Ernest Benn Ltd.) 1923.

A. Waley, *The Temple and other poems with an introductory essay on early Chinese Poetry, and an appendix on the development of different metrical forms*, London, (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.) 1923.

Bruno Schindler.



# ADDITIONS TO AND CORRECTIONS OF THE ARTICLE OF CH. KRAUSE: NASAKETARĪ KATHA

P. 352 l. 27	read	George	instead of	Geroge
P. 368 l. 32	"	C.	"	Ch.
P. 368 l. 34	"	C.	"	Ch.
P. 369 l. 2	"	C.	"	Ch.
P. 396 l. 29	"	4	"	7
P. 396 l. 33	"	"	"	"
P. 403 l. 24	"	h	"	"
P. 403 l. 25	after	<i>brahmapāṇam</i>	add	( <i>u-</i> ?)
P. 404 l. 6	read	<i>para</i>	instead of	<i>par</i>
P. 404 l. 18	As to the Sandhi of	<i>śāśāpāṇi</i>	cp. Belloni-Filippi, p. (52)	
P. 407 l. 13	after	<i>sa ca</i>	add	( <i>u-</i> ?)
P. 411 l. 10	read	son	instead of	sun
P. 414 l. 28	"	Whither	instead	Wither
P. 414 l. 32	"	Thereafter	"	Therafter
P. 414 l. 35	"	<i>Camadravatt</i>	instead	<i>Camadravatt</i>
P. 415 l. 27	"	<i>circumambelated</i>	instead	<i>circumambulated</i>
P. 419 l. 4	"	Itiberant	"	Itiberent
P. 422 l. 4	"	they	"	the
P. 425 l. 9	"	elephanta	"	elefanta

The next volume II of our review will be dedicated to Professor  
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